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THE

Parliamentary Debates,

DURING THE

FOURTH SESSION OF THE SECOND PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AND OF THE

KINGDOM OF GREAT-BRITAIN THE NINETEENTH,

Appointed to meet at Westminster, the Twenty-second Day of August, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Five; and from thence continued, by Prorogation, to the Twenty-First Day of January, in the Forty-sixth Year of the Reign of King GEORGE the THIRD, Annoque Domini One Thousand Eight Hundred and Six.

VOL. VII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD

BETWEEN THE 6th OF MAY AND THE 23d OF JULY, 1806.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. BRETTELL, MARSHALL-STREET, GOLDEN SQUARE:

PUBLISHED BY R. BAGSHAW, BRYDGES STREET, COVENT GARDEN; AND SOLD ALSO
BY J. BUDD, PALL MALL; R. FAULDER, NEW BOND STREET; H. D. SYMONDS,
PATERNOSTER ROW; BLACKS AND PARRY, LEADENHALL STREET;
AND J. ARCHER, DUBLIN.

1806.

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continued, by several Prorogations, to the Twenty-first Day of
January, in the Forty-sixth Year of the Reign of King GEORGE
the Third, Annoque Domini 1806.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, May 6, 1806.

[Minutes.] A message was received from the lords acquainting the house that their lordships would proceed farther in the trial of lord Melville, on Thursday next, at 10 of the clock, in Westminster-hall. Also that their Lordships had agreed to the Sea Offence Bill without any amendment.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart the order for the third reading of the Iron Duty bill on Thursday was read, when he moved that the order be discharged and the bill ordered for recommitment on Friday next. He was induced to make this motion from a desire on the part of his majesty's ministers, that the subject might meet with the maturest consideration. The order was made accordingly.—Mr. W. Smith brought up the report of the committee of ways and means relative to the duty on the exportation of Iron, which was read a first and second time and agreed to, and instructions ordered to be given to the committee of the whole house on the Iron Duty bill, to make provisions therein accordingly.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of ways and means on the extension of the duty on Iron to the stock in hand. The resolutions were read and agreed to, and instructions directed to be given to the committee on the Iron duty to make provisions in the said bill accordingly.—The Lord Advocate of Scotland brought in the bill for increasing the Salaries of the Judge of the Court of Admiralty and of the Judges of the Commissary Court, which was read a first time.

[Repeal of the Additional Force Bill.]—Mr. Secretary *Windham* moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the bill for repealing the Additional Force act. The order having been read, and the question put, that the Speaker do now leave the chair,

Mr. *Johnstone* rose, and observed that having upon a former occasion voted for the proposition of the rt. hon. gent. (Mr Canning) respecting this bill, he now rose to trouble the house with a few explanations of the motives which had decided him to give that vote. When the Additional-Force bill was first brought in, he had opposed it because he thought it would never be productive; and though it had proved more so than he had expected, yet so many objections ocurred to its principle and practice, that he should not have voted as he had done the other night, if the proposition had been of a nature to prevent the house from repealing the act during the session. From the developement of the rt, hon. gent's. (Mr Windham's) plan, which had been given to the house, he had the strongest objections to it. The expression of the rt. hon. gent. in describing the present state of the public force, was, that our army appeared as if they had clubbed the batallion, and every thing was in an order of inversion or retrogradation; he therefore strongly dwelt upon the necessity of a system of regulation calculated to cure these disorders. The rt. hon. gent. had emphatically said, that the fate of nations was decided by armies; and after stating that position in a manner so forcible as he had done, he (Mr. J.) owned he was prepared to expect some plan infinitely more efficient than that which had been suggested. When experience had shewn the extreme difficulty of procuring recruits for our army under the high bounties that were given, and after all the exertions that were made, he could not see the least prospect of remedying the defect by the proposed reduction of bounties; in lieu of which the rt. hon. gent. proposed an advance of 6d per week to men who had served 7 years, and 1 shilling per week to men who had served 14 years; this would never be felt as an adequate compensation. The rt. hon. gent. had conceived, that in order to render the recruiting service more effective, reliance was not to be placed on high bounties, but an appeal to the honourable feelings of the soldier: if this could be effected, it would certainly be desirable; but he doubted the propriety of depending on such a principle. Something he thought certainly ought to be done for the encouragement of the army, in the same manner as was proposed a few nights since by a noble lord (Howick) for the navy, by increasing the number of petty officers in each regiment, and thereby not only rendering the discipline more perfect and orderly, but pointing out more frequent opportunities of preferment for good behaviour. This was a principle prevalent in all the military services of the continent, and had the best effect in exciting men to signalize themselves: he would wish it adopted in relation to subaltern officers as well as common soldiers, particularly where the approbation of a commander in chief was mentioned in general orders, or pointedly expressed to government. This was the practice in our navy. He did not expect to hear from a strong government so timid a pretence, as that of declining to recruit from the militia into the army of the line to the extent which might be done. It had been proposed by the rt. hon. gent. gradually to reduce the militia down to its original force of 40,000 men. Why not do so at once, and thus set 20,000 men at liberty to join the regular army? or why not recruit the regiments of the line from the militia to the utmost possible extent, and then ballot the counties over again? This had been done in 1799, and had no prejudicial effect whatever on the militia service. In the last year 14,000 men were recruited from the militia, and he would appeal to the country whether it had done any injury to the service. Without some such measure, how was the proposed force of 200,000 men to be raised for the service of the united kingdom? It might be thought, he would allow, a measure of harshness; but it was one to which he was sure the country would cheerfully submit under the present exigency. He complained that in the growing wealth of the country many arrangements had taken place to defeat the objects of the militia law, and to deprive the service of many valuable men. He instanced the lowering the fines to 10l. upon persons ballotted, and not choosing to serve personally. The parishes, out of their rates, in most instances, paid those fines for the poor man, and the money went to raise a man for the militia who would otherwise have enlisted for the line.

Colonel *Graham* recurred to a statement he had made upon the last night this bill was in discussion, respecting the practice on the continent of enlisting men for limited service, even in time of war, which an hon. gent. on the other side of the house was pleased totally to deny. He was not just at that moment prepared to refute the hon. member, by the production of any authority on which he could positively rely. But he had since felt it his duty to make more minute enquiry from persons most competent to give him information, namely several French officers, now in London, all of whom had corroborated his former assertions, and stated, that both before and since the revolution, the practice had prevailed in the French service, and had been attended with the best effects in recruiting the army. In fact, groups of young fellows entered this service for 8 or 10 years, as it were on a party of pleasure, who would never have thought of inlisting for life; and in many of the provinces no young man could obtain a wife who had not previously been 8 or 9 years in the army. The reason why he had voted on the former occasion for the repeal of this bill, was in order to remove it out of the way of the great measure proposed by the rt. hon. gent. and, with all due deference to the great military authorities who supported this bill, and opposed the measure of the rt. hon. gent. because it was new and untried, he begged to observe, that so also was the state of the country new and unparalleled, and one that called for new and extraordinary measures; the system of Europe was such as made it indispensible for the country to depart from old and established usages, and to become, for its own security, a great military nation. Unless the inducements proposed by the new plan were held out to the lower orders of the people of England, how were a sufficient number of men, cradled in liberty, and reared from infancy in a spirit of independence, to be induced to enter for general service?

Such was the necessity of an adequate disposable force, that unless our army was so composed, as to be immediately convertible from defensive to offensive operations, it could never act with the necessary effect for national security. Therefore, the system for recruiting the force must be the sole and general one in use: to produce its full effect, it must meet no rivals in every market town. A partial trial of it would be productive of no good consequence; but if upon fair experiment it should fail, recourse to coersive measures might then be had, upon grounds the most fair and excusable. But in voting for the repeal of this bill, he by no means pledged himself to support the whole detail of the plan proposed by the rt. hon. gent. There were, on the contrary, some parts of it which he did not entirely approve: he should, for instance, not be disposed to resign the volunteers, whose services he highly approved, and whose competence for actions in the field, so far as he had seen them, he thought in no degree objectionable. He had seen in G. Britain but a few batallions of them, and those in Scotland, whose discipline he thought complete; but in Ireland, where he had seen very numerous bodies of them in the field, he considered them inferior to no troops of any description, and competent to serve in the line with any corps whatever. There were other parts of the detail, too, upon which he differed; for instance, on dividing the period of 21 years service, he should think the first term should be much the longest; but he could by no means agree to the argument which had been adduced, that the soldiers now enlisted for life would murmur, or feel dicontent, because others in the same regiment should hereafter enlist for shorter periods. He knew too well the character of British soldiers, to apprehend any such consequences; they knew the terms of their original enlistment, and it was no part of their character to murmur when faith was fairly kept with them. He feared no relaxation of discipline on account of approaching discharge to men enlisted for limited periods, and could not therefore accede to such an imputation upon the officers of regiments. He could never suppose it possible, that a British soldier would insist upon his discharge so long as his country was in danger, or that he would be content to retire to his parish branded with the suspicion of cowardice. He thought the enlisting for that period well calculated to obtain a better order of recruits, and to remove many of the causes which led to severe and ignominious punishments, so desirable to abolish, if it were at all practicable; and for his own part he should prefer troops actuated by that moral courage, and sense of honour and love of their country, however some gentlemen might be disposed to ridicule those sentiments in the soldiery, than by that cold, mechanical, physical courage, created by severe discipline and harsh treatment, with no other motive of action than the dread of punishment, and the consideration of pay; and he would appeal to every officer who had led troops into action, which description of men he would prefer to command in any arduous enterprize.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he was fully aware, that no task could be more ungracious to undertake, than that of endeavouring to dissuade parliament from the adoption of a plan which the rt. hon. gent. as one of his majesty's ministers, at a crisis so arduous, had taken so much pains to convince himself, and to convince the house, was the most eligible for their adoption; but the deep and strong sense he felt, of the superior efficacy of the bill now proposed to be repealed, to all the objects proposed by the rt. hon. gent. for an effective increase of the public force, was such, that he could not, without an absolute dereliction of his public duty, omit to impress upon the house the insurmountable objections he had to the rt. hon. gent's. plan, and the motives which induced him to give a decided preference to the bill now proposed to be repealed, in order that his majesty's ministers should not have inadvertency to plead; and that upon their own shoulders might rest the responsibility of throwing out of their hands, wantonly and unnecessarily, a plan of military arrangement, which had been found so productive, for the sake of adopting a new project which had never been tried, and in support of which the rt. hon. gent. had scarcely deigned to give to the house a single reason, in answer to all the objections which had been opposed to it. Not even the brilliant and eloquent speech of a rt. hon. friend of his (Mr. Canning), on a former night, could wring from the rt. hon. gent. a single answer to any of his able and irresistible arguments. In the arguments he was about to offer, he should studiously avoid any application to the military part of the bill, and direct his observations merely to the civil part of it, which was of sufficient magnitude for the present discussion, and which seemed to be the branch most obnoxious to the rt. hon. gent.

and those who now supported him.—The first point to be considered was, the present deficiency of the army, and the further increase of that deficiency likely to flow from the rt. hon. gent.'s plan, before this bill should be abandoned for the substitution of one new and untried. The present deficit was 25,000 men; and the annual deficiency arising from casualties, could not be estimated at less than 15,000. The rt. hon. gent. proposed to discharge all men who had already served for 21 years, which would amount to nine battalions of veteran soldiers. This would produce annually, a very considerable addition to the deficit by casualties. He proposed, besides, to let the militia waste away to its original establishment, at the rate of about 5000 men per annum, which, added to the other deficits, would form one grand deficit in the ensuing year of no less than 51,000 men. The ordinary recruiting service, to supply this, produced, upon an average of the last 5 years, about 11,000 men per annum, so that, at the latter end of the next year, upon this calculation, the deficit from the proposed force of the country would be no less than 40,000 men; and this alarming defect and difficulty would be produced under the plan of the rt. hon. gent. adopted without any cause or necessity whatever. He would undertake to shew, that by this plan, the casualties would be doubled, and the necessities of the recruiting service increased from 15,000 to 30,000 men per annum.—The noble lord next proceeded to state the average produce of the ordinary recruiting service, under four several periods during the war: namely, before the operation of the army of reserve; during the operation of the army of reserve; the interval between the operation of that army and the additional force bill; and lastly, the operation of the additional force bill itself. In the first period, the average of recruits raised per month, for 12 months, was 980. The next was a period of 8 months, average 708 men; the third was under the army of reserve, and the average 751; and the fourth when the additional force bill came into operation, the average, monthly, was 908 men. Now, during the last period, neither the army of reserve nor the militia were in operation, and therefore the increased number could not be fairly reckoned as a general average; but it was found, that while the parish officers were obtaining their quota of men, the recruiting parties, acting for the bill, felt no diminution in their success: and there could not be a stronger argument against parting with this bill, than that it had given 1800 men within the last two months, and would certainly have produced 5000 more by the latter end of the year, notwithstanding the obvious damp cast upon its operation, by the suspense and discouragement under which those who had acted under it, for the last two months, had laboured. These facts, then, he desired to be contrasted with the plan proposed by the rt. hon. gent. the sole object of which was to cast down a system that had been found so productive, for the adoption of one totally novel and untried, which the rt. hon. gent. had repeatedly, before his accession to office, detailed from the opposite side of the house, and to which no members had expressed their opposition in terms of stronger condemnation and contempt than many of those very men who were now prepared to applaud it in terms of the highest panegyric. A question very necessary to be considered was, whether the rt. hon. gent. intended to substitute, in aid of his ordinary recruiting system, any parochial plan of this kind; for experience had proved, that, without the aid of some parochial levy, he would not be enabled to raise the complement of men required in time of war; for even supposing it otherwise practicable, upon the great mass of population in the United Kingdom, it would be impossible, consistently with the interest and efficiency of military service, to detach a sufficient number of recruiting parties from the different regiments of the line, to reach the whole of that population. For instance, the population was calculated at 15 millions, spread over 15,000 parishes; and supposing that 500 recruiting parties were detached, the proportion would be, a party to every thirty parishes, or 30,000 men: there would never be sufficient to try within the year, the operation of the recruiting service upon so extensive a field. Last year the number of parties detached on the ordinary recruiting were 450, while those under the Additional Force bill were 260. These consisted of 4000 men, of whom 600 were valuable officers, whom the service could by no means spare; and when the expence of maintaining those officers and soldiers on the recruiting service was considered, it was clear that the expence must be added to the charge of raising the men. This amounted last year to 201,000 l. which, on an average of the men raised, amounted to no less a sum than 18 l. per man, exclusively of all bounty to the recruits themselves. Now, if the rt.

hon. gent. would compare this with the expence of raising men under this bill, he would find that the charge in the parishes did not exceed an average of 4 guineas per man. Had his majesty's late ministers continued in office, it was certainly their intention to have taken advantage of that system for the general recruiting service, and to have established a kind of parochial agency in every part of the kingdom. He knew too well the opinions of the rt. hon. gent. of such agency to suppose he would adopt it, considering, as he did, every man in coloured clothes, who raised a recruit, as nothing better than a crimp. But, from the best enquiries he could make, he was able to learn, that any benefit to be derived in that way must be under the local influence of the parishes, and not by any unknown officers appointed by government, who would infallibly become obnoxious to the people, be regarded as crimps, and their exertions prove totally unsuccessful. He would not deny that abuses had existed under the operation of the act in question; but he denied that they existed to the extent that had been stated, or that they were in their nature incurable. With all these abuses, however, they had already furnished the country with a very considerable augmentation of its military force, and much more might still be expected from its operation. One abuse had been stated to be, the circuitous bounty which had been given to those entering the line; but this only amounted to 5 guineas per man, and did not extend to more than 3,800 men, who had enlisted for general service. It had also been said, that the practice of raising men by agency had been an abuse arising from the act. But he would contend, that it was as much local in its operation as the militia service; and that under it, the men were in general as strictly levied within every particular county. Besides, there was nothing in the nature even of the militia service, which prevented the introduction of agency to a certain extent. The system of agency had always existed, in some degree, even in the militia, and was not an abuse confined to the act. It was not surprising that the measure should have been at first sight received by gentlemen in the country, with some degree of lassitude and indifference, from the experience they had of preceding plans; and he would venture to predict, that the rt. hon. secretary's *levy-en-masse* would meet with a similar reception. It had also been said, the operation of the act had been oppressive to the country; but we had likewise to consider the momentous situation in which the country was placed, and the difficulties with which we were surrounded. (Here Mr. Windham whispered the expression "a bed of roses.") The noble lord continued, by observing, that he perfectly understood the allusion of the rt. hon. gent. and would again repeat, that as the exigencies of the country were great, the present was not the proper season for repealing an act that had been found, on the whole, productive; and he trusted, that the house, and the country, would compare the expence occasioned by it with its results, and would make their option. But, he contended, that when properly acted upon, it had not been attended with so much expence as had been stated. In support of which, he instanced the county of Leicester, where the full complement of 200 men had been raised, and at a much less expense than the same number had been raised under the army of reserve act. Wherever the act had been carried into effect with zeal and activity, there it had produced the desired effect; but its partial failure was not surprising, when it was recollected what contests the measure had occasioned in that house, how many efforts had been made to obtain its repeal, and in how few counties it had been acted upon with zeal and energy. When it was also considered how complete had been the ignorance of the parish officers with regard to its nature, and how much trouble the applications to the justices for its explanation had occasioned, its failure in many parts of the country would create still less surprise. But now since its nature had been more fully understood, its produce had been gradually increasing, and we were entitled, from the opinions given by the inspecting field officers, to expect that it would still continue to increase. He felt confident, that nothing which the rt. hon. secretary had hitherto brought forward, was at all calculated to compensate the loss which the country would sustain by the repeal of the act: and he would venture to predict, that, were his plans adopted, it would be necessary, in less than a year, to have recourse to some stronger measure than had yet been fallen upon, for supplying that deficiency in our military strength, which his plans would produce.—There was a clause in the bill before the house, to which he had the strongest objections; namely, that which went to indemnify parishes from those fines which they had already incurred under the operation of the act. This he contended, would be equivalent to parliament surrendering its authority, would be incompatible with the dignity of the legislature, and would operate as a pernicious precedent in future. It was also unjust, inasmuch as it placed the active and neglectful parishes exactly on the same level. In proof of this, he should adduce the instance of Mary-la-bonne parish. Its quota under the reserve act had been 225, and under the present act 80; but it had not raised, and indeed had not endeavoured to raise a single man under either. On the other hand, St. Anne's parish, in the immediate vicinity, had found every man of its quota, and these parishes were now proposed to be placed precisely on the same footing, and the latter might console itself as it best could, under all its expence and trouble, while the former got off triumphant. It went to remove every distinction between those parishes that did their duty under the act of parliament and those that neglected it.—He apologized to the house, for having taken up so much of their time on this occasion, but the subject itself was of such importance, and branched out into so many ramifications, that he did not feel competent to do it justice without entering much into detail. On the whole, he was convinced that no measure which the rt. hon. gent. could bring forward, would produce an equal number of men with the act which it was proposed to repeal. Indeed, if it were his wish to involve his Majesty's Ministers in difficulty and disgrace, he could not pursue a more effectual course than to suffer the bill to pass, to withdraw all opposition from the proposed system, and to permit the measures meant to be brought forward to pass without any comment or amelioration. But he was so thoroughly convinced of the effect that the bill under discussion would have on the military strength and ultimate security of the country, that he should oppose it in every stage. He contended that the bill proposed to be repealed was advantageous, and not objectionable, and capable of improvement as to the abuses that were so much insisted upon, as well as rendered highly productive to the army. On all these grounds, therefore, he should vote against the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. *Denis Browne* objected to the plan proposed by the rt. hon. secretary, as calculated to change the whole military system of the country. He would not consent to the repeal of the Additional Force bill, because he looked upon it as productive, and had reason to know it had proved efficient. He could not consent to give up such a measure for a system, no part of which he could approve of. The measure had succeeded completely in Ireland. In the 18 months since it had passed, there had been raised in Ireland 4552 men under its operation. These men had been raised in the manner directed by the act on the bounty allowed by law. No more money was paid than the act directed, on raising the men. He had been informed, even by a learned judge, who went the North-East circuit, that he had been applied to at an assizes, to suspend the levy of the penalties incurred for some deficiencies under the act, to the last day of the Assizes. The judge did so and the men were all produced. On these grounds, he should vote against the repeal.

Lord *Henry Petty* thought it sufficient, in answer to what had been said by the hon. gent. below him, to observe, that he had spoken of Ireland, whereas the present bill went only to the repeal of the act in England. With regard to the question now before the house, with whatever surprise and regret he heard this oppressive measure of the Additional Force act defended, his concern was not unmixed with satisfaction, that now the noble lord had consented to try the matter on its own merits. When this measure was at first proposed, it was brought forward in opposition to the plans of the former administration, and it was of the effects which it had produced that we were now called upon to judge. In trying the merits of the act, which he acknowledged the noble lord, as far as he went, stated pretty fairly, he would set aside every thing that was objectionable in the constitution of the act itself, and consider it with a view to the purpose which it was designed to answer, the success of which he would admit, for the present, would entitle it to the adoption of the house. The repeal of the act was founded on its complete failure in all its objects. The noble lord would observe that its first object was to procure a large and fixed supply for the regular army, a supply proportioned to the dificiencies in the army of reserve and the militia. Now, he would beg the indulgence of the house while he stated what the act ought to have obtained, what it did obtain, and what were the penalties on the counties. The deficiencies in the militia were 16,939 men, and in the army of reserve 8,975 men. Altogether, then, the bill before the 1st of Oct. 1805, ought to have produced 25,914 men. The parishes did produce somewhat above 4000 men, and incurred penalties to the amount of 450,605*l.* Now, here he included the numbers raised by the military men, though the noble lord had taken the numbers in Scotland and Ireland, whereas this bill went only to repeal the act in England. But he heard from the noble lord, that the time had at length arrived when the parish officers would be instructed, when the inspectors would relieve the country gentlemen, and when the whole operose machinery of this act would be put in motion. He solicited the house therefore, to attend prospectively to the effects which this act was likely to produce, and in what situation it would leave the country at the end of autumn. Looking then at casualties, vacancies in the militia, &c. the total number of men which the act ought to produce on the 1st of Oct. 1806, was 27,132 men. Now, take it at its most productive rate, which was 170 men per week, the number which it would produce was 4,930 men, which would leave a deficiency of 22,202 men, and causing penalties to the amount of 515,000l. Was this a tax that was to be allowed by the house? If such was its principle, if such its provisions, and if this was the way in which it was to be regarded, was it not a boon to the country to have this act repealed? Was not the repeal of it a duty which his rt. hon. friend owed to the country? But, there was another consideration which called for the repeal of this act; and that was, the quality of the troops which it produced; examples of which would be found by recurring to the papers on the table. What would the house think of the quality of the troops when out of 11,453, or thereabouts, 2,116 had deserted? And this too, arising from an act supported by those who objected to the plan of his rt. hon. friend on grounds which, in their opinion, bore some resemblance to this. But let us look at the means by which these men were raised. Were they raised by the act? Certainly not: for it had totally failed. But the noble lord (Castlereagh) said that the unwillingness of the parish officers was now removed. The inspectors, however, according to the papers on the table, seemed to have found these officers strangely unwilling. But this unwillingness appeared, by some, to be considered as a fault, and a desire to avoid a duty. Now, if a person as he was on his way to that house, were to come to him and ask him to go along with him to erect or finish a fortification, he would consider it as not a little hard, if he was to be told that he had not done his duty, because he refused to go and abandon that duty which was more particularly confined to his charge. So the parish officers had duties to perform, totally distinct from those imposed on them by this act, and in some measure incompatible with them; and therefore their unwillingness was not matter of much surprise. But who objected to the plan of his rt. hon. friend on the ground of its making this country too military? Why, the very persons who supported this act which went to put those in a military capacity who were least of all fitted for it, from the nature of the other duties which they had to attend to. The object of the bill was to put an end to crimping and to high bounties, and so far was it from answering this object, that it encouraged both. The parish officers were forced to have recourse to crimps; and you might limit the bounty to 12l. as you pleased; but when it was the interest of the party to give any thing less than 32l. set the crimp and the officer together, and something very like 32l. would be given. Add to this, that you were by no means sure that you had a soldier after all. Out of this criminal conversation, which the crimp and officer held together for the purpose of violating the bill, what did you gain? Why, a man for limited service, that most useless, as it had been said, of all sorts of men. And all this too, by the operation of the sympathy which must exist between the battalions, when, perhaps, they had no connection whatever with each other! And this was supported by those who objected to the plan of his rt. hon. friend on the grounds of its sentimentality, while they followed regular rules. They adapted their philosophy to their system, while he adapted his system to his philosophy; to principles founded upon observation of human nature, and established by the experience of ages. But not only were the means employed bad; they were often the very same which it was the object of the bill to destroy. The object was to set free the recruiting for the regular army. He would, therefore, state the fluctuations that had taken place in the recruiting service, in consequence of those measures. The noble lord had acted unfairly, for he had gone back to a period of peace. It was true, government then wanted men; but they got as many as they wanted, and there they stopped. But in six months of 1803, the number recruited for the regular army amounted to 6,538 men; in the next six months it fell to 4,504; and in the next six months to 3,749. In the next six months the number was 5,949, and in the next 6,698. But when the additional force act came into operation, the number sunk to 4,800 men. The deficiency of the last six months kept pace with the increased operation of the act. This deficiency was 1,898 men. The act produced 1,960 men, a number which was only a little greater than the amount of the deficiency, and these few additional men were procured with all the increase of bounty, and the oppressive and vexatious circumstances that attended the execution of this act. This, after all, was but one view of the subject. He had only attended to the effects of the act as they were connected with what had been promised from its operation. He would not detain the house with a detail of the objections to this measure from the manner in which it employed the parish officers and other matters; but even from what he had stated, he was totally at a loss to understand what could be the use of retaining such an act as that which the house was now called upon to repeal. It might, to be sure, be useful to a few persons in opposition, for certainly an opposition less independant, and less pure, than that which we now had, might make use of it to clog the measures of government. They might say, "You want to get rid of crimps, but we leave you that which must preclude the possibility of getting rid of them. You want to raise the character of the soldier, but we leave you that which will render your doing so impossible." But these were not the motives of the hon. gents. over the way They no doubt defended this measure from the natural partiality which they must feel for a plan, in the arrangement of which they themselves had assisted. But it was said, that we argued from abuses; this was true, but what sort of abuses? not such as might be remedied, but abuses arising from the nature of the act, and which were absolutely necessary in its operation.—Now, this was all thathe intended to have said: but the conclusion of the noble lord's speech required a few words by way of answer. He lamented that the penalties were to be repaid to the parishes. In answer to that, he had only to lament that this was absolutely necessary, unless you wishes to retain the act, and where the alternative was to keep it unless you repaid the penalties, the house could not hesitate long. It was another objection to the act, that it was so difficult to get rid of it. But this was the only way in which the matter could be managed. The penalties could not be exacted after the act was repealed, and unless they were paid back to those who had already paid them, they would suffer the grossest injustice. This was a great inconvenience, but it was a thing there was no avoiding, and necessity must be its excuse. It was therefore a boon to the public to repeal this act, and a debt which his rt. hon. friend owed to the nation, as it was in the highest degree oppressive and vexatious, and at the same time completely inadequate to the purposes for which it was originally intended.

Mr. *Babington* said, that it was unquestionable that the provisions of the act had for their object to raise men, instead of which the act had only operated to raise money. In the county of Leicester, he knew that those 200 men that were stated by the returns on the table as having been raised by parish officers, were in fact only handed over by the recruiting serjeants of other corps, as men that being under size, could only be admitted in this description of force. Five guineas a man was given to a recruiting officer for getting persons of that description, and the act was never in that county considered to be any thing but an act to raise money in the parishes. The apportionment that was made of the men to be raised in the respective parishes, was not on the proportion of their population, but of their wealth and their ability to contribute. He therefore thought the act had completely failed in its proposed objects, and ought to be repealed.

Col. *Bagwell* was astonished to hear an hon. gent. who spoke early in the debate assert, that inflammatory language had been made use of by the gentlemen who opposed the bill. Such an assertion, he conceived, never could be established to the satisfaction of the house, and therefore should not have been made. He was of opinion, that if ever there was a cause which more than another called forth the patriotic feelings of the country, it was the present. When the rt. hon. gent. who brought in the bill now under debate, and his colleagues, first came into office, the public were elated with the hope, that some measure, beneficial to the country, would be undertaken; but, instead of having these hopes realized, they were astonished to find that nothing which was likely to be so, was proposed; and, in short, that the new administration had not only not increased the number of the army, but that they had not endeavoured to increase the spirits of it. He then referred to the late gallant achievement of the British force, at the Cape of Good Hope, and said, that the rt. hon. secretary, instead of being the first to move for the thanks of the house to the officers and soldiers who fought so gloriously on that occasion, was the very first who threw an obstacle in the way of that vote. As to the defence act, whatever imperfection it might have, he thought it better than nothing, and the rt. hon. gent. had not proposed any thing as a substitute for it. He was happy to think that a minister, now no more, had founded the military establishment of this country on so permanent a footing, that so long as it continued under the fostering care of the royal person now at its head, not all the chimerical ideas of the rt. hon. gent. would be able to overturn it.

Mr. *Lee* began by stating, that although by the returns on the table, it appeared that in the county he had the honour to represent (the county of Waterford) the parish officers had raised above 100 men, yet he could say, from his own certain knowledge, that there were not two men raised in the county in that manner. The number was entirely made up of men under the size of 5 feet 4 inches, who had been handed over to the parish officers by the serjeants who had been recruiting other descriptions of service. In England there were no less than 14 counties, in which not a man had been raised by parish officers; and in the large county of York, which ought to have produced 5,674, no more than 407 had been raised altogether within the last 18 months. He thought it was a great objection to the bill that, in the course of 18 months, it could not be understood by those whose duty it was to execute it. On the score of economy, it was most ridiculous to lay it down, that only 16 guineas should be given as bounty to a person enlisting for general service at once, but that 12 should be given to those who enlisted for this force, and 10 more if they should go from that to the regular army. It was only cheating ourselves, and picking our own pockets, to say that we were ready to give the same man 12 guineas in the morning, and 10 more in the evening, or to put 12 guineas in one of his hands, and ten in the other, but to say, at the same time, that upon the ground of economy, we could not think of giving such a bounty as 22 guineas at one time. It would be confessed by every body, that the efficiency of the bill was rather in the breach than in the observance: it was by the infraction of the law that the object and policy of it was obtained. This was a system so contrary to all ideas of morality and good government, that were there no other reason, he thought the bill ought to be repealed. As to the plan that had been proposed by the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) as a substitute for this bill, he must say, that, generally speaking, he approved highly of it, and thought it would be likely to be a very efficient and useful measure; but there was one part of it he never could agree to; and that was permitting soldiers to throw up their muskets, and retire during the continuance of the very war in which they had been enlisted, if their term of 7 years had expired. This was a part of it that he knew a great many of the rt. hon. gent's. friends would oppose; and as for himself, he should rather reject the plan altogether than admit such a principle. As to the parish bill, however, considering that it had failed in all the objects for which it was introduced, he should certainly vote for its repeal.

Sir *E. Hartopp*, took the opportunity of paying a compliment to the county he had the honour to represent, that it had raised the whole of its quota. They forbore at first because they did not understand the bill, but they had afterwards used every means in their power to carry the act into execution, and the county stood pre-eminently, if not solely on the ground of having obeyed and executed with alacrity the act of the legislature.

Mr. *Perceval* said, he considered the present system to be better than any which had been proposed to be substituted for it. If the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) had thought this act so bad in itself, or so unconnected with other parts of the military system, he certainly need not have delayed so long in moving the repeal. The rt. hon. gent. however, by his conduct in that respect, shewed that he considered it necessary to state some other system to the house, before he called upon them to repeal that act. He could not therefore complain, if the gentlemen on that side of the House should think it necessary to examine a little what kind of a substitute was to be presented to them. The rt. hon. gent. had appeared to agree with the author of the act, that 300,000 men was about the number to which the army of the country should be raised. The army actually existing, amounted to 267,000, which in point of number, was not much inferior to what he himself thought necessary. As to every thing else which constituted the excellence of an army, high spirit, good discipline and so forth, the rt hon. gent. seemed to confess, that nothing was wanting in the British army as it now stood. Now, as to the number, the small deficiency which now existed would, in the course of a few years, be supplied by the regular operation of the existing system. The annual waste of the army by casualties, was reckoned at 15,000. On the other side, the general recruiting service produced, on an average, 11,000 every year, and the act that it was now proposed to repeal, produced, at the lowest calculation, 9,000, which left a regular increase to the army of 5,000 annually The plan, however, which was proposed in place of this system, was one that, *primâ facie*, did not promise any increase at all. Although the act had not been productive in many parts of England, yet it was allowed that in Ireland a considerable number of men had been raised under it: but although the repeal now moved for was only the Additional Force act that affected England, yet if that was abandoned on the ground of its being obnoxious, oppressive and tyrannical, there must be a similar bill for repealing the Additional Force act for Ireland. It was not to be supposed that a system so obnoxious as not to be endured in this country, was to be rivetted on Ireland. As to the noble lord (H. Petty), who complained of the act so much on account of the hardships the parishes suffered by its pressure, surely the noble lord would not think that that alone was a sufficient reason for repealing it. He would put it to that noble lord, would it be a sufficient ground for opposing his own measures of finance, to say that they pressed hard on the country? The noble lord would not admit such an argument as conclusive against his 10 per cent. property bill, which was supported on the strange and fanciful idea, that it was more consoling to the feelings of the nation, to see at once how high the tax could be carried, without going through any gradations of increase. The noble lord would certainly reply, that he knew such a tax must press hard upon the people; but he did not know any other that would produce what was wanting with less pressure. It was upon that principle that he should defend the act that it was now proposed to repeal. He should say, that he knew no other system more likely than the present to obtain the number of men that were wanting. It was rating it low to say, that with the assistance of this act, no less than 20,000 recruits were obtained annually. He should then ask, had ever the ordinary recruiting service, without that assistance, produced that number? If not, the excess must be attributed to the operation of this act. But, supposing that the act should be repealed, and in the course of the next year it was to be found, that instead of an increase, in consequence of the plan of the rt. hon. gent. it should produce an absolute diminution, what then must be done? If the plan should fail, it was evident that they must then have recourse to compulsion of some sort or another. He thought gentlemen that felt so much tenderness and compassion for the hardships to which the parishes were now exposed, would do well to consider what they must be exposed to next year, if the plan of the rt. hon gent. should not produce the effect he expected. In such case they must either have recourse to the ballot, or else to that sort of compulsion which acts upon the purse rather than upon the person. The ballot would certainly be more oppressive than the present act, for should the ballotted men find substitutes, there would be precisely the same quantum of money levied upon the parishes, but in a manner much more unequal and oppressive to individuals. As to the plan that had been stated by the rt. hon. gent as a substitute for this measure, there was no certainty of its being adopted by parliament, and therefore if the existing act was repealed, it would be possible that there would be nothing to set in its place. (Cries of hear, hear! from the ministerial bench) However clamorously gentlemen might cry hear, hear! he must say they had produced no documents to influence the House, and that it was too much to expect them to act on their prejudices alone. He could not but complain of the house being deprived of the authority of the opinions of the general officers who had been consulted. He understood, however, that with the exception of one, all of them had been against discharging soldiers in time of actual war. He should ask the rt. hon. gent. had not the officers of the artillery been consulted? Had they not actually remonstrated? (Mr. Windham answered, no.) He really had understood that they had, and that they stated, that before a man had been ten years in the artillery, he was not fit to be a serjeant, and that it was between the 10th and 20th year of the service that they were the most useful. As to the part of the plan which was to prevail upon the men to re-enlist for a second period of 7 years, he thought it could not be adopted. The rt. hon. gent. had not proposed to give any second bounty, but only an increased pay of 6d. a week. Could any body suppose that this 6d. a week would have as strong an effect as a bounty of 14 guineas? Or could any one fancy, that the annuity of 6d. a week was the value of that bounty? If any of these men wished to re-enlist, they would certainly go into another regiment and take the second bounty. What was the rt. hon. gent's. idea with respect to the volunteers he could not pretend to say, he did not know whether he meant to encourage or discourage them. The rt. hon. gent. had professed, that he rather wished that the number of volunteers should be increased, but he could not see how that wish was consistent with the opinions he had so often delivered upon that subject. For his part, he was as warm an advocate as any man for the volunteer system, which he considered the most important, the most effectual, and the cheapest defence of the country. But if the rt. hon. gent's. opinion of them was correct, and that the volunteers never could be made efficient under the present system, nor ever act in line, or assist in the manner that was intended, it appeared to him that in such case they ought to be dissolved. The reports of the inspecting officers were, however, quite in opposition to this opinion; and one general officer, now high in his majesty's councils, (lord Moira) had reported that the volunteers of Scotland were fit to be brought out against any enemy. and that he would head them with the greatest confidence. He was afraid, however, that the rt. hon. gent. had taken all his ideas of the volunteers from the corps which he himself commanded, the Felbrig volunteers. That corps in itself united every thing which the rt. hon. gent. had been so accustomed to condemn. In the first place, of all the corps that subsisted in the county of Norfolk, this was the only one in which the commander had taken the title of colonel, all the rest of the volunteer commanders in the county were content with being merely captains. The composition of this corps was also somewhat singular. There were 73 privates, but no staff, no field officer, no captain, no subalterns, no drummers, and only two serjeants, which was of course too little to instruct the men at all in what they ought to do. The rt. hon. gent. seemed to wish to exemplify in his own corps all the imperfections which he complained of in the volunteer system. If at any time he saw in Hyde Park, or any where else, such an appearance of discipline as staggered his opinion, he immediately comforted himself with the recollection of his own corps in the country, and of their indiscipline and want of subordination. He could not, however, consent that the volunteers of England should be judged of by the Felbrig corps. As to the levy-en-masse, the rt. hon. gent. with all that courtesy and conciliating manners, that he generally used towards those who opposed his measures, said that he did not like it the better for coming from their shop. He must tell him, however, that in speaking of their shop, he did not understand the wares and merchandize it produced. Nothing was more unlike than the levy-en-masse act which they proposed, and that of the rt. hon. gent. They proposed it only on the ground of urgent necessity, and in the act itself encouraged and invited the nation to be freed from its hardships, by offering the voluntary service. It was for this that they had granted so many exemptions. The rt. hon. gent's. plan, however, gave no encouragement to voluntary service, but only permitted men to retreat into it as a sort of asylum. The great advantage of the subsisting act in its principle was, that it multiplied the number of recruiting officers, by interesting 10,000 parishes in the recruiting service, instead of 500 men; and many of these people would, in the ordinary course of recruiting, never be visited by a recruiting party. He should propose to the rt. hon. gent. instead of totally changing the present system, to try an experiment in the present year, which, if successful, would induce parliament to agree to his plan in the course of next year. Suppose he would allow the second battalions to remain, and to recruit at the same time for the different descriptions of service with different bounties; supposing 12 guineas for service limited both in time and space, 14 guineas for service limited in time but not in space, and 16 for general service; then by the number of men raised by the temptation of those different bounties, it would be seen in what light the different descriptions of service were viewed by those inclined to enlist. He thought the present system must be more efficient than that of the rt. hon. gent. in raising men, as at present, whoever choose to enter for limited service might have in the additional force a service limited in space as well as in time. This, therefore, being more limited than even what that rt. hon. gent proposed, would on his own principles be more attractive. He therefore must oppose the new plan, as having a great chance of not producing as many men as the present system, but no probability of producing more.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said he rose on this occasion with an opportunity of indulging what he certainly did not wish to indulge, namely, party-triumph, because every one of the objections which he with others had had the honour of stating against the bill now sought to be repealed, had been admitted to-night, even by the advocates for the continuance of that bill—not only admitted, but even avowed, and yet these gentlemen called for its continuance. They said that the house should not take it according to its origin, for that the merits of the bill had but begun to be understood, and that its beneficial operation was but just commencing: thus it appeared, that a bill which had for its object to raise a number of men who were to be provided with promptness for our military force, was to be a year and an half before it commenced its advantageous operation; a year and an half elapsed before those who were called upon to execute it properly understood its real meaning. O wise legislature, that could thus enact laws to remove difficulties! O still more wise executive government, who could thus provide for the safety of the state on a sudden emergency! To be eighteen months in executing that which was to save the country from impending ruin on the instant! He knew of no humiliation greater than that which belonged to those who were to defend a bill enacted for such a purpose, and which had produced such an effect. A bill to make doubtful points clear, took 18 months for its framers to understood its operation! A bill to furnish the country with an immediate supply of force to defend the country in the hour of danger, did not begin to produce any effect in less than 18 months. But this bill, instead of having any beneficial effect whatever was full of confusion, created great inconvenience, might produce great oppression, and had already done much injury to the service it was intended to promote—the recruiting service of the army; and it was singular enough that the very advantage which the friends of the bill now proposed by its continuance, was to arise from enlarging the districts in which the parish officers were to act under it, which was absolutely abandoning the principle of the bill; for the principle was that of availing ourselves of local advantages. Men were supposed to be raised in considerable numbers in a district, because they were told that they were to act together, and be commanded by those whom they knew; and now the officers were to travel out of those districts, and abandon all these advantages. Such was the measure which was defended by those who were so much at enmity with wild and fanciful theories, and sentimental projects! In a word, the parish bill was now defended upon arguments that were utterly subversive of the principles on which the bill itself was founded. He was glad the house had been referred to the calculation of the produce of the bill. He had followed the advice of the noble lord (Castlereagh), by looking at them, and he should detail some of them to the house, although the noble lord, prudently for his argument, had abstained from it. The system of recruiting was here to be found by the various returns which had been made under this bill, but they all sung the same note. This recruiting was carried on under the employment of agents, for he would not call them crimps (a laugh). This occasioned additional bounty to be paid by the parishes, a thing intended to have been prevented by the bill, so that to continue the bill at all, not only the worst part of it should be put most in force, but that must be done also which the bill itself was intended by its framers to prevent. So much for the principle of the bill, which had been attempted to-day, not by the noble lord, but by the hon. and learned gentleman who spoke last, to be supported by considering other matters which were unconnected with it; the learned gent. had dilated on topics, the adoption or rejection of which had no concern with this bill, for the parish bill might justly be repealed though no other military system should be adopted in its stead; the Volunteers or any other part of our military system would remain where it stood after the repeal of this bill. As to the levy en masse, of which the learned gent. had spoken, that was a measure the adoption or rejection of which would remain as entire after the repeal of this bill as at the present moment. It then might be asked, what substitution was to be had for the parish bill? to which his answer was, that the only substitution for the parish bill, or the Additional Force bill as it was called, was the repeal of it, because it had about it evils for which a repeal was the only remedy. Getting rid of the bill was only getting rid of a loss. But there came an extraordinary personal argument against his rt. hon. friend (Mr. Windham). It was to be observed that his rt. hon. friend had several points to bring forward in his military system, on which a variety of opinions might arise, on the levy en masse, or on the subject of enlisting for a term of years, or for any other military arrangement; and those who supported the bill now proposed to be repealed, entered at large into all the points of the military plan of his rt. hon. friend, as if the present bill ought not to be repealed if any fault could be found with any part of that military plan. The real state of the matter was this: that military plan, embracing as it did, a variety of points, was opened altogether by way of public convenience, that the outline of it might be seen at one view; but it did not thence follow that none of these parts should afterwards be discussed in detail separately; on the contrary, they must be so from their very nature. It might as well be said, when his noble friend opened the Budget, that if any objection could be started against any of the taxes, that therefore the terms of the contract of the loan were bad, or if any objection could be urged against the tax on Iron, or the Property Tax, the whole Budget of taxes must be rejected, however unconnected the rest of the taxes might be with these two. But his rt. hon. friend gave away the produce of the parish bill, because he knew that he was giving away a loss; and this was warranted by a calculation of that produce, as would appear by comparison. He had at first stated, that the produce of the bill was nothing, he must now state that it was even less; it was a minus quantity. He would not allow that the average of the general recruiting had been fairly taken, for it could not be expected to have been the same during peace and war; or, that during the operation of the army of reserve act it could produce as many men as it otherwise would have produced; he should, however, state the actual increase of the army, both by the regular mode of recruiting, and by the assistance of the parish bill, at two different periods. In the months of Oct. Nov. and Dec. 1804, 88 men only were produced by this bill, and 3058 by general recruiting. In the three corresponding months of the year 1805 there were 913 raised by the act, but by general recruiting only 2388. On casting up these sums he must allow that the army had increased 152 men in the latter period; but when he should compare the three months following, Jan. Feb. and March, 1805, and compare them with the corresponding months of 1806, he found that in the former there were 525 raised by the bill, and 3562 by general recruiting; but in the latter period, although there were 661 raised by the bill, there were but 2517 raised by general recruiting. Adding, therefore, those sums together, it appeared there was a deficiency of 909 in the number which the army had gained during the latter period. This statement appeared to him a fair comparison of the effect of the bill at the different periods; and he should vote for the repeal, if it was for no other reason than because it was evidently an impediment to the present recruiting service of the army.—When the parish bill ceased to give its noxious assistance to the army, more might be fairly expected from the ordinary recruiting. Gentlemen said they had done much with their favourite bill. The child had done something; but he had kept away the workmen. There was no gent. who could think that it was not a most desirable thing to increase the disposable force. All the arguments he had heard against the plan, did not weigh a feather in his mind. We were called upon to exert the public force, and might be still farther called upon, from the circumstances that the nature of the present times might produce, to facilitate, as far as possible, the means of recruiting the army. He should, when the opportunity came, endeavour to state, as far as his capacity allowed him, that no plan yet mentioned was so likely to produce the desired effect, as that of his rt. hon. friend. Gentlemen, on the other side, seemed always to think they had better grounds of debate, than those which were furnished by the matter immediately before them. They were alarmed without knowing the reasons. Ignorance was certainly one ground of terror. As to the levy en masse, he granted that there might be some difficulties, but the objections of the scrupulous might be removed in the committee. He must, however, think that the principle itself was perfectly right. A certain degree of general enrolment appeared to him to be the most solid defence of the country. In this free country we must look, for a great portion of our defence, to the general patriotism, zeal, and ardour of the community. As to the question concerning the Volunteers, the gentlemen asked what was to be done with them? Were they to be diminished or increased? The only object proposed was, to render them more useful, by some better plan for their future regulation. The provisions to that effect were matter of future consideration. A principal topic of misrepresentation on the other side, was what had fallen from his rt. hon. friend two years back, on the subject of the volunteers. With respect to the general tendency of what his rt. hon. friend had then said, he must observe, that it coincided with his own opinions, and, therefore, if it had given great offence, he must, equally with him, plead guilty. He thought then highly of the volunteers, but he thought also, that their patriotism and bravery might have been better directed. But what then? Those sentiments he expressed at a time when they were hardly formed into that shape which they had afterwards borne. His having entertained that opinion originally, respecting the mode of forming such a force, was not a sufficient reason why he should now endeavour to destroy the whole system. It was not by referring to what had been said 2 or 3 years ago upon the formation of the system, that the opinions and conduct of gentlemen, respecting the volunteers, were now to be judged. He certainly thought, that this force might have been better modelled. In this, however, he was perfectly clear. Whatever else the house did, let them repeal this bill. All points that concerned the allowances and rank of the volunteers might be as well settled after the repeal of this act, as they could at present. The principle of limited service for time might be adopted, or qualified, or rejected, just as well as now. The propriety of adopting other modes of recruiting the army were quite independent of this bill. The high words he had heard on this question should not affect him. He was not disposed to disregard or neglect the opinions of those who were conversant upon the subject, respecting limited service, but he was perfectly convinced that it was a measure of safety; that it was not inconsistent with the system of our army, nor repugnant to any principle of the constitution; and he thought gentlemen would afterwards be ashamed of the language they had used in opposition to the proposal.

Mr. *Keck* referred to the number of men which had been raised by the bill in Leicestershire, and argued from hence against its repeal.

Mr. *Fuller* supported the motion. He was persuaded that the great man with whom it originated (Mr. Pitt), would, if he were now alive, be among the most forward to call for the repeal of this measure. And he would recommend the present chancellor of the exchequer, whom he saw as a phœnix arising from the ashes of that great man, to abandon or to follow as he did, any measure which justice prescribed, without any studious regard to popularity. Let not that noble lord follow popularity, but let him act rightly, and popularity would follow him. He told the rt. hon. framer of this bill, when he first brought it in, that it would not answer, and his opinion had been so fully verified, that he should vote for its repeal.

Mr. *Canning* professed his disinclination to obtrude himself for any length of time on the attention of the house, being already too sensible of the indulgence shewn him by the house. He condemned the mode adopted by the rt. hon. secretary of state, of marking out the scope and circuit of the debate, from which no member was to depart. Did ministers conceive that their statements were to go for argument and decision? Had the question before the house been the repeal of the Income Tax, would not gentlemen have a right to examine what was to be substituted in its place? The rt. hon. gent. had stated that he had many measures to propose, yet he shewed uncommon earnestness to do away this single measure of his predecessor. The chancellor of the exchequer in his financial measures had established the plans of his predecessor, and had proposed the means of continuing them. The rt. hon. secretary (Mr. Fox) had placed the question on such narrow grounds, the experience only of a few months, that he could scarcely consider his view of the subject as originating with himself. The modes of comparison taken were unfair. He could produce from the documents, months when the army recruiting was high and the operation of the act low, and vice versa; and others again when both were high. The noble lord had said, that the debate was only on the act for England. Did he mean to say, that it was not to be debated generally? Did he mean that the house were to begin again ab initio, upon the acts that respected Scotland and Ireland? Would he not think that such a mode would be idle, and even embarrassing? But the noble lord had stated the desertions of the whole force against the single produce of England. Had he calculated the difference, he would have found it materially to affect his sentiments. Into the other statements he should not enter, ab uno disce omnes. The militia had not been extended, because it was not found that it could support itself to the full extent. But would the house part with an act which extended the advantages of the militia, and recruited, at the same time, the regular force, without the inconveniencies of a standing army? Gentlemen might wish the repeal from various reasons. It was the only measure of his deceased rt. hon. friend that they could get rid of. Let them gratify their hatred of their predecessor as they pleased; but let them not deprive the country of the operation of a valuable and efficient measure. The necessity of a regular force was universally admitted; but let them not diminish the voluntary forces of the country, and throw a ridicule upon them.

Lord *H. Petty* explained, that he had stated the number of men raised in England, Scotland, and Ireland. He hoped, that when the rt. hon. gent. assumed credit to himself for his accuracy, he would not be forward to accuse others of inaccuracy.

The *Lord Advocate* of Scotland (Mr. H. Erskine) rose to make a few remarks upon the operation of the act in that part of the united kingdom. Every body who knew any thing about Scotland, must know that the act was in that country nothing more than a tax of 20l. upon the parishes, for scarcely a man could be raised by it. In the county of Edinburgh, a place that one would have thought very likely for procuring men, where there were a number of the idle and poor, not a single man could be got. The people of Scotland were a very sagacious people; they kept the bounds the law prescribed them, and when they could not get the men, they paid the money. He had attended the county meeting of Edinburgh, when nothing could be done to facilitate the raising of men. Who were the parish officers? The school-master and the sexton: but the sexton's efforts to raise the men were found unavailing. Yet in the county of Ayr they did contrive to get men. How? by sending to manufacturing towns and employing crimps, or by giving too much money. It was a most extraordinary way of raising men under a particular act, by violating the act itself. He hoped the house would in such cases impute their conduct to their loyalty and zeal, rather than to any thing else. He did not feel himself quite competent to judge of a measure which had been introduced into the house before he had the honour of sitting there; but from all he had heard, he had no difficulty in voting for the repeal of the act. It was useless. It was oppressive and unjust in its operation. It was destructive to the mode of recruiting for the regular army. It could only live by the breach of it. No set of men in the country were more entitled to consideration than the volunteers of Scotland. They were animated by the truest patriotism and valour. If they could be led to any misconception of the plan proposed, it must be from the accounts in the newspapers sent down to them of the speeches of the hon. gentlemen who so warmly opposed it. He knew that the volunteers of Scotland were sensible men, and would be the first to be satisfied with what the wisdom of the house might enact for the general benefit, to make them most useful to the country. Whatever parliament might enact, he hoped and was confident that their love for their country would be sufficient to make them continue their services with the same cordiality, loyalty, and spirit, they had hitherto evinced.

Mr. *Hawthorne* wished to trespass upon the indulgence of the house for a short time. The statements which he had made in the course of a former debate had been arraigned as partial, by a noble lord on the opposite bench. He wished he had thought proper to point out in what respect they were inaccurate. He had the documents in his hand to which he had referred on a former evening, and with the permission of the house, he would again apply to them (loud cry of question, question). He perceived the house was not inclined to hear him, and he would therefore sit down.

Mr. *Bragge Bathurst* declared that it was with reluctance he obtruded himself upon the house, but the speech of the rt. hon. gent. had made it necessary for him to say a few words. He supported the statement of the chancellor of the exchequer, respecting the amount of desertions, and contended, in opposition to the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Canning), that the average had been fairly taken. His principal object, however, in rising, was to justify himself and his friends for having formerly consented to continue the act, and now voting for its repeal. It was within his knowledge that the illustrious character who first proposed the act which it was the object of the bill before the house to repeal, never intended that it should operate as a measure of finance. He also knew that it was his intention to make many very material alterations in it. The act as it appeared at present, defective and inefficient as it was, could not be said to be the same with that brought forward by the illustrious person who first suggested it. He saw the house was impatient for the question, and he would not take up more of its time than was sufficient for declaring, that he voted for the repeal of the act, upon a full conviction that it had not answered the purpose originally intended.—The question being loudly called for, the gallery was cleared for a division, but none took place. The house afterwards went into a committee pro forma, after which it resumed, the chairman reported progress, and, having obtained leave to sit again the next day, the house adjourned at one o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, May 7.

[Minutes.]—In the committee of privileges new resolutions were passed respecting claims to the Roos peerage, in order to shew the derivation of the claimants, through the Manners family, from the family of Roos, and also to save the claim of the Duke of Rutland to any barony of that name. The co-heirs in whom the barony is declared to be in abeyance were placed in the resolutions in the following order, sir T. W. Hunloke, the Earl of Essex, and lady Henry Fitzgerald.—Strangers were for some time excluded, during which, we understand, a Mr. Broadhurst, clerk to Mr. Baron Graham, attended at the bar, in pursuance of the order of the house, to answer to the charge of insulting Mr. Dyke, one of the door-keepers of the house of lords, while on duty in the high court of parliament in Westminster-hall. He was ordered to be reprimanded, and was accordingly reprimanded by the lord chancellor and discharged, paying his fees.—Upon our re-admission we found the earl of Romney addressing the house respecting a petition he had presented from the respondents in an appeal from the court of chancery, wherein Mrs. Fitzherbert is the appellant, relative to the guardianship of Miss Seymour, daughter of lord Hugh Seymour, now under the protection of that lady, praying that an early day might be appointed for hearing the appeal. After a few words from lord Grantley, the petition was read.—The lord chancellor thought that, from the state of the business before the house, it was impossible to make any order respecting the case then. He suggested as the only mode they could adopt, that the petition should lie on the table, and a day be appointed for its consideration.—Lord Eldon concurred in this suggestion, and moved that the petition should be taken into consideration on Monday fortnight. This motion, after a few words from the earl of Romney, was agreed to.

[Slave Importation Bill.] The Duke of Clarence presented a petition from certain merchants and ship-owners of the port of London, against the Slave Importation bill, and moved that the petitioners should be heard by their counsel against the bill on the 2d reading that day. A long conversation ensued respecting the propriety of hearing counsel, the result of which was that counsel were ordered to be heard, it being understood that, according to the rule of the house, only two counsel were to be heard on all the petitions against the bill.—The earl of Westmoreland presented a petition from certain merchants trading to South Carolina and Georgia against the bill, on which counsel were also ordered to be heard.—Counsel were then called in; Mr. Adam appeared for the Bahama islands, and Mr. Scarlet for the island of Jamaica; petitions from the agents for both which islands were presented on Monday. These gentlemen were heard against the principles and provisions of the bill, the operation of which, they stated, would be injurious both to the Bahamas and Jamaica, particularly so to the former.—Counsel having withdrawn,

Lord *Grenville* rose to move the 2d reading of the bill. Nothing he had heard, he said, had tended to convince him that the principle of the bill was erroneous or impolitic; on the contrary, he still believed it to be a measure which was called for by every dictate of sound policy. The islands in the West-Indies were now nearly all of them in the possession of this country, or of our enemies; and, if it was a clear and obvious policy that we should not give advantages to our enemies, it was surely equally clear that we should not supply their colonies with slaves, thereby affording them additional means of cultivation, contributing to increase the produce of their islands, and thus enabling them to meet us in the market upon equal terms of competition, or perhaps to undersell us. This appeared to him so obvious, that he thought it unnecessary to argue it. The first object of the bill, therefore, was to prevent British subjects from supplying foreign colonies with slaves. The same principle was also applicable to the supply of colonies captured from the enemy, and only held until peace. In the islands captured last war, and which were given up at the peace, British capital was employed to so great an extent, that the exports from those islands equalled the exports from Jamaica. All this went to benefit and enrich the enemy, and to encrease their means of rivality. Another object of the bill, therefore, was to enforce the order of council, issued to restrain this species of trade, enacting, at the same time, additional regulations, in order to prevent the importation of slaves into the islands thus conquered from the enemy, and the consequent investiture in them of a large portion of British capital. No consideration relative to our commerce or our navigation could induce him to think that the slave trade ought to be continued. He considered it as a cruel and unjust traffic, which ought to be abolished. If, however, it was to be continued, it ought to be carried on under those regulations which might at least render it less revolting, by making it conduce to the benefit of our navigation. The third object of the bill, therefore, was to prevent British subjects from carrying on the slave trade in any other than British vessels. His lordship concluded by moving the second reading of the bill.

The Duke of *Clarence* said, he would not divide the house upon the subject, but content himself with briefly stating his objections to the bill. If we were enabled to prevent any supply of slaves from being carried to the enemy's colonies, then he would agree to the policy of preventing British subjects from supplying them; but this was not the case: the colonies of the enemy would be supplied with slaves from other sources; and therefore he saw no reason why the profits arising from this trade should be taken out of the hands of British subjects. With respect to the investiture of British capital, in colonies taken from the enemy, he thought that, in the event of a war ensuing after their being given up, and an attack being made upon them, the inhabitants, having experienced the advantages resulting from the employment of British capital, would be the less ready to defend them. The bill, he contended, would, in its operation, greatly injure Jamaica and the Bahama islands; the former island was several hundred leagues to leeward of all our colonies, and, unless the trade with slaves to the Spanish Main was allowed, it would not be worth the while of any trader in slaves to come to Jamaica, as in case, as it probably might happen, he could not find a market for them there, he would be subjected to enormous expense and loss. He therefore objected to the bill, and should take other opportunities of stating his objections.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* approved of some parts of the bill, and therefore should not object to the second reading. To other provisions of the bill, however, he should strongly object in another stage of it, as their operation would shut out a mart for British manufactures to the amount of 3 millions sterling.

The Earl of *Moira* defended the bill, which he considered as founded in sound policy. If, as had been stated by the counsel who had been heard, slaves were to be considered as merchandize, they must be considered as the raw material. It had always been considered as highly impolitic to export to foreign states any raw material from this country, which was afterwards to be worked up into manufactured articles. Upon this principle, therefore, it was surely extremely impolitic to allow slaves, which were the raw material with respect to the produce of our colonies, to be exported by British subjects to the colonies of the enemy, thereby giving them the means of using this raw material to increase their produce, and enabling them to rival us in the market.—The bill was then read a second time.

Lord *Hawkesbury* gave notice, that he should propose several amendments in the committee, and that if the bill came out of the committee in its present state, he should think it his duty to oppose it on a subsequent stage.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 7.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Alderman Combe presented a bill from the coach-makers of London against the raw hide and skin cutting and flaying bill.—A person from the Tax Office presented an account of the amount of all Exemptions to Foreigners on sums in the Public Funds, upon the Property Tax act. Ordered, on the motion of Mr. Magens, after a short conversation between Mr. Foster, Mr. Corry, and Mr. Magens, that there be laid before the house an account of the quantities and value, real and official, of all foreign Linens imported into Great Britain from the 1st of Jan. 1790, to the 1st of Jan. 1806. Also of the quantity exported during the same period, together with the rate and amount of duties and drawbacks thereon, distinguishing the several sorts, and each year.—The Secretary at War, for the purpose of throwing light on a part of a comparison which had been made in some late debates, moved that there be laid before the house, a return of the number of recruits raised under the Additional Force act that had volunteered from limited to unlimited service from Oct. 1804, to April, 1806. Ordered.

[IRISH BUDGET.] Sir *John Newport*

moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of Ways and Means, and that the several Accounts presented, relative to the Revenue of Ireland, should be referred to the said Committee. The house having resolved itself into the said committee, the hon. baronet said, that if in attempting to lay before the committee the statement of the Revenue of Ireland, he was possessed of the abilities and eloquence of his noble friend near him (lord H. Petty), he should not feel at all embarrassed at the task he had to perform, because he should, in that case, feel a confidence in his own powers, and by a luminous and perspicuous arrangement of the subject he had to state, arrest and engage the attention of the committee; but as he was not possessed of those powers, he could only promise to lay before the committee, in simple and unadorned language, the Supplies and Ways and Means for the service of Ireland for the present year. Although in some respect he could not congratulate the committee on the state of Ireland, yet he was bound to attribute the deficiency which existed in the revenue of that country to the want of arrangement which prevailed in the collection of its revenues. It must be the wish, as it certainly was the duty, of the government of Ireland, to adopt as soon as possible the same excellent mode and plan for the collection of the revenues that existed in this country. He felt, however, great satisfaction in stating, that in spite of many obstructions which the trade of Ireland had experienced, and still experienced, that country displayed powers of energy and resource which, under regular and proper management, must render it a source of strength, instead of tending, as he was afraid it did in some instances, to the weakness of the empire. The exports of Ireland amounted last year to above 5,200,000l. official value, that is above 30,000l. more than the preceding year. The exports of linen had also increased last year. It was 5,500,000 yards and the Import of Flaxseed 1677 hogsheads. In fact, the Exports of Ireland were greater last year than any year since 1792. Another proof of the increased state of the Exports of Ireland might be drawn from the state of the course of exchange, which without any extraneous assistance, had been lower, and more fixed, for the last four months than it had been for several years. But the terms of the Loan lately contracted in Ireland afforded a still stronger proof of the growing prosperity of that country, and of the increased confidence of the people in the Government. It certainly was a most flattering circumstance that the Loan negotiated in Ireland should be on more favourable terms than the Loan negotiated in this country, and he believed that no Loan had been contracted on such favourable terms since the year 1790. In the Loan agreed for in Ireland the 3½ per cent. stock was taken at 71l. 19s. and it was observable, that on the 19th of April, before the terms were sent over from this country, that stock was at 71l. and two days before the Loan was negotiated, that is on the last day that the stocks were open before the contract was made, they were at 71; so that in fact the Loan was taken at 19s. per cent. more than the market price of the stocks on that day; and there was this further advantage, that the Loan being contracted in the 3½ per cents. there was not so much stock created as if it had been in the 3 per cents. He was sure that the committee would consider that as a good criterion of the growing prosperity of that country, and of confidence in the government. In making this Loan, it was singular that two lists should, without any previous communication whatever, contain exactly the same offer for the Loan. The third list being 4l. higher, the two parties who had offered the same terms agreed to take the Loan between them.—He would now proceed to state to the Committee the Supply for Ireland for the service of the present year. The joint Charge upon Ireland being two 17ths of the general expenditure of the Empire amounted in Irish money to 5,738,988l. the separate Charge as it stood on the 5th Jan. 1806. for interest of the Debt, &c. &c. was 2,922,346l. He begged leave to state, that he should not have found it necessary to propose to the Committee so large a sum by way of Loan if the taxes imposed last year had in their produce fulfilled the flattering expectations which had been held out; but that certainly had not been the case, and he could in many respects account for the deficiency which had taken place. The charge on the Loan for the present year was 313,366l. including the discount and management. This was the whole of the Supply, and amounted in Irish Money to 8,975,194l. The Ways and Means by which he proposed to raise these supplies were as follows: there remained of the Loan last year in England 192,339l. which had not been drawn for, which of course was applicable to the service of the present year. There was a sum of 140,000l. advanced in the Autumn of 1805, by the Treasury of Ireland, for Ordnance Services, and since repaid. One third of the three Lotteries for the service of the year, 205,000l. Two seventeenths of the Prizes which His Majesty had been graciously pleased to grant to relieve the burthens of the People 127,450l. There was due from G. Britain to Ireland a sum of 50,000l. for seamen's wages. The Loan for the service of Ireland, contracted for in England, amounted to two millions British, or in Irish money to 2,166,000l. The Loan negotiated in Ireland was two millions, and he proposed to raise the sum of 500,000l. by Treasury bills. The Revenues of Ireland for the present year, including the new duties which he should propose, he estimated at 3,800,000l. These various articles of Ways and Means amounted altogether to 9,181,455l. The Supply as he had before stated, was 8,975,194l. consequently there was a surplus of the Ways and Means above the supply of 206,261l. He had taken the Revenues for the year at 3,800,000l. and he would state shortly to the committee his reason for so doing: the produce of the Revenue up to the 5th of January was 3,354,000l. and he had reason to apprehend there remained about 160,000l. not collected; and these two sums, added to the duties which he proposed to lay on for the present year amounted to rather more than 3,800,000l. In proposing the new Taxes to defray the interest of the Loan, he had endeavoured to press as lightly as possible upon the necessaries of life, or upon those articles which might press severely upon the lower order of the people. The first tax which he had to propose was an augmentation of the duty on Sugar, of 3s. 6d. per cwt. This duty was the same in every respect as that laid on G. Britain in the last and in the present session, but was to be consolidated with the present Irish Duties. He estimated the amount at 60,000l. He also proposed that the duty upon East India Sugar should be carried rateably, as it was at present upon the brown sugars. The next tax he had to propose was one which he should have been glad to have avoided if possible; but when it was considered how small a duty the article bore at present, and that there was an additional duty laid on it this session in G. Britain, he trusted the Committee would concur with him, that a small additional duty was unobjectionable. The article to which he alluded was Iron. The duty he meant to propose was 2s. per cwt. which was not above half a farthing a pound. It was to attach upon Russian and other Foreign Iron, slit, hammered into rods, or drawn less than three quarters of an inch square. The committee would perceive that British Iron was left free, and as that was convertible to all agricultural purposes, he hoped that the present duty would not be severely felt; he estimated its produce at 15,000l. The next article upon which he had to propose a duty was Tea. This duty was intended principally for the purpose of regulation, and to prevent evasion. The duty he proposed to lay on was 20 per cent. upon tea under 2s. 6d. per pound, and he estimated the produce at about 2000l. He came next to the article of Stamps. He meant to propose an entirely new modification of the Stamp Duties of Ireland, and he should propose to repeal the existing Stamp Duties, for the purpose of substituting a new act, in which all the duties should be brought into one point of view. He expected as much from the effect of the new regulations which he meant to adopt as from the increase of the duties. This great object was to prevent the evasions which were constantly practised. The stamp duties were in a considerable degree affected by attornies, who, in cases where the proceedings did not go beyond the second stage, did not issue the process upon stamps, though they were charged to the client. Now it certainly was right that whatever was paid by the public should be received by the treasury. There were several other regulations to prevent evasions and frauds. The other stamp duties were upon leases, upon bonds (which for small sums was very inconsiderable, and increased according to the amount of the bond; but in all cases it was considerably lower than the duty on bonds in G. Britain), deeds of sale, awards, agreements, and receipts for legacies. A small duty of 10 per cent. was proposed upon legacies to children, where the sum exceeded 500l.; and upon the licences for Attornies who had not practised three years 1l.; and 2l. upon those who had practised longer. The various regulations and additions to the Stamp Duties, exclusive of the duties upon entries, he estimated at 80,000l. The duties upon entries inwards, beginning with Duties amounting to 5l. and carrying them on proportionably, and doubling them on bills of view and store, except on coffee and tobacco, he estimated at 20,000l.—He now came to the subject of the Distilleries. He had to state to the House, that previous to the last session, stills of 200 gallons might legally be worked, and during that time, in order to encourage large stills, which could not so easily defraud the revenue, because they could be more easily watched, a bounty was allowed on stills of 500 gallons of 8l. and 16l. on those of a 1000 gallons. But in the last session all stills under 500 gallons were prohibited, but the bounty upon 500 gallon stills continued; so that, in fact, there was a bounty given to the distiller for working a still which the law directed him to work in. The consequence of this was, a considerable reduction of the revenue, for the distillers reduced their stills to that standard which was more advantageous to them because, from the facility of working them more liquor could be distilled in two stills of 500 gallons than in one of 1000 gallons. This bounty, therefore, acted in a direct inverse ratio to the original intention of government, because it encouraged the small stills. He therefore proposed to take away the bounty upon stills of 500 gallons, to reduce the bounty upon stills of 1000 gallons one half, viz. to 8l. and to grant the bounty of 16 per cent. upon stills of 1500 gallons and upwards. This alteration he calculated would produce 70,000l.—The next proposition he had to make was to put the malt houses in the country on the same footing as those in Dublin and other towns. This regulation he calculated would produce 60,000l. He did not mean to propose any additional duty upon Hats, Auctions, or Paper, but merely some regulations in the collection of the present duty, which would produce about 5000l. There was a small sum paid to Captains of Ships, as portage, which the commissioners of Inquiry recommended to be abolished, because almost all of it went into the pockets of the agents of the Captains. This amounted to 5000l. These were the several duties and regulations which he meant to propose for raising the necessary supplies for the service of the year. The amount of them according to the estimate he had made would be 317,800l.; from this sum was to be deducted on account of old Duties given, 10,145l., viz. for wool licences 145l. and for the 3s. house tax 10,000l. There would then remain 307,655l. It might be asked why he had not looked to a fund which he had pointed out last year as a resource; he meant the balances of deceased and dismissed collectors. He could assure the committee that from the time he came into office he had not been inattentive to this subject, and he was sorry to say, that in the last year a very considerable augmentation of those balances had taken place. In 1804 they amounted to 138,000l. and last year they were 220,000l which was an increase of 82,000l. besides 19,000l. balance of former years, which had been collected; so that the real increase was above 50,000l. If they were to continue to increase at the same rate, they would absorb the whole revenue. He had repeatedly stated in that house, his opinion, that a considerable portion of this money was recoverable, and he now felt himself warranted, after a correct examination, in repeating that assertion. Upon investigating, which he had done minutely, the returns made by the solicitors employed for the recovery of these balances, he found that proper means had not been resorted to to enforce payment; that in many instances insufficient sureties had been resorted to where good ones existed; that men of opulence, who were able to pay had been let to pass free, while poor men had been sued. He had felt it his duty to state his opinion upon every article of these returns, and he had sent over directions for the adoption of effectual measures for enforcing payment; and he certainly would persevere in his attempts to accomplish that object. He was aware that many of these balances were not recoverable; some were due almost a century; but he was convinced, as he had already stated, that a considerable part of them were recoverable—not less, in his opinion, than 130,000l. If it were due to him, he was sure he could recover it; and with the facilities which the law afforded for collecting the debts of the crown, there could be very little doubt upon the subject. He really should not have felt warranted in asking for new taxes if he had not been able to state the means which had been used for recovering this money due to the public, and he sincerely hoped that the committee would continue their inquiries every year, and that they would take care that every part of these balances which were recoverable might be recovered, and the remainder done away for ever. There was upon the table a report from the commissioners of Imprest Accounts with respect to the Linen Board; it stated a deficiency to a considerable amount. It was not intended that this report should remain a dead letter. Directions had been given to the Law officers of the Crown to take the most active steps for the recovery of the money, and if any delinquency should occur, that the necessary measures should be taken for punishing it; because it appeared to him that where any delinquency existed, the bare recovery of the money was not sufficient: for if persons could keep public money for many years, and then when the circumstance was found out, merely be called upon to pay the money, it would really be giving something like encouragement to such conduct, There was another sum which he hoped to have looked to this year, in aid of the Ways and Means of Ireland, and that was the balance due to Ireland upon the joint contribution, amounting to 800,000l. But upon examining the accounts for last year, it appeared that the excess of payment on the part of G. Britain was 560,000l. and the remaining 300,000l. was absorbed by the money advanced by England for the payment of the Lottery Prizes. He would not trespass any longer upon the time of the Committee, and he begged to return his thanks for the attention with which he had been favoured. He then concluded with moving the first Resolution.

Mr. *Foster* said it might naturally be expected that he should make some observations on a subject with which he was lately so much connected, and even alluded to in the speech of the rt. hon. baronet. He expressed great satisfaction in hearing that the Finances and Trade of Ireland were now in the flourishing situation represented; but he felt regret, at the same time, in having to state, that till within these four years the exports had produced more, and therefore left the balance against us. If, however, it was true, that since the year 1792 the exports were never greater than in the last year, and that the imports were also increasing, they would be likely soon to bring back the balance in our favour. The rt. hon. baronet said, that his intentions were to raise the whole quota of Ireland, for the present year by Loan, without any War Tax, or means of raising any considerable portion of the Supply within the year. If so, there was an alarming prospect of the growing debt, which he feared the country would be unable to support. In the year 1797 the Debt of Ireland was 7,000,000l. and, proceeding in the same ratio of increase, in the year 1807 it would be 64,000,000l.; the disparity would be very striking, if that increase were compared with what took place in the Debt of England since the Union. When that event occurred the debt of Ireland was only 32 millions, and this year it was nearly double. The Debt of G. Britain was 460 millions, and was now no more than 548 millions, which the house must perceive not to be by any means in the proportion of seven and a half to one, which was the quota settled for the contribution of Ireland. It was therefore the interest of G. Britain, as well as Ireland, to take the best means of keeping down the debt of Ireland; as when the period of equalizing the joint contribution should arrive, that debt would fall upon the finances of this country. This he only stated at present, for the purpose of shewing the necessity of raising a great portion of the expence by taxes within the year. In the present year, two millions were raised for the service of Ireland, by loan, but it must be remembered, that one half of it was supplied by agents going over there from British houses, and purchasing from the funds of this country. He congratulated the rt. hon. bart. on the circumstance of the Irish Loan being raised this year at 7s. per cent less than the Loan for England, which was certainly a symptom of the growing prosperity of the country. As one means of continuing and increasing that prosperity he would recommend to the ministers of that country, to take measures for equalising the exchange. Much, however, was done by the conduct of the late Board of Treasury, which left it on the 5th of Jan. last, without one farthing of unfunded debt or Treasury bills unpaid; a circumstance he believed which scarcely ever happened in that country before. The bad consequence complained of, as arising from the too great issue of paper, was in some measure remedied by the conduct of the late Treasury in sending over silver tokens. The quantity so transmitted was to the value of 250,000l. in silver, and the remainder in copper, making in the whole 359,439l. But even that was far from being sufficient for the wants of the country, which would at least require a circulation of silver to the amount of one million. He had already stated, that when the members of the late Board left the Treasury, not a farthing remained due to any one person on the establishment; nor did their successors find any arrears whatever or any balance due. In the year before that, there was in the hands of the Receiver General a balance of 350,000l. all of which they recovered, except about the sum of 11,000l. It was true, however, that they also took off all the emoluments before attached to the office of Teller of the Exchequer, for which it was their intention to make a compensation, after having recovered from him a balance of 150,000l. Such were a part of the practical effects of the new regulations he introduced into different departments; but they were nipped in the bud about the close of the last session, notwithstanding that the most material of them were supported by the Commissioners of the Customs. By the estimate made in last June twelvemonth, he cur-culated on an increase in the Revenue of 800,000l. to which he expected to add 400,000l. by the duties on distilleries and malt; but as these articles did not rise in price, the last calculation was not realized. He then entered at large into a justification of the measures adopted in his Administration, and into the produce of the various taxes in different periods; from which he inferred, that in the last year and a half there was an increase of 1½ million which would shew that the resources of the Irish Revenue were not misconceived by him. The rt. hon. baronet had stated, that there was of the produce of last year, 240,000l. remaining in the hands of the Collectors, which, however, would be made good; but he might also have added, that there was a great defalcation in the collection itself. For instance, the entries on coachmakers and braziers were not collected at all, and the smuggling of tobacco in Ireland was too notorious for him to be under the necessity of proving it. The wine duty also, which in 1800 produced a revenue of 200,000l. was in a great measure lost to the public, by allowing merchants to place the cargoes in warehouses, by which they evaded the payment of the duties, at the same time that they charged them to their customers. In proof of this, he said that 20 or 30 ton of wine were, in one day, taken openly from the quays of Dublin, without paying any duty. Great losses were also sustained in the custom duties, by the frauds committed in the importation of deals, bark, and various other articles. The article of wrought iron would require the greatest vigilance and attention. In the last year, the duties amounted only to 53,800l. which was 38,000l. less than what should be expected from the returns of the quantity exported to Ireland from G. Britain only; so that the mistake or fraud must have occurred either in the Customs of G. Britain or Ireland. He then referred to the new taxes proposed this evening, many of which he thought would not prove very productive. One of these was the additional duty of three shillings a cwt. on sugar. That article had been lately subjected to a high duty, which brought 130,000l. more than the sum at which it was estimated; but, as the country was now overstocked with it, unless it should rise in price, the tax would not produce a farthing. The estimate made, that the new duty on tea, under 2s. 6d. which had a great consumption in Ireland, would produce only 2000l. he thought must be a mistake, as the duty on the same article, last year, produced no less a sum than 453,000l. and on the same scale, this additional tax ought to yield 70,00l. As to the tax upon printing presses, he did not well understand what it meant. There was no licence required for any other presses but those of paper-stainers; which had no relation to any other sort of printing. As to the balances in the hands of the different Collectors, which were reduced from 445,000l. to 200,000l he had only to say, that no pains were taken to enforce the recovery of balances from the dismissed and deceased collectors; and he thought the rt. hon. baronet would find himself deceived if he relied on the recovery of their balances as a very productive fund. He then stated the nature of the improvements he intended to propose had he remained in office. The first was to relieve the Woollen Trade from the difficulties under which it laboured. In the second place, if the two countries were to be put in all other respects upon the footing of equality it should extend to the interest of money, which in England was at 5l. and in Ireland at 6l. per cent. and this must be an eternal obstacle to their possessing an equality of trade. His next object would be to equalize the currency of both countries; and give to Irish Merchants the same advantages of warehousing and bonding their goods, in the same manner as was done in England; with these and some other regulations, he should hope the country would prosper, if it were not kept back by a yearly increase of the Public Debt.

Mr. *Corry* said, the rt. hon. gent. seemed to have two distinct objects in his speech; first, to criticise on the proposals of the rt. hon. baronet; and secondly, to give himself a sort of posthumous Budget of what he meant to propose, had he remained in office. If he thought there should be an assimilation of the currency of both countries, why did he not bring it forward while he remained in an official situation? Why had he not done the same with regard to the equalization of interest? The fact was, that he knew it to be impossible, though perhaps he might have made some experiment of the kind, if he had not been checked and controuled by the luminous genius of that great man (Mr. Pitt) whose loss he, in common with the majority of the country, must for ever deplore. It was very desirable that the house should not be led into any delusion on these subjects. It was not the preferable security, but the greater interest to be obtained in Ireland, which conveyed to it a considerable portion of the capital of this country: and a bill to equalize the interest, in which the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Foster) was very active, had some years ago been rejected, for these reasons, by the parliament of Ireland. The rt. hon. gent. also recommended to raise a great part of the Supplies within the year; but he had made the experiment himself, and the produce of his own taxes gave no encouragement to such a proceeding. If he thought it did, why did he not do so himself in the last year? He had also said, that it was an unprecedented thing to leave the Treasury Board of Ireland without one shilling of unfunded debt, any Exchequer bills, or any salaries unpaid. This was rather strange, as, when he succeeded him (Mr. Corry) in office, he found the Treasury in exactly the same situation; and one of his first measures was to revive 800,000l. of Exchequer bills which he (Mr. Corry) had paid off. The rt. hon. gent. complained of too much circulation of paper, but his Bill of last year had inundated Ireland with paper currency. It made very little difference whether the Loan was made in England or Ireland, as the stock must come to the Irish market at any rate, and the stockholder in England receive his interest from Ireland. It was also an error to say, that the Collectors' balances were 200,000l. when in fact, they were no more than 41,000l. He then said, that he was willing to confine himself to these statements for the present, but should enter more at large into the subject if he should ever hear Mr. Foster repeat any similar expressions.

Mr. *Foster* replied, that he did not, when in office, propose to equalise the coin or the interest of money, because the circumstances of the moment rendered it impracticable, there being very little gold or silver in the country.

Mr. *Parnell* said that both the rt. hon. gent. who had spoken last having introduced the question of the propriety of providing so great a proportion of the supplies of the year by loan, he would take this opportunity of stating his decided objections to that system. He did not by any means intend to complain of the plan which had been proposed for this year by the rt. hon. bart. because he considered his appointment to office at so recent a period did not afford him an opportunity to depart from this system, even if he felt similar objections to it, as he did, or that it would be prudent in him to depart hastily from a system that had so long been acted upon. He said the objections he entertained arose from finding that in 1792, the expenditure of Ireland was only 1,735,000l. and in 1805, 8,713,000l.—that in 1792, the debt of Ireland was 2,422,000l. and in 1805, 58,344,000l.—The revenue of Ireland in the year 1792, was 1,103,000l. and in 1805, 3,364,000l. He said that this disparity between the revenue and expenditure was truly alarming; that we were expending at the rate of 9 millions per ann. with a revenue of 3 millions; the whole of which, a few thousand pounds only excepted, was mortgaged for the payment of the interest on the debt. But this was not the only evil, because this great disparity existed notwithstanding new taxes had been annually imposed. The revenue of the last year exceeded the revenue of 1802 by only 50,000l. notwithstanding new taxes were imposed in 1803, estimated to produce 380,000l. per ann. other taxes in 1804, estimated to produce 1,253,000l., and further taxes in 1805, estimated to produce 255,000l. That is, new taxes had been proposed since 1802, estimated to produce an additional revenue of near 1,888,000l. instead of which the revenue had been increased only by 50,000l. The committee, he said, would easily perceive that this defalcation must be owing either to a deficiency in the resources of Ireland to meet these additional taxes, or to great mismanagement in the collection of them. He would attempt to shew that the resources of the country were fully adequate to bear them, and therefore that the evil wholly originated in the mismanagement of the collection. In 1783, the official value of the imports and exports were 5,000,000l. in 1802, 11,000,000l.—and the real value of them 18 millions, eight of which were the value of the imports.—On an average of seven years, to 5th Jan. 1803, the increase in the imports of tea was one million lbs.; of tobacco, 3 million pounds: of woollen cloth, 100,000 yards; of sugar near 100,000 cwts. If he wished to avail himself of the argument of a favourable balance of trade he could in this instance do so; but he thought this argument very inapplicable to Ireland because of the great amount of remittances that must take place from Ireland wholly distinct from the ordinary remittances of trade. He thought the increase of the imports the best proof of the increased wealth of Ireland, because they are the consequences of wealth, and cannot take place without the previous existence and operation of it. But besides the proof of the increased wealth of Ireland which was to be collected from the state of its trade, there were other strong indications of its prosperity. These were the advance of rents, the number of buildings erecting throughout the country, and the diminution in the export of the materials of manufactures, and of provisions. He thought the committee would agree with him, taking into one view the concurring circumstances of an advance in rents and a diminution in the export of food, that they are certain demonstrations of the improved power of the country to consume that food, which whilst the country was in a state of poverty, was sent abroad to find a market. If then it was true that the wealth of Ireland had increased, that its trade, the advance in rents, its buildings, and the diminution of the export of raw materials and provisions proved this fact, it must also be true that the rt. hon. gent. who proposed the additional taxes and estimated their produce at 1,800,000l. were authorized to do so, so far as the resources of the country were in question. But what, then, must be the conclusion? That the failure of them to produce must be wholly owing to mismanagement in the collection of the revenue of Ireland. With such proof before the committee of this fact, with the evidence contained in the report of the Commissioners of Enquiry, and with that also of the rt. hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Foster) of the great frauds and abuses that have taken place, he hoped, that the attention of government, and of all those boards entrusted with the management of the revenue would be immediately exerted to produce reform. He said that the continuance of the system must lead to the bankruptcy of Ireland, and to make the expences of Ireland a charge upon the English exchequer. That if they went on borrowing for 15 years to come, that is, to the period when Ireland by the Union will be liable to pay equal taxes with England, at the same rate that has taken place in the five years since the Union; the debt in five years more will be 90 millions; in ten, 120; and in 15, 150 millions: the interest of which it will be quite impossible for the people of Ireland to pay. He did not however, mean, that a change in the system should be rashly and hastily adopted, for it would be to no purpose to impose new taxes unless the collection of those at present existing was made effective. It would be with the house to decide, whether it would take care in time of the revenues in Ireland, which may hereafter be of advantage to England, or by neglecting them, to make the expences of Ireland a new burthen on the people of England.

Mr. *Rose* said, that the failures in Ireland had been considerable, and he heard with pleasure of the means embraced for preventing their recurrence. The policy of raising the supplies for the public service within the year for which they were applicable, he thought most salutary and sound, but the right hon. baronet had not proposed to raise more than 6 or 700,000l. more than the interest of the debt, and therefore the civil list of Ireland, as well as the navy and army, remained unprovided for. The equalization of the currency between this country and Ireland was a very desirable measure, and one which was not now first agitated; but it had been found that many preliminary steps were necessary to its accomplishment.

Mr. *Lee* thought, that, considering the great debt, and the extent of the taxation, the specie of Ireland was not sufficient for all the purposes of that country. There was no solid ground for taking off the restriction on the Bank of Ireland so long as it continued in England. If, whilst the exchange continued at 11 against Ireland, the restriction were to be removed, there would not, in a short time, be a guinea left in that country; and, as long as it continued, he thought the small paper currency a necessary *succedaneum* for the common purposes of life, in the markets, and he did not see how it could be said to raise the course of exchange against Ireland. Some time ago the exchange was at 17; but now the issue of paper had very much increased, it was only 11. The English and Irish guinea and shilling were of the same value; it was in half-pence that there was a deficiency; and by sending over a larger copper coin, the object of equalizing the currency would be answered.—To lower the interest of money in Ireland would be a most desirable thing; and the great difficulty alledged to exist in effecting it, might be removed, by providing, that all bargains to be made should be only at an interest of 5 per cent. whilst those existing previous to the passing of an act, might be legalised, until the stipulated period of their expiration. The hon. member thought that the barriers against raising the supplies in Ireland within the year were insurmountable, as the money was so necessary to the trades and manufactures; and thought that, considering the loan of four millions, the taxes proposed by the rt. hon. baronet were more mild and moderate than could have been expected.

Sir *J. Newport* said, that heavy taxes could not be imposed upon Ireland at the time a supply was necessary, consistently with any wise or efficient principle. This had been strictly exemplified in the last additional tax upon wine, which had operated so as to occasion a defalcation in the last year of 74,000l. from a revenue of about 320,000l. which it had yielded the year before. This would strongly prove how delicate and careful the legislature ought to be not to push the taxation to an extent which would induce the consumer to relinquish the use of the article entirely. Not only the reduced consumption of wine, but the increased number of absentees from Ireland, were attributed to excess of taxation. At present, he was happy to state, that it was not necessary to resort to any great increase of imposts on that country, as at the end of the last year there remained 800,000l. due to Ireland, not drawn over from England, and which would more than cover the outstanding treasury bills; and although he meant now to give the house a power of calling for 500,000l. he had reason to believe that not more than half would be wanted.

Mr. *Grattan* could not entertain the idea of making Ireland find all her resources in the year for which they were to be applied. Two years ago this principle had been extended to the infliction of an additional 120,000l. a-year; and if, every second year, the minister were to come to Parliament with a new system of taxation, it would alarm the people of Ireland, and the measures would, in all probability, fail of their object. However the prosperity of the country might have increased, its wealth was not such as to encourage new taxes.—The increased wealth arose in part from the issue of paper; but every miller was a banker, and he feared it was a false capital: the aggregate opulence of the country was, however, considerably increasing.—The rt. hon. bart. was certainly right not to precipitate Ireland into the system suggested; but it was a discussion not called for now, and he (Mr. G.) considered it wrong to introduce any question on Irish affairs extraneous to that before the house; he would, therefore, at once give his assent to the motion.

Mr. *Foster* strongly objected to the proposed tax upon iron imported into Ireland, as going directly to contravene a principle of the union, by imposing a tax upon a raw material of Irish manufacture, without the possibility of any countervailing duty, either by drawback upon the export of manufactured iron, because it would be impossible to discriminate between the taxed and untaxed iron in that case, or without increasing the protecting duty of ten per cent. on British manufactured iron imported, in favour of Irish, to 15 per cent. which would be equally objectionable.—In this argument he was supported by Mr. Rose and lord Castlereagh, and answered by lord H. Petty, sir J. Newport, and Mr. Vansittart. At length the several resolutions were carried in the affirmative, and ordered to be reported the the next day.

[Property Duty Bill.] Lord *H. Petty* moved the order of the day for resolving into a committee for the further consideration of the Property Duty bill.

Sir *Henry Mildmay* hoped the noble lord would not press the house at so late an hour to go into a committee upon a bill that was likely to excite so much discussion, especially as several gentlemen who earnestly wished to be present at that discussion, had left the house under a confident persuasion that the further proceedings on the bill would be deferred to another day.

Lord *H. Petty* said it had been understood on all sides of the house, that this was the day finally determined on for going into a committee on the bill. Several gentlemen had asked him, in the course of the evening, if he really meant to proceed with the bill that evening, and his answer was, that he certainly did, if possible. However, if the hon. baronet, or any other gentleman, had any objection to the principle of the bill, he would have no objection to postpone it, otherwise he should certainly wish to proceed now.

Sir *H. Mildmay* could not pretend to say what were the particular objections of his friends who had gone away. He could only state their earnest wish to be present, and that they had gone away under the persuasion he had before stated.—Upon the general voice of "proceed now," the order of the day was read; when

Mr. *William Smith* said, that notwithstanding the reluctance he had already expressed to give any opposition to the measures proposed, or the taxes brought forward by his majesty's present ministers, because he felt the peculiar difficulties in which they were placed, yet he had such forcible objections to this bill, that he felt it an indispensible duty to express them. He was disposed to give his noble friend, the chancellor of the exchequer, every degree of credit, and although the bill, in its present shape, was certainly much less objectionable than in its original form, and would, under the modifications it had received, be much milder in its operation, still it retained many of its objectionable points. First then, its name was changed to Property Tax, which was a mere change in name but not in essence; for the bill was, to all intents and purposes, an Income Tax still. It certainly was divested of some principles extremely obnoxious, which belonged to the original bill of the late premier. The principle of disclosure, for instance; a principal so peculiarly galling to the feelings of Englishmen, that he was astonished how that right hon. gent, could have found arguments to persuade the house to its adoption. But there was another principle in the present bill, which he considered so unfair and unequal, that the house ought not to sanction it: namely, that of charging the same rate of taxation upon incomes that were but temporary and unstable, as upon those that were permanent and stable; for instance, charging the same rate upon an income worth three years purshase and one worth thirty years purchase. If this point could be settled upon fair and equitable terms, much of his objection would be removed; but he feared that the fault was radical, and that the attempt to remove it, under all its details, would be an insurmountable labour. The name of Property Tax was adopted merely as a mask, to make it go down the more smoothly with the multitude; it was a term insulting to common sense; the principle of disclosure in this bill would, he thought, attach upon those who would feel it most severely; and much as the noble lord had laudably endeavoured to mitigate its operation, still it remained, and must be felt in a way extremely grating to the feelings of a great number of persons throughout the country. His next objection was to the immense number of officers employed in the assessment and collection of this tax; men who were certainly the assessors and collectors of all other taxes, who might, with their employers, bear the reputation of very active and sedulous men in the discharge of their duty; but whose activity, he was sorry to say, consisted very frequently in being extremely troublesome and severe upon those committed to their official attention. That such men, merely upon their own oaths, should be vested with the power of prying into the property and private affairs of persons in all classes, high and low, in every part of the kingdom, was, he thought, extremely severe. As to the difference between the rate of 6¼ per cent. and 10 per cent. he had himself very little objection, but he had his apprehensions on general grounds, that the more the tax was raised, the stronger would be the temptation to evade it. Upon no other groud did he object to this alteration; because, as taxes to a large amount must indispensably be raised, his only wish was, that they should fall as equally as possible upon all classes in proportion to their means; but his grand objection was to the unjust principle of taxing all incomes alike, whether for a short and temporary, or a stable and permanent period. He was only amazed, that such a principle was ever submitted to.

Sir *R. Buxton* thought the tax unjust. On a former night it had been said, that it should operate as a land tax, under which no exemptions were to be allowed. The policy of this principle had been formerly confuted, having been acted upon and relinquished. The hon. baronet particularly called the attention of the house to the situation of country gentlemen of about 1000l. a year, who would feel the tax beyond all others, and would be driven by its pressure from their country seats into towns, where they could not be useful in the eminent way which the antiquity of their families, and their capacity as magistrates, rendered them in their parishes; where, by their presence and long residence, they gave to the law a weight which it would not otherwise carry. No man at any time more warmly supported the war, or saw more clearly the necessity of its vigorous prosecution now, than the hon. baronet; he wished to give all the support in his power to the ministers, and said thus much now only with a view of intimating, that he had some objections to offer to the tax in a future stage.

Sir *H. Mildmay* objected to the partial operation of the bill on the landed property of the country: he did not mean to say that the landed interest were not able to support the tax, and much more that they would not pay it if the wisdom of parliament should deem it right to inflict it; but it was extremely desirable that property should be equally assessed. The small landed proprietors with large families would feel the act with particular severity, as there were no abatements allowed for children. The great variety of expenses incidental to the support and education of large families, would, he hoped, point these proprietors out to the house as fit objects to have abatements extended to.—He supposed the case of a gentleman mortgaging an estate of 1300l. a year rental, which every man knew never produced a net income of above 1000l. In such a case, the mortgagee would never allow more than the two shillings in the pound deduction upon the actual income, while the charge upon a supposition-surplus and all expenses of repairs must fall upon the proprietor.

Mr. *Perceval* deprecated all delay, and earnestly recommended to the house to go into the committee, which was the most proper stage in which to discuss the objections now made to the several parts of the bill by different gentlemen. He professed himself a warm friend and supporter of the bill and its principle, because he was convinced that the taxes it was designed to raise, would fall more equally, fairly, and justly, uponevery class of the commnuity, than any other mode of taxation that could possibly be devised; and firmly persuaded he was, that if it were practicable to raise a similar sum by taxes upon articles of consumption, upon the necessaries of life, even the poor man of small income, with a large family, would pay a much larger proportion of the tax in that way, than he could possibly be called on to do, under this bill. The hon. gent. who first objected to parts of this bill, (Mr. Smith), had admitted the necessity in which his majesty's ministers were placed of raising large sums to meet the arduous exigencies of the country at the present crisis. But though he had favoured the house with a criticism upon the title of the bill, and christened it an Income Tax, and not a Property tax, if he would examine its tendency, he would find it to be what it professed, a tax upon profits arising from property, and also from trades and professions. But much as he approved of the bill, and convinced as he was that it would be vain to think of raising a similar sum by any tax he could impose upon articles of consumption; he would earnestly recommend it to the noble lord, seriously to consider the objections stated that night by the hon. members near him, as well as the other weighty objections which might be offered on the part of other descriptions of persons, and see how far it would be practicable to modify particular parts of the bill, so as to render its operation as little oppressive and obnoxious as possible to anyparticular class of the community, that the bill might not incur any degree of odium that might risk the necessity of its repeal. With respect to the case of children. it certainly was worthy of consideration, whether some abatement on that account ought not to be made in cases of low income, though by no means in cases of large income. But if, after duly considering the subject, the noble lord should be of opinion that no abatements could be made, he should nevertheless give the bill his support, because he was convinced there never was a measure of revenue so effectually calculated to reach every species of property.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, he heard with very great pleasure the sentiments just expressed by his hon. and learned friend, in which he perfectly coincided. He thought there were several descriptions of persons who certainly ought to be exempted from the operation of this tax, particularly persons with large families having even incomes so high as 200l. ayear. He compared the situation of the country, under the operation of such a tax as this, and the exigencies which called for it, to that of a ship, whose crew, pressed by scarcity, were put upon short allowance; where every man was called upon to bear his share of privation, all would cheerfully submit to the hardship, so long as it was the universal and impartial lot; but if one part of the crew were expected to submit cheerfully to hunger, while another description were allowed to indulge in every luxury, resignation and patient submission could not long last. Thus it would be with those of large families and large incomes, who if they were called on to surrender ten per cent. thereout, must absolutely be reduced to want the common necessaries of life. The classes of persons he would wish to exempt, besides those to whom he had just alluded, were widows, poor clergymen, and officers of small pay in the army, unless it was intended to increase the pay of the latter, as in the case of the navy had been lately adopted. He felt the force of his hon. and learned friend's argument, and applauded the noble lord for the manly manner in which he had come forward to raise so considerable a portion of the supplies for the war within the year: and if any considerable deficit from the general produce of the tax, should arise through the exemptions he proposed, it might be made good by encreasing the impost upon higher incomes; and to such a modification he for one, should most chearfully submit.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* thought that to admit of no exemptions was a bad principle of taxation; and that it was neither politic nor humane to allow the estimated amount of the tax to stand in the way of abatements in hard cases. He never knew a secretary of the treasury that had not been adverse to every exemption from a tax, but he thought the amount of a tax not a matter so likely to be complained of, as particular hard cases.

Lord *H. Petty* would not say much at so late an hour. The necessity of raising a large sum within the year, had been admitted, and, it had also been admitted, that this was the best tax for such a purpose, being as had been stated, superior to the original income tax. To this resource, therefore, we must look for the means of that energy which circumstances demanded. There might be some cases of apparent hardship: but equality could, in such a case, be only taken in the gross, and along with it, we must consider the efficacy of the bill. As to equality, perhaps, theoretically, a tax on capital would be the fairest, or one combining capital and income, according to various descriptions of property; but the prodigious trouble, and the agency requisite for such a scheme, would hardly justify him in venturing to give up the plan that had been already established. The noble lord then expressed his strong disinclination to admit any further exemptions, since 350,000l. were already lost by the concessions made. He should listen attentively to suggestions, but nothing less than the seeming general wish of the house should incline him to increase exemptions, which were mostly of greater loss to government than benefit to the individuals. He objected to the idea of taking a greater per centage from the rich than from the poor, since its tendency was to alter the order of society. The exemptions in favor of those who had children, were in reality a tax upon those who had none. It was his wish to avoid unnecessary pressure, but not to agree to exemptions which would greatly reduce the efficacy of the tax.—Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Rose, and lord H. Petty said a few words in explanation, after which the bill went through a Committee pro forma. Progress was reported, and it was ordered that the committee should sit again on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 8.

[MINUTES.] The house met at ten o'clock. Lord Beauchamp (late Mr. Lygon) was introduced in the usual form, and his patent of creation having been read, took the oaths and his seat.—Their lordships proceeded as usual to Westminster hall and returned soon after four, when an order was made to proceed further on the trial of lord Melville the next day, and a message was sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.—The American Intercourse bill passed through a committee after receiving some verbal amendments. The report was ordered to be taken into consideration on Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 8.

[MINUTES.] A message from the lords announced that they would proceed further on the trial of lord Melville to morrow.—The Secretary at War brought up a return of the number of recruits under the Additional Force act, from limited to unlimited service, from 1804 to 1806. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Huskisson, after a few introductory observations respecting the claims of Messrs Chalmers for compensation on account of the losses sustained upon certain cargoes of Swedish herrings imported by them, in the year 1801, said that the board of treasury had, in 1804, considered the subject very minutely; and although they admitted it certainly was a case of hardship, yet they were of opinion that it was not one of those which they were, in justice, bound to compensate. He concluded by moving, that there be laid before the house a copy of the minutes of the proceedings of the board of treasury on the 10th of August 1804, respecting the claims of Messrs Chalmers and Cowie. Ordered.

[IRISH BUDGET.] Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of Ways and Means, upon the propositions moved yesterday by sir John Newport.—The resolution being read respecting the duty on Sugar,

Mr. *Rose* said, that the rt. hon. baronet had proposed a temporary duty in order to provide for the interest of a permanent loan, which was not only a novel, but, in his opinion, unwise mode of proceeding. But if he understood the meaning of the rt. hon. baronet correctly, he seemed to think that it was not necessary to raise any taxes for the payment of interest as long as there was any surplus revenue. The surplus revenue of Ireland, over and above the joint contribution, was only about 700,000l. applicable to the payment of the whole of her separate charge, and the rt. hon. baronet seemed to think that as long as any of this surplus remained, it was not necessary to impose any new tax. If the rt. hon. baronet did not mean that, upon what principle was it that he proposed a temporary duty to pay the interest of a permanent loan? This duty upon Sugar in Ireland was proposed in consequence of a similar duty being laid on in this country, but the duty in Great Britain would cease with the war, and then the duty in Ireland must cease also. The rt. hon. baronet was introducing an entirely new principle, and it was a subject that deserved consideration, because they were now coming rapidly to that period when the debts of the two countries would bear that proportion to each other that they must, according to the act of Union, be united. He by no means contended that the whole of the supplies for Ireland should be raised within the year, but certainly taxes should be imposed to pay the interest of the loan.

Sir *J. Newport* said, that he did last night, in the most distinct manner, protest against any such interpretation being put upon what he had said as that now attempted by the rt. hon. gent. He had never stated that he would not propose any taxes while there remained any surplus revenue; but that as there were measures in contemplation that, he hoped, would very materially improve the revenue, and as he had been but a very short time in office, and had not an opportunity of fully considering the state of the country, he wished to propose taxes that should press as lightly upon the people as possible. With respect to raising the supplies within the year, why did not the rt. hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Foster) do it when he was in office? That rt. hon. gent. had had ample opportunity of knowing the state of the country before he came into office, whereas it was impossible for him (sir J. Newport) to obtain the necessary information, not being able to visit the country during the short time he had been in office. It was admitted that this duty ought to be laid on in consequence of the duty imposed in this country, but it was said that it would not be productive; he certainly did look to it for produce; but gentlemen ought not to press that as an argument against him, when they admitted that he was bound to propose this duty, a similar one having been laid on in this country. He might, he was sure, if he had thought proper, have estimated the other taxes higher than he had done; but he wished to be within bounds. But, surely, it would not be contended that if all the taxes together produced the sum wanted, that each particular one must produce the sum at which it was estimated; and he had not the smallest doubt that the taxes he had proposed would produce more than the sum he had estimated them at. The taxes in Ireland were all annual, and if any of them were not productive, parliament of course had the power to repeal, alter, or amend them, or to substitute other taxes in their room. It had been said, that the price of Sugar never could reach the point where this duty would attach, but he had in his hand the price current of Sugar, and it would be seen that the average was above that at which the price would attach. He had heard nothing to induce him to alter his opinion respecting this duty, and he should most certainly adhere to it.

Mr. *Foster* said, he had been asked why he had not, when he was in office, attempted to raise as much of the supplies as possible within the year: the answer was, he had done it, he had proposed taxes to the amount of 1,450,000l. a year. He did not blame the Budget of the rt. hon. baronet, because he had not been long enough in office to obtain full knowledge of the state of Ireland; but there was one observation which he wished to make: the loan for Ireland, made this year in England, was two millions; the annual amount of the debt of Ireland, due in England, was two millions; so that the whole of the loan would remain here to pay the interest of the debt. No country could go on long at this rate; and the debt of Ireland, it would be found, unless proper measures were taken, must be ultimately consolidated with that of this country, as the debt of the former was increasing in a much greater proportion than that of the latter. The proportion ought to be as one to seven; whereas, by the two loans of this year, it was four and a half to eighteen. Such a circumstance required the attention of this country, which must ultimately feel the weight of those impolitic measures.

Sir *J. Newport* begged leave to state a few facts in answer to what had fallen from the right hon. gent. respecting his having raised so much of the supplies within the year. In the last year the joint charge of the two countries was 42 millions, and in the present year it was 43 millions: last year, when the rt. hon. gent. was chancellor of the exchequer, there were four millions British borrowed; this year there were two millions British, and two millions Irish, borrowed. After this short statement, he would ask, whether he had not done as much towards raising the supplies within the year as the rt. hon. gent.? But the rt. hon. gent. had not stated that, when he came into office, there remained 800,000l. of the loan of the preceding year not drawn for, and that he had called for the power of raising 500,000l. by Treasury Bills; and the rt. hon. baronet said, that he hoped that he should not have occasion to issue bills to above half that amount. Besides, as he had stated last night, the Ways and Means which he had proposed exceeded the supply by 200,000l. With respect to the revenue produced by the taxes laid on by the rt. hon. gent., he wished to state a few facts: he would not, for the purpose of making a comparison, take a year that had been remarkably unproductive, but he would state the revenue of Ireland every year since the Union. In the year 1801, the revenue was 2,345,000l. in 1802, 3,254,000l. in 1803, which was a remarkably unproductive year, and which the rt. hon. gent. had selected for the purpose of his comparison, it was only 2,741,000l. which was 500,000l. less than the preceding year; and in 1804, with all the rt. hon. gent's additional taxes, it was 3,220,000l.; and last year, 3,322,000l. The year 1802, was a year of peace and internal tranquillity in Ireland, and in that year the revenue was within 70,000l. as high as it was last year, after the rt. hon. gent. had imposed taxes to the amount of 1,200,000l. a year. Another reason which operated on his mind was, that he had seen the failure of the rt. hon. gent., who, in some instances, by very much increasing the tax, had actually diminished the revenue. This was the case with the duties upon Wine and Tobacco. Under all these circumstances, the house would, he was sure, consider him as justified for not having followed the advice of the rt. hon. gent. He was ready, however, to do the rt. hon. gent. justice; he certainly had projected regulations which would have very much improved the revenue; these regulations it was his intention to follow up, and he had no doubt that when the revenue of Ireland was collected in a fair and proper manner; when the collection was assimilated, as far as possible, to the collection of the revenue of this country, it would be found infinitely more productive. Until these exertions were made, he did not feel himself justified in calling for new taxes, when not above two-thirds of those now imposed were collected.

Mr. *Corry* said, he trusted the house would indulge him with a few observations upon what had fallen from the rt. hon. gent. opposite to him. The tendency of the observations of the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Foster) was to make the house believe that when he came into office he had found the revenue at 2,700,000l. and that he had added taxes to the amount of 1,200,000l. a year to it. It was true, that in 1803, the year before the rt. hon. gent. came into office, the revenue of Ireland was only 2,750,000l. but that was a year in which, from obvious causes, the revenue had failed very considerably. The year before that the revenue was three millions and a quarter, and within 70,000l. as much as it was last year, with all the rt. hon. gent's. new taxes. He trusted the house would forgive him for taking up their time, but the rt. hon. gent. was so much in the habit of making these statements, certainly not intentionally, that he felt himself called upon to state the real facts. With respect to the raising the supplies as far as possible within the year, it certainly was desirable if it could be done; but the rt. hon. gent. who had not done it himself, had no right to call upon the present chancellor of the exchequer to do it. When he (Mr. Corry) was chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland, he had prepared a very strong measure for raising a considerable part of the supply within the year, and, if he had remained in office, he should certainly have submitted it to parliament; and his opinion and his plan, upon that point, remained upon record in the office. With respect to this duty upon Sugar, he begged to make one observation, and it appeared to him to be of considerable importance A rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) had stated, that the chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland was bound to lay on this duty, because it had been imposed in Great Britain. It was very true that when Ireland was admitted into a share of the colonial trade, she was bound, by what was called the Colony Compact, to lay on the same duties upon colonial articles as Great Britain; but he contended that the colony compact was merged in the union, and that Ireland now shared with Great Britain in the sovereignty of the West India Islands; and therefore the chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland had a right to use his own discretion upon the subject.

Mr. *Rose* admitted that the colony compact was done away by the union, but the spirit of it still existed, for it could not be contended that Ireland should have a preference over Great Britain in her own colonies.

Lord *De Blaquiere* complimented Mr. Foster for the exertions he had made when he was in office, and said he would have done a great deal more if he had not been thwarted.

Mr. *Foster* said, he was happy to find that the rt. hon. baronet meant to adopt the regulations he had proposed; as he was sure they would prove beneficial.

Sir *J. Newport* protested against the produce of the present year being taken as the criterion of what it would have been under the regulations of Mr. Foster, for though he meant to adopt the greatest part of them, he also intended to superadd many and important new ones.

Mr. *Lee* referred to some documents in his hand, which would, he said, shew, that there was a considerable defalcation last year in the produce both of the excise and customs, though the stamps produced more than they did before. He contended, therefore, that instead of an increase of 1,200,000l. which Mr. Foster took to himself the merit of having made in the revenue, compared with some former years, it would not exceed 600,000 l.

Mr. *Foster* said, there prevailed in Ireland a strong disposition to resist the collection of the revenue; he wished for the concurrence of all the gentlemen best acquainted with the subject, in devising measures proper to induce the people to submit to the necessary means of rendering them productive.

Mr. *Alexander* said, that the chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland had very great difficulties to contend against, and he thought the two rt. hon. gentlemen who lately held that office (Mr. Corry and Mr. Foster) entitled to great credit for their exertions: the former, he knew, had prepared a very strong and extensive plan for increasing the revenue of Ireland. The hon. member concluded with paying several compliments to the rt. hon. baronet who at present filled the office of chancellor of the exchequer of Ireland.—The resolution was then agreed to. The resolutions respecting the Distilleries being read,

Mr. *Foster* said, he did not mean to oppose this resolution, but he merely meant to state his reason for continuing the bounty upon the 500 gallon stills; it was because he conceived that there was a kind of compact upon the subject between the government and the distiller.

Sir *J. Newport* said, that when 200 gallon stills were allowed to be worked by law, it was right to give a bounty upon 500 gallon stills, to encourage the use of large ones; but when 200 gallon stills were prohibited, and that 500 gallon stills were the smallest that could be legally used, he did not think they ought to have a bounty.—The resolutions were then agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in upon them.

[Army Estimates.]—The *Secretary at War* brought up an account of the estimates for the service of the army, and for the expenses of guards and garrisons. These he stated to be merely of a formal nature, and similar to those which had been last presented to the house. They were estimates formed for the period of a month only; and the reason why he proposed them for so short a time was, that the present Mutiny Bill would expire on the 24th inst. It therefore became necessary, in order to give the house an opportunity of fully discussing the military plans that had been brought forward, to introduce a Mutiny bill founded on similar estimates to the preceding, to continue in force for another month. Should the new military measures proposed to the house be adopted, proper estimates, founded on these measures, would of course be presented at the close of that period. He now wished that these estimates should merely be laid on the table; and to-morrow he would move for voting them in a committee of supply.

Mr. *Yorke* said, that he could have no objection to give ministers full time for maturing their military plans. At the same time he must say, that this was the only instance, within his recollection, of such short estimates being from time to time presented, during the continuance of war. At the conclusion of a war, before the peace establishment was fully settled, such a practice had been not unusual, but it was certainly extraordinary while the country was engaged in war. The rt. hon. secretary had often charged the administration with which he was connected, with culpable delay in bringing forward their military plans, but it now appeared that, after so long a period had expired, his own measures were not even now in any state of forwardness. The house and the country would compare the conduct of the two administrations, and would decide to which of them the charge of dilatoriness was most applicable. With regard to the distinguishing part of the rt. hon. secretary's plan, the limitation of the soldier's service, he would call upon him to consider, whether this might not be better done by the king's prerogative, than by parliament; and thus an experiment be made, which the legislature might either sanction or reject. He merely, however, threw out this hint for the consideration of the rt. hon. gent.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* acknowledged that it was perfectly fair for the rt. hon. gent. to call upon the house to draw such a comparison; but it would also be proper for them to compare what the delay in the one case had produced, with what it had produced in the other. The reason why estimates for so short a period were presented, was merely for the purpose of giving the house an opportunity of fully discussing the plans that had been submitted to them. With regard to the suggestion of the rt. hon. gent. it could not be said to bear much relation to the present question; and it might be sufficient to observe, that whatever might be enacted on the subject of limited service, the legislature would every year have the power of making whatever alterations might appear proper. There would always be sufficient opportunities for discussing the subject, and the discussions might be founded on the basis of experiment.

Mr. *Perceval* suspected, that the farther extension of the present army estimates for a month would be found insufficient. It was now a full month since the rt. hon. secretary laid open his plan to the house, while it did not appear that any difference of opinion existed among ministers on the subject; at least the rt. hon. secretary for the foreign department had declared his full concurrence with the plan of his colleague. It was not, therefore, unreasonable to suppose that, if ministers had required a month to digest a plan, about which they were agreed, that house, where it would meet with so many opponents, would require a still longer period for its discussion.

The *Secretary at War* apprehended, that a month would be fully sufficient to enable the house to come to a determination on the new military plans. Besides, when a new Mutiny bill was introduced at the close of that period, there would be full opportunity to discuss the new clauses, founded on the alterations that might be introduced into the military system.

Mr. *Yorke* asked, whether it was intended to introduce the three bills for which leave had been given, with the bill for the repeal of the Additional Force act, and which had not since been heard of; the bill for suspending the militia ballot, the bill for Training en masse, and the bill for extending the allowance of Chelsea Hospital.

Mr. *Windham* said these bills were in preparation; but he could not mention any particular day for the introduction of them.

[ARREARS OF THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.]—Lord *Henry Petty* rose to give a general notice on a very important subject. Gentlemen must be aware that there had been for some days on the table a most important report of the commissioners of military inquiry. (See appendix, vol. vi. p. cliii.) The facts contained in that report made it necessary that measures should be taken, without one day's delay, to apply a remedy to the abuses which they proved. But as they were under the consideration of his majesty's government, and so far advanced as to render it likely that it would be produced before the close of the present session, one general measure for bringing up the arrears of the public accountants, it was conceived that the subject the report on the table applied to, would be most properly included in that general measure. The suggestions contained in that report would be fully attended to in framing the general measure under consideration. He assured the house, in the mean time, that this delay of the legislative provision, would not prevent the adoption of immediate steps to obtain the repayment of the large balance that appeared to be due to the public from a person who had lately held an office of high public trust (General De Lancey), late barrack master general.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.] Mr. *Paull* rose to move for the production of several papers, in further support of his charges against the marquis Wellesley. They consisted of an account of the new taxes levied, and the old imposts revived, under the government and during the administration of the marquis, in India, with a long series of others, respecting the revenues, police, and municipal arrangements of the country. On the question being put upon the first,

Mr. *Bankes* observed, that the house having now proceeded so far in this business as to have allowed a charge to be laid upon their table, for the crimination of the noble marquis; and to grant to the hon. gent. who brought it forward, a vast mass of papers to support those charges, the business now began to assume a serious turn; and it therefore became necessary for the house to consider what steps were most fit to be farther pursued. The first thing to be considered was, whether the charges sustained upon such documents as were now before the house, were such as ought to be entertained? and if they were, then the next thing to be considered was, in what manner the house should proceed, as best calculated to attain the ends of public justice, with all convenient dispatch: for he trusted, that the hon. gent. who had brought this charge forward, was not to be indulged in moving for papers ad infinitum, but would be obliged to come to issue upon the points of accusation as speedily as possible. Any person who had looked into the papers upon the table must have observed, that great part of the charges bore upon the political conduct of marquis Wellesley; that they accused him of various illegal and corrupt abuses of his authority; of extorting money from several of the native princes of the country under his government, which he employed in expensive and ruinous wars, contrary to his duty, and to the interests of the company who employed him; and with profusely squandering or corruptly appropriating to his own use several enormous sums of money: charges, undoubtedly, of a very flagitious nature, and which the house, in the ordinary confidence it was bound to give to one of its own members, could not refuse to entertain, without some very solid and substantial reasons.—The country, however, had, within the last 20 years, experience enough to shew, how injudicious it was to meddle with impeachments. Besides, by what kind of tribunal was the party accused to be tried? Before one, certainly, where the guilty man might escape through delay, or the most innocent man be ruined through expense; and, therefore, if there were any other legal or competent jurisdiction, before which this cause could be tried, the house ought not, for the sake of speedy and substantial justice, to proceed by the ordinary mode of impeachment. He was happy to know that such a tribunal did exist, for under two clauses of two acts of parliament, namely, of the 24th of the king, cap. 25, and the 26th of the king, cap. 57, for further regulation of the first, provision was made peculiarly for the case of trying charges of delinquency in India, and a discretion was vested in the court of King's Bench, to originate criminal proceedings against such delinquents, if it should appear just so to do: in consequence the house was empowered to nominate a certain number of its members, who, with a certain number of the lords, and three of the judges (one of whom should constantly preside) would form a court for the trial of all such accusations. Conceiving, then, that the charges now laid on the table against the noble marquis were precisely of the description which came legally within the proper cognizance and jurisdiction of such a court, he strongly recommended it to the house, and to the hon. gent. to proceed in the manner he suggested, and make his application to the court of King's Bench. He expressed high respect and friendship for the noble marquis, who had his best wishes; and he earnestly hoped, that the charges would ultimately prove unfounded: but the cause of public justice was a motive superior to all private considerations.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, that he recollected the clauses to which the hon. gent. alluded, and disapproved of them at the time they were under discussion. He agreed with the sentiment of the hon. gent. that the house ought not to assume judicial functions where it could be avoided; because the judicial functions of that house was a powerful weapon, which ought not to be used every day, and upon every slight subject. But the judicial functions of the house was a privilege of too much value and importance to be abandoned or surrendered upon any occasion without due consideration and great caution; for convinced he was that by the exercise of its functions the house of commons had done more towards placing this country upon the high constitutional ground it now stood than any other part of its deliberative proceedings. He therefore wished that it never should be supposed for a single moment, that the house had abandoned or surrendered that privilege to a minor court, upon which so much of the safety of the country might hereafter depend.

The Marquis of *Douglas,* instead of considering the subject unfit to be brought before that house, thought it their duty not to recede a single step in the proceeding which had been commenced. He was far from thinking that this was a case which ought to be abandoned to the inferior courts. But in consequence of what had fallen from the rt. hon. sec. of state, in the true spirit of those principles which he had always professed, he should deem it unnecessary to trespass on the time of the house in endeavouring to shew that parliamentary impeachment was the only fit mode of proceeding in accusations of high crimes and misdemeanors.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* declared, that the more speedily the subject of the charges against his noble relation could be put at issue, and the more expeditious the mode by which the matter could be brought to its final decision, the more satisfactory would it be to that noble lord, and to all his friends; but at the same time, he thought it highly necessary that all the papers moved for by the hon. gent. should be laid on the table, and considered by the house, before they came to any decision whatever as to the mode of further proceeding. He admitted that the charge against his noble relative might originally have proceeded before the court of King's Bench, but having come before the house, he submitted that it must be got quit of by a specific vote, establishing either his guilt or innocence. He therefore thought there could be no objection to the papers being produced.

Mr. *Francis* denied the doctrine laid down by Mr. Fox, that the house of commons was a court of justice, or acted in a judicial capacity; to call it so was a misnomer: it was properly the grand inquest, whose province was to inquire respecting the validity of great criminal charges, and then to proceed as the accuser or prosecutor before a high court of justice. But he was of opinion, that such were the charges which the house had now entertained against the noble marquis, and so enormous was their nature, that, if true, they sunk the imputed criminality of another noble lord, now on his trial, comparatively, almost to nothing. If lord Melville's case was one which required impeachment, marquis Wellesley's was one which required it much more strongly. Where one was accused of taking thousands, the other was accused of wasting millions. The house was bound to go into an inquiry, and come to some decision upon the business, instead of abandoning it to the jurisdiction of another tribunal. He did not, for his own part, presume to anticipate any guilt on the part of the noble marquis. He wished to have him heard at the bar, in answer to these charges, as had been the case with sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Hastings; and if he could make a satisfactory defence for his own vindication, he should have his vote to quash all further proceedings.

Mr. *Fox* said, he only meant that the particular charge of extortion might be a fit subject for the jurisdiction of the court appointed by the 24th of his majesty, without reference to the other charges.

Mr. *H. Addington* stated, that the difference between this case and that of another lord alluded to, consisted in this: the case alluded to proceeded on a resolution of this house, finding that the noble lord in question had violated an act of parliament, and that he had applied the public money to his own advantage. Here no peculation was even alleged, nor was any evidence given of the supposed breach of the law.

Dr. *Laurence* thought it was in the power of any individual in the house to propose whatever course he pleased. He could see no object in the observations of the rt. hon. gent. who had just spoken, than to lower the tone of the house. The charges against the marquis Wellesley were of an infinitely stronger nature, than those against the noble lord who was then on his trial. He was in favour of proceeding by impeachment; but as that was not now the question, he would vote for the production of the papers.—The motion was then put and agreed to.

Mr. *Paull* then moved for a variety of other papers, for the purpose of shewing the interest paid on the loans by the Marquis Wellesley, the amounts of salaries, house-rents, &c. payable to persons holding offices under him, &c.; which, after some additional remarks from Mr. Bankes, in which he expressed his determination, on a future occasion, to call the attention of the house to the state in which the matter then stood, were agreed to.—On the motion of the Marquis of Douglas, in addition to a former order, there was ordered to be laid before the house an account of all gratuities, pensions, or presents, paid or payable in India to servants of the East India company down to the latest period.

[REPEAL OF THE ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.] The house resolved itself into a committee on this bill. As the chairman was reading the proposed alteration in the clause respecting the penalties now levied,

Mr. *Yorke* wished the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) would state, generally, what was the nature of the alterations he intended to propose in that respect?

Mr. *Windham* said, it was his intention to propose, that those penalties which were due under the act should not be enforced, and that those which had been paid should be refunded.

Mr. *Yorke* wished also to know, why the Army of Reserve act had been mentioned in the clause?

Mr. *Windham* replied, that it was because the Additional Force act repealed the Army of Reserve act, and it might, therefore, be doubted whether the repeal of that act would not be a revival of the Army of Reserve.

Mr. *Bankes* said, that although he was friendly to the principle of the bill, he would rather abandon it altogether than agree to such a clause. As to the bill itself, he wished it to be repealed, because he was sure it had completely failed; and although a sufficient time had been allowed for it to produce its effect, it was found not to be the permanent and perennial source for recruiting our armies that it was expected to be; but as to the clause, he thought nothing could be more unjust than to place upon an equality those who had diligently and successfully exerted themselves to carry the law into execution, and those who from supineness and negligence made no such exertions. As to the repaying the penalties, it was a principle he never before heard of. He well remembered the Shop Tax, which was highly condemned by the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), as oppressive and unjust; but it never had entered into the head of that rt. hon. gent. or of the numerous petitioners for the repeal of the tax, that whatever had been raised under it, ought to have been restored. They were contented then with the repeal of the act of which they complained. There were only two petitions on the table of the house, for the repeal of this act: the one was from Berkshire, and the other from the parish of Mary-la-bonne, but the petitioners had never thought of asking for repayment of the sums they had paid under this act. If this were done, it would appear that they were foolish people who complied with the act, and the wise people were those who paid no attention to it; for those parishes who raised men had deprived themselves of so much of their population and their wealth to no purpose. It would be an exceedingly bad precedent to make the breach of a law more profitable than the observance of it. In some cases, indeed, he knew it was impossible to comply with this law, for the apportionments were so strange, that some parishes had only three-fourths of a man to find, and he knew two parishes that had but one man to find between them, and the apportionment was, that one was rated at nine twenty-fourths of this man, and the other at fifteen twenty-fourths. In such cases the parishes had no option but to find the money.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* admitted that the clause was certainly not without some inconvenience, but the question was now only, whether any less inconvenient mode could be pointed out. There were three ways in which the house might proceed; either to retain the penalties paid and remit the remainder, or to suffer the bill to continue, or to remit the penalties due, and to refund those paid. The first was liable to weighty objections, though he did not think as highly so as others. As to the feeling that those parishes might entertain, who had raised men, he could not entirely enter into the feelings of those who required that, to console them for their sufferings, others should suffer too.

"Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris."

If the question were about stopping an infectious disorder, a yellow fever, or a plague, and it should be said, that, as one half of the people had already died of it, it was but fair and just to let the other half die too, he could by no means admit the force of that argument. There was no reason to suppose, that it was from any reluctance, or ill will, that the parishes did not find their quota, and if it was only because it was impossible to get the men, it would be unfair that they should be fined on account of this impossibility. If those parishes, who raised some men, did it by a breach of the law, there was no reason that they should be rewarded for that breach of the law, and if the others did not raise them because they would not break the law, it would be hard that they should be punished for not breaking the law. Dr. Moore had told a story of a review at Berlin, where a soldier, whose hat was blown off, was severely punished, and although it was an unavoidable accident, yet it was observed that such accidents occurred seldomer after that time. It was perhaps in the same kind of way that some gentlemen supposed that whatever might be the cause of the parishes not producing the men, it would be the best way to punish them. The parishes however had shewn the greatest readiness to do all that was in their power to do, which was the paying the money. As to the men, it had generally been found impossible to procure them according to the act; and the counties of Denbigh, Anglesea, and other places which had furnished their quota, had only been enabled to do so by sending to Manchester and other manufacturing towns to get the men in the usual way. It was certainly odd, that the hon. gentlemen, who had so often said that they wanted men, and not money, now thought it right to inflict so excessive a burthen upon the parishes, as the fines amounted to. But, having once got the cash, 'non datur redditus;' the money was like the mouse, in a trap, and was never to be relinquished. There were not, it was true, many petitions against the Additional Force bill; but if a general understanding had not prevailed that it would be repealed, the table would have been loaded with them. It had been universally felt, that the bill must be repealed; and his majesty's ministers, convinced of the impossibility of its being complied with, never could have pursued so unworthy a purpose as that of making people pay fines, amounting to near a million sterling, for not doing those things which they were utterly unable to do.

Sir *E. Hartopp* said he thought it would be an injustice to his constituents, who had raised their full quota of men under the act, if they were to have no indemnification for their trouble, expence, and exertions, whilst other counties that had failed of carrying the act into execution, should be released from all penalties. The parishes that did exert themselves, and procured the men for the defence of the country, ought to be paid for their trouble, as an encouragement to zeal and loyalty for the future.

Sir *W. Milner* observed, that some reflections had been attempted to be cast upon the parish of Mary-la-bonne, for not having raised any men under the additional force act. The fact was, they were not able to raise a single man by the provisions of the bill: they would not have recourse to the illegal means of crimping, though others had done so; and even though the same person (one of those called crimps) that had been employed by others, offered his services to them, they still adhered to what was lawful and honourable.

Mr. G. *Vansittart* supported the clause. He thought that those counties that had exerted themselves to get the men in the manner pointed out by the law, but had failed, were more meritorious than those that had procured them contrary to law.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* recommended that a clause should be inserted in the bill, ordering the amount of the fines remitted or refunded to parishes, to be put to the fund for the relief of the poor in each parish or district. He denied that there was any unwillingness on the part of the people in any place that he had any knowledge of, to exert themselves in support of the provisions of the bill. The fact was, so many different militia were brought forward in quick succession after each other, that it was totally impossible to procure the men.

Mr. *Windham* observed, that there was a clause in the bill, directing the application of the money to those purposes.

General *Tarleton* observed, that several members had stigmatised the men raised by the Parish bill. For his own part he could assert that he had inspected the rolls, and saw several of the men, and he never saw finer men in his life. The inspecting officer would not have passed them if they were defective. He would also say that if the fines were not remitted, the country would in two months have 5000 men. The remitting of the fines would now encourage people to break acts of parliament. He observed that it might be expedient in some instances to commit a breach of regulation for the defence of the country, and in that case the breach would be more honourable than the observance.

Dr. *Laurence* said that it was to him one of the most extraordinary assertions he had ever heard in a legislative assembly, that it would be right to break a positive law. With respect to the qualifications of the men for military service, there were letters on the table which shewed there was a secret understanding by which men, to be raised under the act then discussing, were allowed to be taken two inches under the usual standard, and ten years older than they would be admitted into other military bodies.

Mr. *Ellison* said, he had opposed the Additional Force bill in all its stages, because he thought it a measure of false pretences, and injustice to many parts of the country in which it was impossible to carry it into effect. Yet he thought this clause objectionable, as leaving the whole burthen on those countries that had obeyed the law, and releasing from all penalties those that had neglected so to do.

Mr. *Fuller* said that the act which was now to be repealed, was a mere act of experiment, and the experiment had completely failed. In his part of the country it was absolutely impossible to raise the men, and therefore he thought it would be very unjust that the parishes should be subject to the penalties.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, as the house seemed now to have adopted the proposition for the repeal of the act, it was in vain for him to renew his objections to that course of proceeding. The question now was as to the wisdom of returning the fines, and he was firmly of opinion, under all the circumstances of their becoming due, that by so doing, the legislature would surrender its authority and its respectability. He doubted whether the committee was proceeding formally in the discussion of such a question, as the money must be considered to have been paid into the exchequer, and to be now at the disposal of the executive government, for the purposes of the country at large. He apprehended no injury would result, if parliament would appoint some time by which the defaulting parishes should be required to furnish the men, or be subjected to the infliction of the fine. If they were really to have the money returned, compensation ought certainly to be made to those which had furnished men at so great an expence, at well under this act as under the Army of Reserve. The Militia laws, and all military measures were liable to the same objections, with respect to penalties, as the Additional Force bill; but the existing Militia laws particularly, as under them a parish might become subject to a fine of 400l. per man, if it neglectd, for an extended period, to furnish men. The noble lord concluded, by expressing his hope, that parliament would maintain its dignity, and enforce the fines, if, after a reasonable notice the parishes did not comply with the provisions of the act.—The gallery was then cleared, but the bill passed through the committee, without a division, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, May 9.

[MINUTES] On the return of their lordships from the High Court of Parliament, an order was made that they should proceed again on the trial of lord Melville to-morrow.—Lord Walsingham made a report from the Committee of Privileges, on the Roos Peerage. The report stated, that the Duke of Rutland had no title to the barony claimed by the co-heirs of Robert de Roos; and that the said barony was in abeyance between the earl of Essex, the lady of lord Henry Fitzgerald, and sir H. Hunloke, bart.—The house resolved itself into a committee on the Slave Trade bill; and the same was reported, and ordered to be read a third time on Tuesday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 9.

[MINUTES] A message from the lords announced their lordships' intention of proceeding further with the trial of lord Melville at ten o'clock to-morrow in Westminster Hall.—Sir C. Price presented a petition from the army accoutrement makers of London, against the bill pending in parliament for the regulation of the sale of hides and skins.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee on the Tortola Free Port bill.—The estimates presented yesterday by the Secretary at War having been ordered to be referred to the committee of Supply, the house resolved itself into the said committee, in which, on the motion of the secretary at War, the Army Estimates were voted for a month, from the 24th instant, in the same proportion as those for the last three months. The house having been resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[REPEAL OF THE ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.] Mr. Hobhouse brought up the Report of the committee on this bill; which being read,

Mr. *Tyrwhit Jones* said, that during the progress of this bill, he had not hitherto troubled the house with a single observation nor should he say more than a few words at present. He had voted against this bill on its first introduction, because he thought it was a bad measure; but bad as it was, he liked it better than the outline which was given of that now in contemplation; and he wished to give notice, that should the new bill be no better than what was to be expected from the opening, he should think it his duty to oppose it from day to day.

Mr. *Ellison* observed, that the fines which had been levied were the property of the public, and ought not to be returned. Besides, they would never return to the pockets of the individuals from whom they were taken.

Mr. *Bankes* thought the bill, with this clause attached to it, even more dangerous than he had formerly considered it. He hoped there would be no objection to print it. There would be a difficulty in the repaying, of which the rt. hon. gent. did not seem to be aware.

Mr. *Windham* did not think there was any occasion to print it, as the house was perfectly in possession of the objectionable clause. However if it was thought a material object, he would not object.—The bill was then ordered to be printed as amended, and to be read a third time on Tuesday.

[IRON DUTY BILL.] The order of the day having been read for the house to resolve itself into a committee on the Iron Duty bill, lord H. Petty moved that the Speaker do now leave the chair.

Mr. *Curwen* rose with great reluctance to oppose this measure, but he trusted the house would do him the justice to believe, that no light grounds would induce him to throw any impediment in the way of government, at a moment like the present. Without entering into any details, he thought that the very first and most general view of the subject, ought to be sufficient to warrant him in calling on ministers to abandon this tax, and adopt some one less injurious to the interests of the Empire. It had hitherto been our uniform policy, not to tax articles that were the staple commodities of the country, such as iron, coals or wood. Of all these staple commodities he considered iron to be the most important; any tax on that article would be injurious to the general interest, but the operation of the tax proposed by the noble lord peculiarly so. The noble lord proposed to lay an equal duty on iron of all qualities. Now, there was a variation of at least 50 per cent. in the value of different kinds of iron, how, therefore, could this proposition be reconciled with the principles of justice? The uses of iron were so multiplied, that it was probable they did not enter into the noble lord's contemplation. He would first consider iron of the lowest quality. In the article of iron railways from mines, the operation of the tax would increase the expence of such rail ways 700l. a mile, an expence which would almost amount to a prohibition of them. It had been found desirable to abolish wooden railways for the purpose of substituting iron ones, an object which this tax must in a great measure defeat. Yet it would even then be felt most severely in the construction of these wooden railways. The ramifications of injury that the tax would cause were innumerable. Was the noble lord aware how it would affect the coal trade? On a moderate celculation, it would raise the price of coals one shilling per ton. The quantity imported into London within the year exceeded a million of chaldrons. Thus from this small advance 50,000l. burden would arise. The utmost at which the friends of the tax computed its annual amount was 300,000l. The opponents of it thought not so much. The additional charge, therefore, merely on coals brought to London, came to a sixth of the whole produce of the tax! Another baneful effect of the tax would be, that by its operation on the machinery of our manufactories, horses would be substituted in many cases, and this at a time when we were paying millions annually to the continent for foreign grain. Was the noble lord aware of the increase in the price of wood that this tax must necessarily occasion? At the present moment iron was applied to purposes for which large timber would then be used. Would it be wise to increase the demand for timber of this description at a period when it was already so alarmingly scarce? With regard to iron of the higher and finer kind; in many manufactures it had to pass through three or four different hands. In each of these stages an augmentation of price would take place. But this was a part of the subject which he would leave to those who were more conversant with it than himself. He would confine himself to the notice of those large works, many of which, if this bill were to pass, would be compelled to be closed. There was at that moment a canal constructing, the trough of which was forming of iron. Was it possible that this could be carried on under the oppressive effect that the tax must produce? Amidst all the increases that had taken place on the various articles of British traffic and manufacture, no increase had been made on the price of iron. This was attributable to the skill and activity of our manufacturers; but if this bill passed, the greater part of them would be ruined, and the business being then monopolized by a few, the most injurious consequences must ensue. He was justified in asserting, that only men of very extraordinary capital, and who had the power of enlarging that capital at pleasure, could then commence iron works; for, supposing the distance from a work to the mine to be but 30 miles, an increase of capital to the amount of 21,000l. would then become necessary merely for the additional expence of the iron railway. He had last session opposed the tax on agricultural horses, as directly affecting the interests of the husbandman; but when he compared that tax with the one in contemplation, he could not but prefer the direct tax to one which would operate more heavily, though in a circuitous manner. It was supposed, that the proposed measure would be equivalent to a duty of 12s. on each husbandry horse; and when the quantity of iron used about a farm was considered, this was, perhaps, not an exaggerated supposition. He would take it, however, at 5s. a horse. The number of husbandry horses in use was a million, and thus would the farming interest incur a burden at least, and on the most moderate calculation, of 250,000l. There were 200,000 pleasure horses, the additional expence on each of which would be 10s. making 100,000l. which added to the other rendered the burden thrown on the article of horses only, by the operation of this tax, equal to the gross sum which the noble lord had estimated that it would produce! This appeared to him to be a conclusive argument on the subject. It would be criminal in the house to impose a burden so heavy, and from which such little benefit to the country could be derived. He knew with what reluctance some minds acknowledged their error, but he trusted that the minds of the noble lord, and of the rt. hon. gent. near him, were too great to persist in a measure, the tendency of which was so highly injurious.

Mr. *Stuart Wortley* wished to call the attention of the house to the tax, as it affected the manufactures, the agriculture of the country, and the comforts of the poor. He contended, that it would raise the price of many of those manufactures, in which iron was principally employed, 12½ per cent. and in some cases much higher. This was a most serious consideration to the country, when the manufactures of Flanders, of Prussia, and of Stiria, were able to come in competition with us in the foreign markets, and even to undersell us in the coarser articles. It was proposed, however, to give a certain drawback on articles exported; but he thought that nothing short of a drawback equal to the increased price which they would bear in this country, would be sufficient, and this would greatly diminish the produce of the tax. The seats of the great manufacture of Iron ware, with one of which he was particularly connected, had been seriously affected by the wars on the continent, and this tax would have on them the most injurious effects. Its influence on agriculture would also be pernicious. It would tend to give the grazing farmer, who made less use of horses and implements of iron manufacture, great advantages over the arable and thus would throw an undue proportion of the country into pasture. It would press heavily also on the poor; iron was a necessary part of most of the tools which they employed, and thus the very implements which they used might be placed almost beyond their reach. The great and comprehensive mind of the right hon. gent., who preceded the noble lord in his situation, had perceived the injury which such a tax was calculated to produce, and had relinquished his intention of imposing it. He trusted that his example would be followed in the present instance. He concluded with opposing the Speaker's leaving the chair, and declaring, that he would take the sense of the house on the question.

Mr. *Mordaunt* said, that however sorry he might be to oppose measures of finance at this arduous period, he could not but object to a measure, the effect of which must inevitably be to throw a gloom on the spirit of our manufactures, to cut up those very resources to which the country would have to look for its protection and defence, and to drive from bread very numerous classes of our industrious poor. It would have the most injurious effects on a very large proportion of the inhabitants of Birmingham which he had the honour to represent. Birmingham had been formerly called the toy-shop of Europe; but since the convulsions that had taken place on the continent, the demand for those articles of curious and elegant manufacture had entirely ceased; and goldsmiths and silversmiths were now converted into blacksmiths. Even in their articles, Germany and America had now begun to enter into competition with us. The manufacturers of these countries had received every encouragement from their different governments, and surely our own manufacturers were equally entitled to the fostering care of our own legislature. The difficulties attending the proper allowance of drawbacks he considered as very great. The orders for the foreign market were all made up in large casks; and as it would be necessary to submit them to the inspection of the exciseman, he considered that the whole would be vexatious in the extreme. He was particularly anxious that the rising manufacture of unwrought iron should remain untouched. It would prove a source of incalculable riches to the country; but should it be strangled in its infancy by the hands of the exciseman, the country would have reason to curse the hour when such a tax had been imposed. It was by our trade and manufactures, that we were enabled to hold such a distinguished rank among the nations of the world; and while these were not discouraged by our own government, we had no reason to fear that the efforts of Buonaparté would ever be able to drive them from the markets of Europe. They would continue to find their way into every part of the habitable globe. He therefore hoped that the noble lord would relinquish a tax that would prove so injurious; and he could assure him, that high as his character stood, it would stand still higher in the public estimation, should he candidly listen to those strong representations that had been made, and retract a measure so impolitic and obnoxious.

Mr. *H. Lascelles* said, he hoped the noble lord would proceed with caution in this business. He was afraid the operation of this tax would be attended with very serious and mischievous consequences to this country. He had seen statements, which said that foreign markets were selling the same articles at lower rates than our own, such, particularly, as the grosser iron wares that were made in Sheffield. If this was the case already, a tax upon the raw material here would raise the price of the several articles of manufacture so much, that the German markets would be able to undersell us. He wished some other mode might be resorted to, of raising money, rather than this, as the sum received would by no means counterbalance the inconveniencies that would arise from it, and the risk we were likely to run of the loss of our manufactures, from the extravagance of the price that must necessarily be laid on them, if this tax were to pass.

Mr. *Wilberforce* expressed his entire concurrence with what had fallen from his hon. colleague, and complimented the hon. member who preceded him (Mr. Mordaunt), on account of the elegant and impressive manner in which he had delivered his sentiments on the subject. He acknowledged, that the situation of the minister of finance had of late, every year, grown more and more difficult; since almost every object of taxation had already been resorted to. It had therefore become difficult to select a tax that was not liable to some objections; but on a fair estimate of all the arguments presented to his mind, and perhaps also from certain prejudices which he might entertain, the present tax appeared peculiarly objectionable. It had been well observed, that the possession of iron was one of the great grounds of distinction between civilized and barbarous society; and in the same proportion that this country had improved in manufactures and civilization, the manufacture of iron had been extended and improved, and found its way, by numerous meandering streams, into every department of civil life. The number of those employed in producing the raw material, and of those who afterwards wrought it up into every article of utility or elegance, was very great; these were mostly men of athletic make, and great bodily vigour, which was a consideration of no small consequence, in viewing the general utility of a manufacture, since it had been too justly said that too many of our manufactures tended to deteriorate the physical constitution, and produce a feeble and degenerate race of men, without spirit or ability to defend their rights. In this view alone he thought the manufacture of iron in all its branches highly deserving of encouragement, and deprecated any obstruction being given to its progress. He computed the number of those engaged in the various branches of the manufacture at between 4 and 500,000; and when it was considered how much every one of them contributed to the revenues of the state, by the produce of his industry, it became a matter of serious consideration, whether the sum proposed to be raised by this tax would not be more than countervailed by those defalcations in other parts of the public revenue, which would arise from the discouragement given to the iron manufacture by the present tax. This tax had been proposed to the house ten years ago, and had then, upon full consideration, been withdrawn. It was then proposed to lay on a duty of only 20s. per ton; but the late chancellor of the exchequer saw reasons at that time to decline the prosecution of the measure; and he must now repeat what he had said before in that house (see vol. 6. p. 1002), that it was one of the characteristics of that great man, candidly to give up any measure, which on investigation he found inexpedient, without dreading the charge of inconsistency or indecision. The manufacture of iron had this peculiar recommendation belonging to it, that it had arisen and flourished most in those parts of the country, which nature seemed to have damned to perpetual sterility. He had never felt a more sensible pleasure in his life, than when, after the lapse of a few years, he had returned to a spot once rugged and barren, but then covered by the fruits of human industry, and gladdened by the face of man, in consequence of the introduction of this manufacture. It was a received principle of taxation, that no duty should press upon any article in its rude and early state, since it caused an uniform rise of price on every article into which it was afterwards wrought up. In this instance, he calculated, that though the sum that would enter the treasury could not be more than 200,000l. yet a tax of nearly a million would be raised from the community at large.—This he considered as a prodigal waste of those resources which ought to be husbanded for future demands, and which he was sure the public spirit of the country would cheerfully contribute, whenever they were called for by the necessity of the times. It was a sound principle of taxation, that every tax should be as little vexatious as possible in its collection, for the tax on the feelings of the subject might be more galling than that on his pocket. The application of the excise to any branch of commercial enterprize was to be regretted: but, in this instance, it would prove more than usually vexatious, from the number of those engaged in the manufacture, from the multifarious variety of the articles, but, above all, from the artisans being hitherto completely unaccustomed to the operation of excise laws.—

Within the short space of nine years, the manufacture of iron had been more than doubled. The annual produce had then been 100,000 tons, but it had now risen to 250,000. It was therefore our duty to foster its progress, and not to check it. This tax would give foreign countries an advantage over us, and prevent us from increasing its exportation. The tax would cause an increase of price to the amount of 10, 15, and even 20 per cent. He objected to the proposed drawback, as greatly too small. Government had estimated that this would amount to 150,000l. but the manufacturers calculated that 266,000l. would be requisite. On the whole, he must say, that the county which he had the honour to represent looked forward with alarm to the decision of that house. Facts had come to his knowledge within a few days which proved, that, even at present, some of the German manufacturers were able to furnish their articles cheaper than they could be produced in this country, and the tax would tend still more rapidly to drive us from the foreign market. The hon. member then took a view of the quantity of iron used in canals, bridges, ship-building, and agriculture, in all which the tax would severely operate. If the requisite sum could be raised in another way, why impose it on a manufacture of universal application? The hon. gent. then concluded a very able speech, by declaring that he should think himself bound to oppose the tax in every stage.

Sir *R. Buxton* expressed his surprise that the landed interest should so readily have consented to the tax on husbandry horses that had been rejected last year, which would certainly bear exclusively on a particular class of society. He was aware of the pressure of the tax then under consideration upon agriculture, but when he considered the circumstances of the country, such a tax extending to the whole of the country ought to be preferred.

Mr. *Wilberforce* in explanation observed, that he did not think the farmers would gain any thing by the present tax, in preference to the other, except the satisfaction of thinking that others were subject to it as well as themselves. He suggested that a tax on footmen might perhaps be productive, and as little injurious to the country as any other.

Sir *W. Young* contended that it was a principle of taxation to lay the tax on articles that were most diffusive, and consequently would be most productive. He did not think a tax upon servants as suggested by the hon. member, would be either eligible or productive. It seemed to be argued, that because the persons employed in the iron trade contributed to the encrease of other subjects of taxation that, therefore, their individual trade should be exempted. If so, servants had an equal right of exemption, as had every person in the community. It was thought that necessaries ought not to be taxed, and that every thing should fall on luxuries. He remembered to have heard it remarked, that where there were ten sons, the best way of providing for the nine was to allow the estate to remain with the eldest, and the youngest brothers to depend on him. In the same way did he regard the idea of taxing luxuries. All the papers before the house shewed that the opposition to the bill came from the manufacturers, not the consumers. As to foreign consumption, it consisted with his own knowledge that the tax could have little effect; it was not the quantity, but the quality of our manufactures which was looked to. If we talked of exempting necessaries from taxation, we must give up every resource and tax nothing. The use of iron for the purpose of agriculture had been mentioned as an objection to the tax; but the consumption of that article, in this respect, was trifling, when compared with its consumption in our West India plantations, where it was used instead of copper for boilers and other culinary purposes. He contended that the present tax would not affect our articles of hardware in the foreign market, as the demand for those articles did not depend on their price, but arose from their superior quality. In this respect no foreign manufacture was likely soon to rival us.

Lord *A. Hamilton* said, after the objections to the bill had been so ably stated by the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Wilberforce), it was not necessary for him to say much. He objected to the bill not as injurious for the present moment merely, but as it went to affect the future revenues of the country. There was hardly a single article either of manufacture or agriculture which would not be affected by it. It was said to be an argument in favour of the bill, that it would operate generally. He agreed that it would operate as a general burden, but he denied that it would be generally productive. His lordship denied that the manufacture was ripe for taxation. If in so objectionable a measure any thing could be more objectionable than another, it was the subject of drawbacks. If the bill should, unfortunately, find its way into a committee, he should then state his ideas on this point. If his noble friend persisted in it, though he should be sorry to oppose a tax proposed by one in whom he had so great a confidence, yet he must, in the present instance, oppose it in every stage.

Mr. *Calcraft* could not agree with his noble friend, that the iron trade was not yet ripe enough to produce a revenue. He thought if the iron trade had doubled, as it was admitted had been the case within the last ten years, it was impossible to deny that it was a fit object of taxation. Considering the state of the country, and the necessity there was for making every article contribute to the present exigencies; considering that every necessary of life was taxed; considering the high duty on malt, and even on salt; and considering the great and extraordinary length to which the income tax had been carried this year, it was rather matter of surprise that the present tax had not sooner been thought of. If it could be made out that, by proper drawbacks being allowed, no loss would arise to our foreign market, and, at the same time, that a great increase would thereby arise to the revenue, of probably 3 or 400,000l. it would require some reasoning stronger than he had yet heard to prove that the tax ought not to be adopted. The hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Wilberforce) had, as he always did, made a very eloquent speech, but all he had said would have been perfectly applicable to the first introduction of the excise laws into this country. The gentlemen now sought to be put under the regulations of excise would not have the same necessity for frequent visits from the officers as others had. To shew that the obsertation of the hon. bart. (sir W. Young), that the excellence of the manufacture was what recommended it to foreign markets, he instanced the great fluctuation which had taken place in the prices, being to the extent of upwards of 20 per cent. which nevertheless had had no effect on the amount of the exports; and, by taking a comparative view of the drawbacks, acknowledged by the dealers themselves to be sufficient, and those proposed to be granted by the present bill, shewed that the drawbacks which it was in the contemplation of the framers of the bill to allow, were full sufficient.

Mr. *Francis* felt much reluctance to object to any measure originating with gentlemen, to whom partiality and habit attached him. He rose merely to ask a question, the answer to which would remove the difficulty he felt on the present subject. He wished to be informed, to what extent the tax would operate on consumption of iron in the public service? He thought that great part of the tax must revert on government, which was itself so great a consumer of the article in question, loaded as it necessarily must be with the additional expense of collection.

Mr. *Vansittart* observed, minutely, on all the arguments which had been made use of in the course of the debate. It had been stated, he said, that the house had always abstained from imposing taxes on the raw material, and particularly iron. It was but lately that iron came to be manufactured to any great extent in this country, but the taxes on foreign iron were multiplied session after session; and, in fact, there were many other taxes which acted as a direct tax on iron, and which never were opposed; he meant the taxes on wood and coals. He could not allow that it would destroy the great iron works, the roads and bridges; the same argument would apply to that, which applied to the foreign trade, namely, that the fluctuation in the price never put a stop to these great works; though it differed so much as to be in the year 1799, 16l. a ton; in 1803, 19l.; and immediately after that to fall to 14l.; and yet this fluctuation had no effect on the trade. The statements that had been referred to, were much exaggerated, and the drawbacks in the bill were sufficient to cover the trade from the effect of the tax. In some instances the drawback proposed to be allowed exceeded that demanded by the manufacturers; in others they were less; but every liberality would be extended to the wishes of gentlemen on the subject, and the drawbacks might be modified or extended so as to be satisfactory to those concerned. As to the excise, he appealed to his hon. and learned friend, (Mr. Perceval), whether any harsh provisions on that head existed in the bill. Indeed, such provisions were unnecessary, because a bar of pig iron was an article that could not easily be smuggled. The tax would bear so small a proportion to the immense capital employed in such concerns, that they could not be materially affected thereby. He could see nothing in the state of the countries on the continent, to give rise to the apprehensions entertained with respect to the foreign trade. As to America, it was a country in the infancy of its population, and no wise government would encourage in such a country the employment of its subjects in manufactures to any extent, that would enable them to rival this country. The population of that country would be wisely directed to the more productive employment of cultivating their country. With respect to the question put by an hon. gent. (Mr. Francis), he had only to say, that the quantity of iron stated to be consumed by government was considerably over-rated; 90,000 tons in the course of the year, had been mentioned; but on reference to the papers on the table, it would be found that the average was not more than from 15 to 20,000. His hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce) had stated, that a tax on servants would be more adviseable; but he was convinced, that if attempted, it would be the cause of the greatest complaints throughout the country. For these reasons, he hoped the hon. gent. would withdraw their opposition, and suffer the bill to go into a committee.

Sir *Ralph Milbanke* professed that it was with reluctance he opposed any measure of his majesty's present ministers, as he felt the greatest confidence in their integrity and talents. He was averse, however, to this bill in the first instance, though he would not oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair, as such modifications might be adopted in the committee as would render the measure less objectionable. The county he represented, though iron was no part of its manufacture, yet consumed a great deal of that article. The county he represented, though it did not manufacture any iron, yet consumed a great deal, and would be materially affected by the tax.

Sir *J. Wrottesley* went over the whole of the arguments which had been used in the course evening. He was glad the debate had been postponed so long, as his hon. friends had by that means an opportunity of making up their minds, and offering such arguments as could not fail to convince the house. The fluctuation in the price of iron, he acknowledged was great, but that could not have had any effect at the foreign market, as when Iron was dear we exported very little, on account of our hostility with the Northern Powers. At this time the demand was so great at home, that, to use a tradesman's expression, the pigs were not allowed to be cold before they were taken away. This demand of course raised the price of the commodity; but, some time after, it was lowered considerably, on the suggestion of the manufacturers, who declared, that they would be unable to proceed with their business, unless they had the raw material considerably cheaper. Much of the flourishing state in which that trade now was, should be attributed to the ingenuity of the persons concerned in it, and nothing could so effectually put a stop to the exertion of this ingenuity, as putting the manufacture under the excise. Formerly, and till within the last 5 or 6 years, wood or charcoal was the only material by which it was supposed that iron could be made; but the ingenuity of the manufacturers led them to find a substitute in coak. Under the gloomy influence of the excise there was every reason to believe that this useful discovery would never have been made. The moment the legislature put on the excise, they imposed a specific mode of working, from which no appeal could be made, and which must at once put a stop to ingenuity. Insuperable difficulties presented themselves to the execution of the plan laid down. The manufacturers were called on to give notice to the excise officer of the time at which they were to proceed to work. This was impossible. With all their practice and skill in their business they could not judge within four hours of the time it might be in their power to open the furnace, and proceed to cast, and the Excise Officer must be always on the spot, or the manufacturer must be under innumerable penalties. The door would also be opened to great frauds. This the persons who had applied to him on the subject were particularly anxious to guard against. Nothing could be so unjust to the fair manufacturer as to confer on the fraudulent means of evading the duty, and of underselling the fair dealer. As to the rate of drawbacks, he contended that those specified by gentlemen on the other side, as being assented to by the manufacturers of Sheffield and Birmingham were the best qualified to judge on this subject; and they said, that nothing was more difficult than to fix the drawback, or rather that no drawback could indemnify them. In such articles as knives, spades, &c. where part was iron and part wood, or other material, it was hardly possible by an act of parliament to fix the drawback which ought to be allowed. Taking a view of the different quantities consumed in home and foreign consumption, by Government, &c. the hon. gent. contended that, of the whole gross amount of 610,000l. which it was agreed, the quantity of Pig Iron manufactured would, at the rate of 40s. per ton, produce in one year, 112,000l. would be for Government, and 208,000l. would be entitled to Drawbacks. Supposing that there were 200 furnaces, and that only one officer were to be required for each, this would produce an expence in collection at least to the amount of 20,000l. so that of the whole sum of 610,000l. only 270,000l. would remain in aid of the national revenue; and would the noble lord, for such a sum, crush an important manufacture? The hon. bart. thought it would be preferable at once to abandon the tax, and propose a substitute, as there would, at all events, be a deficiency to provide for by same new measure, the noble lord having taken credit for 500,000l. as the produce of the tax.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* did not conceive the proposed tax on the raw material as at all likely to have the effect which some gentlemen apprehended upon the higher wrought articles. The fact was, that upon the rate of such articles the original tax would scarcely have any effect. This tax, he remarked, was opposed altogether by the representations of interested persons, and therefore not entitled to the attention which many gentlemen seemed disposed to attach to them.—He remembered that when the tax upon silk was raised at the rate of from 5s. to 13s. a great outcry was raised among the manufacturers, yet the fact was, that notwithstanding this increase, the silk manufactory had considerably advanced. He was not at all surprised, however, that the Iron merchants wished to shift the burden from their own shoulders to somebody else. This was no more than what was natural.

Mr. *W. Smith* could not admit, that the Excise would be so dangerous as some gentlemen supposed. It had been found the simplest and the cheapest way of collecting a tax. On the other hand, he could not admit, that, because the tax upon wood did not prevent us from building ships, it would therefore be safe to lay a tax on iron also. The fact was, that the Americans, notwithstanding the high price of labour, built ships cheaper than us. Although he disapproved of the tax, he wished the bill to go into a committee, in order to see whether it could be so modified as to be accomodated to the feelings of the manufacturers. If this modification were found practical, he would be ready to grant it that support which he would be happy on all occasions to afford to his right hon. friends on the treasury bench.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, he had forborne to state his sentiments, until he heard the opinions of the several gentlemen who seemed inclined to speak. It was not from pertinacity in his own opinion, that he still supported the tax, but it was from a perseverance, amidst a choice of evils, in preferring the evil of this tax to that of any other which could be supposed to be equally productive. To the proposition for substituting a tax on horses employed in agriculture he thought it unnecessary to make any other reply than that which had been already heard in the course of the debate. A tax upon the landed interest beyond their fair proportion would not, he was sure, be listened to by the house, particularly because that part of the community never manifested any disinclination to bear an equal burthen with others. To assert that the tax before the house, pressed oppressively upon this class, he thought a position that could not for a moment he sustained. For he had the satisfaction of stating, that, independently of the other circumstances already mentioned, the farmers had, in the value of old iron, a deduction of little less than half the original price. But to judge of the fallaciousness of the statements circulated upon this subject, it was only necessary to mention, according to one which had no doubt been put into the hands of most members of the house, it was seriously asserted, that the proposed tax, which was only 40s. per ton, would, as to horses employed in agriculture, produce an increase of 9l. 6s. 8d. per ton. The noble lord went on to shew, that when taxes became necessary, the attention of ministers was naturally directed to those persons who were able to bear them. Finding, then, the iron manufactory to be a flourishing trade, they very naturally thought proper to select it. That this trade was, many years since, in the year 1797, pointed out to his predecessor in office as a fit subject of taxation, must be known to the gentlemen on the other side; and, although the proposition was not then acted upon, he understood that it was not by any means given up, but intended to be brought forward again by the right hon. gent. alluded to. In order to shew the flourishing state of the iron manufacture, the noble lord stated that the quantity of that article manufactured in 1797, was but 130,000 tons, and that the quantitity in the last year, amounted to 250,000. From this improvement he inferred the superior capacity of the manufactures at present to pay the duty which his predecessor declined to pass in 1797. As to the operation of this tax upon the machinery employed in different manufactories, it did not appear to him that any objection ought to be made on that ground, when it was considered, that from the proceedings of a certain committee (the Woollen Manufacture), it was in contemplation to release this machinery from many embarrassments to which it had been heretofore liable. It was not too much, therefore, on the part of the state, to seek some return from the proprietors of such machinery. The objections urged to the proposed interference of excise officers in certain manufactories, might, if of any weight, be obviated in the committee, and therefore they could form no ground for resisting the motion before the house. With respect to the export trade of wrought iron or hardware, the noble lord begged the house to bear in mind, that the drawback proposed to be granted was more than was required by a committee of the iron manufacturers themselves, who had applied to the treasury upon the subject. The noble lord shewed the increase of the export trade of iron from 1799 to the last year, and the comparative rise in the price of the article, to shew the capacity of the article to sustain an increased duty; and he maintained that from the nature of the drawback no diminution of the export could be apprehended from this duty. After several other observations, including particularly an answer to those who seemed to insinuate that this was the first tax upon a raw material in this country, he concluded by referring them to the taxes upon cotton foreign wool, and malt, the noble lord pressed upon the consideration of the house, that the question now was as to a choice of evils, that money must be procured for the exigencies of the state, and that the mode now proposed was much less objectionable than any other that had been suggested. It had been recommended to him to propose other taxes. A right hon. gent. had pushed the adoption of a tax upon coals in the pit, in lieu of that before the house. But, he preferred the latter, and to those who seemed so anxious to present him with a substitute, he would say; "Timeo Danaos et "dona ferentes." The noble lord disclaimed any intention of persisting in this tax from a pertinacious adherence to his own opinion, but from a firm conviction, after the most attentive consideration of all that he had heard upon the subject, that it was the most fit and equitable tax that had been devised; and that it was to be imposed upon those who were well able, and, he had no doubt, willing to pay it.

Mr. *Rose* knew his late right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) having once abandoned the idea of the tax upon iron, had never changed his opinion on the subject. It appeared to him in many ways injurious to our manufactures. He remembered once, that a tax upon inland navigation was proposed, but given up as injurious to our manufactures. He considered that this would affect the iron railways in a similar manner. When the noble lord talked of the small expense of iron in his arable farm in Scotland, he supposed the horses on that farm went, as the men sometimes did in his country, without shoes. He could not believe that our prospect was such as had been stated, of increasing our exports to North America. That country was now in a high state of population, equal, as he understood, to England in that respect, and yet, notwithstanding this great population, the demand for our hardware from that quarter was not increasing. Of all manufactures this appeared to be the one which they would take up first. The Germans at present nearly equalled us, even in the finest hardware. If then the price of our goods were still further increased by a duty, we should soon see our exports diminish considerably. Upon the whole, he earnestly recommended the noble lord to abandon this tax, and suggested to his consideration, as substitutes, taxes upon horses kept for pleasure, upon those employed in agriculture, upon male servants, and upon gentlemen's carriages: these were sources from which, he thought, the noble lord might draw a more productive revenue than the tax before the house could promise, and at the same time avoid any kind of oppression or injury to commerce.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* observed, that having had the satisfaction to hear the opinions of different gentlemen, their arguments had certainly great weight upon his mind, but there was not a single argument which had been advanced in the course of that night's debate which did not equally apply to almost every other tax that could possibly be brought forward. There was hardly one of the taxes that had been laid on for these twelve years past which he could say he thoroughly approved of. They were all laid on articles which most writers agreed in saying that they were not fit objects of taxation. But the fact was, that we were now placed in such circumstances that we were driven to adopt modes of taxation which must, in some degree, affect the prosperity of one branch of our trade or commerce or another. With respect to the draw-back, which, it was said, could not be properly appreciated and apportioned in the manufacture, which contained other materials than iron, he did not see why a drawback ad valorem was not as practicable as a duty ad valorem, which had been long enforced. He was not partial to the excise laws himself, but they were exercised to the advantages of the revenue, and our necessities were now urgent. As to the substitutes that had been proposed for this tax, he had no idea that farmers and others would swallow the bait held out to them by the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Rose), and gorge a tax directly levelled at them, instead of one which would reach them circuitously, and affect them slightly. As to the foreign trade being affected by the tax, that was not likely, as already a larger drawback was allowed to the exporter, than those who had petitioned on the subject asked for. As nothing preferable was proposed, he thought it right to try how the tax could be made less objectionable to a committee.

Mr. *Canning* thought it material to contradict what had been advanced by the rt. hon. secretary, on the subject of the drawback to be allowed, and read a paper from the committee of iron-masters in town, which stated, that they had represented the necessity of 8s. per ton being allowed, but that only 6s. was granted by the bill. He deprecated the principle of the bill; he could not conceive the object of it, unless it was to involve the iron manufactory in the distress, that others had experienced, and to exemplify a late quotation of a rt. hon. secretary (Mr. Windham),

> "Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris."

But he could no longer wonder at the patience of the house, after they had, on a former occasion, not only with temper, but without laughing, heard the assertion of the rt. hon., secretary, that it was more agreeable to the public to have a burthensome tax doubled at once, than to have it increased by moderate degrees. The rt. hon. gent. insisted that when a man had sunk a great capital in a business; when he had established population in a place that was a wilderness before; when he had settled a colony of dependents under him, the introduction of an exciseman to be, in a manner, the master of his establishment, would degrade and lessen the patriarchal authority which he was entitled to have over a family, as it might be called, which otherwise had none but him to look up to for support or countenance.—After a few words from Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Smith, the house divided. For the commitment, 119. Against it, 109. Majority 10. The house then resolved itself into a committee *pro forma*. After which the house resumed, the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, May 10.

[MINUTES.] The house proceeded as usual to Westminster-hall. Their lordships returned soon after four, when an order was made to proceed further on the trial of lord viscount Melville on Tuesday, and a message sent to the house of commons to acquaint them therewith.—The report of the resolutions of the committee of privileges, respecting the claims to the Roos Peerage, and setting forth that the barony in question remains in abeyance between the co-heirs of Robert de Roos, viz. George-earl of Essex, lady H. Fitzgerald, sir H. Hunloke, &c. was again read; it was then confirmed by the house, and the usual address, to his majesty voted on the occasion, to be presented by the Lords with white staves.—The bills upon the table, chiefly private, were forwarded in their respective stages.—The Earl of Radnor having some observations to offer to the house, respecting points of Order and Privilege, and touching certain proceedings relative to the high Court in Westminster Hall, the strangers were ordered to withdraw and the exclusion continued some time. After the doors were opened, the Bristol Harbour Improvement bill was brought up from the commons by Mr. Baillie and others, and forthwith read a first time; after which the house adjourned till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, May 10.

A message from the lords informed the house, that their lordships would proceed further on the trial of Henry lord viscount Melville, on Tuesday next at ten o'clock.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Committee of Supply on Friday night, granting a Vote for the service of the Army for one month. The resolutions were agreed to, and a bill was ordered to be brought in pursuant thereto.—The Secretary at war gave notice, that on Monday he should move for leave to bring in a bill for continuing, for one month, the Act of the present Session, for punishing Mutiny and Desertion in the Army.—General Joseph Campbell was ordered to be added to the Committee appointed to investigate the accounts of the Scotch forfeited estates.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 12.

[Minutes.] The Duke of Norfolk reported from the Committee appointed for that purpose, several Regulations proposed to be adopted respecting the admission of Persons into the High Court of Parliament, which were agreed to.—Mr. Irving, Inspector General of Imports and Exports, presented several Accounts relative to the Slave Trade which were ordered to lie on the table.—Lord Grenville presented a Message from his Majesty respecting making a provision for earl Nelson, and the future possessors of the title. (Vide our report of the House of Commons.) His lordship observed, that there could be no difference of opinion upon this subject; but in conformity with the usual practice of the house, he would now merely move, that his majesty's most gracious message be taken into consideration to-morrow. Ordered.

[Administration of Justice in Scotland.] The order for summoning their lordships relative to the propositions on this subject, which lord Grenville had, on a former evening, given notice of his intention to bring forward, being read,

Lord *Grenville* rose, and observed, that he was under the necessity of still further postponing that which he had intended to submit to their lordship's consideration that evening. It must be obvious to their lordships, that a matter of so nice and complicated a nature as the new modelling the mode of Administration of Justice in a country must require deep and mature consideration, and much consultation with those persons who were most conversant with such topics. He had already devoted much time to the subject; but the variety of other important avocations which equally challenged his attention, prevented him from being able to bring forward the business in as perfect a state as he could wish. When he did bring it forward, it would be in the shape of a series of resolutions, upon which he should not press any immediate decision, but merely that they be laid upon the table to be maturely considered by their lordships till about the beginning of next session, when, perhaps, he should be able to submit them to the house in the form of a bill. He now thought it would take ten days or a fortnight's more preparation before he could well state his resolutions, but it should not much exceed that time. He should, however, now fix upon a day, and that he meant to be Friday, the 6th of June, for which day he moved that their lordships be summoned to attend.—Ordered.

[American Intercourse Bill.] Lord Mulgrave presented a petition from certain ship owners and others of the town and port of Scarborough, against the above bill, and praying that it might not pass into a law. Ordered to lie on the table. The order being read for taking the report of the bill into consideration,

Lord *Hawkesbury* observed, he had an amendment to propose to the bill, the effect of which would be, instead of suffering the duration of the bill to extend, as now fixed, until six months after the expiration of the war, to limit it to the first day of July, 1807, which might be about the period of the close of the next session of parliament. He thought that an amendment of this kind could not be seriously objected to. This would have the effect of leaving the subject open for farther investigation, and afford ministers a more regular opportunity of acting upon the occasion, than could offer, were the bill to pass in its present shape; for instance, it might in the proposed interval be ascertained how far the British Colonies, in North America, could supply certain articles of the consumption of the West-India Islands, and how far regulations, in the nature of protecting duties, may be expedient. He was aware of the difficulty of entering into such an extensive investigation, at present, under such a pressure of public business, and in such an advanced period of the session; however, in the ensuing session, such an enquiry might be taken up with great advantage; and, in this view, he had shaped his proposed amendment. The noble lord then moved, "that instead of 'until six months after the expiration of the war,' the words '1st day of July, 1807,' be inserted." On the question being put,

The Earl of *Suffolk* made a few observations in favour of the bill in its present shape. A noble and learned lord, said, he observed, on a former evening, that the Bill was new in its principle: it might be so, but it was a change of principle for the better, as a reference to the experience of six or seven years would evince. The bill went to place the responsibility of the measures to which it referred, where it ought to rest; besides, the present state of the West-India islands required a regulation of the kind. The noble earl concluded with some remarks upon the superior policy of cultivating a good understanding with, and even the friendship of, the Americans, on the grounds of their similarity in habits, laws, language, origin, and dispositions, with the people of this country, to whom it had often served for an Asylum.

Lord *Sheffield* observed, that in almost every instance he perceived the incorrectness of the statements and assertions of the friends of the bill; and he was become still more anxious that the first court of judicature should not lie under the imputation of refusing to hear the complaints of the people, and how their concerns have been misrepresented. He should therefore, notwithstanding his objections to the principle and to the whole measure, agree to the amendment, if he could obtain a fair hearing for the petitioners, and an investigation of the subject. His lordship said, he would state, in proof of the necessity of examining the assertions to which he alluded, what the real state of ship-building is in the port of London. Noble lords had ventured to say, that ship-building flourishes even beyond what it has done at any former period, and that the increase of foreign shipping in our trade did not keep pace with the increase in our own shipping. His lordship then read an account of the ships which have been built, or are now building in the river Thames, since December, 1802, to the present period, viz. For the King's service eleven ships; East-India Company seventeen ships; merchants' only four ships; fisheries one; the whole in three and one-half years, except a very few small vessels; viz. one sugar drogher, three hoys for the East-India Company's service, two ballast lighters, one mortar-boat, and one pleasure yacht. At this moment only two ships (part of the above four) are building for the merchants' service. This melancholy statement he was ready to prove at the bar of the house, and that it was in general the same in every port of the kingdom. As to the assertion, that British shipping in our trade has increased in proportion to the foreign, he should prove, even by the same documents as were made use of by his noble friend, (lord Auckland), and which were known to be exaggerated, that in a period of ten years ending, 1803, the increase of foreign shipping was three-fold, and the increase of foreign shipping so employed, compared with the increase of British shipping, was in the proportion of twelve to one. Or, to consider it according to a scale; in the year 1789 the proportion which foreign shipping employed in our trade bore to British was, as eight tons foreign to one hundred British; in 1801, it had increased to the proportion of sixty-eight tons foreign to one hundred British. He should add, that within the period from 1791 to 1801, both inclusive, the foreign shipping employed in our trade increased from 3,615 containing 179,630 tons, and employing 28,120 sailors;—to 11,123 vessels containing 1,585,035 tons, and employing 82,934 foreign sailors. He should make one more observation of a most serious nature; the ships in the West-India trade were wearing out, and as no ships were building to replace them, half the produce would be left in the West-Indies; the planters would then demand that the American shipping be allowed to carry home the produce; whereas, if British ships were now encouraged to make the circuitous voyage, loading lumber and provisions for the West-Indies, the shipping in that trade would be increased sufficiently to bring home the whole produce, and freight would be kept at a reasonable rate. His lordship said, he had always serious apprehensions respecting the loose opinions which were so often delivered on these subjects. But his alarm had become extreme since he had heard a noble lord (Grenville), distinguished for his great abilities and information, to whom neither levity nor imprudence could be imputed, hold a language which appeared to him intended to prepare us in consequence of a change of times and things for a relinquishment of the most essential parts of our navigation and colonial system. He wished that he might have mistaken him; but if he had not, he most solemnly declared that, if, instead of alluding to the sacrifices of the system in question, the noble lord had prepared us in consequence of the change of times and things, to gratify Buonaparté with a reduction and limitation of our ships of war, it would not so seriously have alarmed him; because, in the last, instance, the mischief might be temporary and retrievable; but in the other, it would be permanent and irretrievable. He should not presume to blame any man merely for entertaining such opinions; but if, without permitting examination or enquiry, and contrary to the well established opinion of the public, he should act on those opinions, he then should think him highly blameable. In the present instance, he was so far from blaming the noble lord, that he thought it highly honourable in him, to put us on our guard and prepare us to support our opinions. His lordship would state very shortly, what had passed since the independence of the American States, respecting the supply of the British West Indies. That great man, whose death will long and deservedly be lamented, when chancellor of the exchequer during lord Shelburne's administration, brought in a bill, founded on principles and opinions, as hostile to our navigation and colonial laws as those now adopted by the noble lords; and when it was understood that he received them from Mr. Burke, whose partiality for the Americans induced him to represent them as a people *sui generis*, and therefore not to be treated as foreigners, but to enjoy the privileges of British subjects, although they had asserted their independence. The bill was brought into Parliament with a view of opening the West India ports to the people of the American states; which, however, meeting with highly-merited opposition, was wisely withdrawn with the concurrence even of Mr. Burke, when lord North and Mr. Fox were secretaries of state; and a temporary power was given to the crown, to regulate the intercourse with the American states. Mr. Pitt on his return to office, referred the question to the committee of privy council for trade, of which lord Liverpool was then president. A very accurate investigation took place: lord Liverpool made, in 1784, that very able and excellent report which he had recommended to be laid on their lordship's table; he had also recommended another very able report by the same noble lord in 1791, on the subject of the intercourse with the American States, which their lordships, for reasons best known to themselves, had thought proper to decline. Mr. Pitt acted in conformity to these reports, and from that time our West India settlements were supplied as steadily and as completely, in British shipping, as they ever had been, until the commencement of the late war, when the navigation laws were greatly relaxed, especially in respect to the admission of neutral vessels into the West India ports. But when Mr. Pitt had learned from experience the mischievous effects of the relaxations and suspensions of those laws, he very wisely began to reclaim and limit them, particularly within the last two years. His lordship then read the circular letter from Lord Camden, secretary of state for the colonies, to the West India governors, on this subject; which instructs them, "not to open the ports of the shipping of the American States, except in cases of real and very great necessity, and directs them to apprise him in every instance, and to state the reasons which induced them to adopt the measure". His lordship observed, that the instructions contained in this very judicious letter, would have effected every thing that was necessary for the present; but the measure now before them, seems intended to reverse every thing done in that respect by the late minister. The noble lords who support the bill affect to say, that it only transfers the power of suspending the laws from the governors to the ministers, and enables that to be done by law, which is now done contrary to law. But every man who was informed on the subject, saw that it did much more; that it facilitated and systematically established the suspensions of our navigation laws; that it would render the British West Indies dependent on the American States; that it would transfer the carrying trade to foreigners; that it would ruin the British North American colonies; and that the power of suspending the laws must ultimately be delegated to the persons from whom the responsibility was removed. The author of that excellent work, "War in Disguise," truly observed, that few subjects were less generally understood by intelligent men, than that now before their lordships. He had often lamented the same circumstance, and the impossibility of making it understood in a debate; and he conceived that nothing but that kind of investigation which was proposed by the petitioners, could enable their lordships fairly to decide on the question.

Lord *Auckland* shortly argued in favour of the bill, which he chiefly supported on the ground of the necessity of the case, and the policy of not recurring to the former practices which the bill went to remedy. The noble lord defended the statements he had on a former occasion made to the house respecting the state of our shipping, which, he contended, were correct. He objected to the proposed amendment, because, from the shortness of the time, it would materially interfere with that certainty which merchants should have of being allowed to sell their goods before they embarked in such a trade.

The Duke of *Montrose* was decidedly in favour of the amendment, but would not trouble their lordships with a repetition of the arguments he had the honour to address to them on a former night; the amendment proposed by his noble friend would not preclude ministers from doing hereafter, that which, on farther investigation, they might deem expedient; it would go to afford a regular opportunity for examining, and in that view, he thought it would be prudent in ministers to adopt it. He did not think his noble friend was inclined to press the amendment; in proposing it, he had done his duty, as he had previously, as well as himself, performed his duty with respect to the bill. He censured the provision which went to vest the responsibility in those, who, from their situations, must be incapable of judging with respect to a necessity which might arise six months before their orders could reach the place, and to take it from those who were on the spot, and had every means of judging. Alluding to some observations which fell from a noble earl (the Earl of Suffolk), his grace seemed to say, he did not consider him one of those who were likely to consider America as an asylum, but to remain at home, and to abide the fate and fortune of his country, as became one bearing the illustrious name of Howard. With respect to the bill in question, his conduct was not owing to any desire to oppose the measures of his majesty's government, but to defend those principles and measures upon which he had himself acted, and which in his conscience, he believed to be right.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* defended the measure in question, on the ground of its necessity, and thought the period originally proposed, preferable to that offered by the amendment. The responsibility was, he contended, placed where it ought to be, viz. in the Government of the Country. The noble earl denied that this could be considered a permanent measure, its duration being limited to the continuance of the war, and until six months after the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace. The necessity of some such measure during war had, he thought, been agreed on all hands, and it was rendered the more necessa now, as from the observations which had been made respecting the conduct of the Governors of our West India Islands, if a measure like the present was not passed, they would be doubtful as to what mode of conduct they ought to pursue.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* could not help making an observation on what the noble lord (Duke of Montrose) had said. The noble lord had considered the bill as producing only a change of responsibility, and according to his opinion, it removed the responsibility from one who acted on the spot, where his judgment would sooner be enlightened, and placed it with ministers at a distance, who could not so easily be apprized of the circumstances which should call for their interference. This was certainly not a true state of the case; there was at this moment no responsibility whatsoever; the governors could not act in the most perilous situation of the West India islands, but by breaking the law: they could not act without committing an offence against the law, which had lodged no discretion in their hands. His majesty's ministers, as the law now stood, might see the danger hanging over the West Indies, and they were not responsible themselves, nor could they throw responsibility upon the governors who might refuse to act under their orders, requiring disobedience to the navigation laws; they have a full and legal answer: that "laws prohibit us from "doing as you desire; the West Indies may "suffer, we cannot help it without a breach of "the law.". Whether they act from either an error in judgment, on the existing circumstances, or from a rigid discharge of their duty in obedience to the laws, to which they are sworn, they are exempt from punishment; they have in truth no responsibility; unless they break the navigation laws, the West India Islands may suffer most materially under this want of all responsibility, which, not existing in ministers, cannot be transferred to governors. The West India islands may suffer, and nobody be legally to blame; that this possibility is not exaggerated is proved, for even on the probability of danger to the West India islands, the late ministers have proceeded, but still they have wisely acted under impressions where no legal responsibility compelled them, for if they had neglected to infringe the law, the good of the West India islands urged them, no legal responsibility could have subjected them to punishment; this bill has provided a responsibility in ministers, transferable in any extent to governors on the spot: they are bound to use sound and legal discussion, for an omission of which they are each responsible. This act provides a responsibility which did not before exist, it procures the certainty of security to the West Indies, which their governors might without legal offence refuse, and ministers could not legally order.—The proposed amendment was negatived, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 12.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Henry Martin took the oaths and his seat for Kinsale.—On the motion of sir Charles Price, it was ordered, 1. That there be laid before this house, an account of the number and tonnage of all ships and vessels built in Great Britain, in the several years from 1790 to 1804; distinguishing each year, and the ports or places where they were respectively built.—2. That there be laid before this house, an account of the number and tonnage of British-built ships in the year 1792; distinguishing the ports to which they belonged.—3. That there be laid before this house, an account of the number and tonnage of prize ships which had been made free and registered from the 5th of January, 1790, to the 5th of January, 1793, inclusive.—4. That there be laid before this house, an account of the number and tonnage of British-built ships in the year 1805; distinguishing the ports to which they belonged.—5. That there be laid before this house, an account of the number and tonnage of prize ships which had been made free and registered from the 5th of January, 1805, to the 5th of January, 1806, inclusive.—Mr. Matthews, in pursuance of a notice he had given for an amendment in the general Turnpike act, stated, that in consequence of that part of the law which imposed a penalty of 5l. on all persons driving waggons on turnpike roads, with wheels of less than six inches thickness, and with less than four horses, there were numerous complaints made of the decisions of magistrates. What he had to propose was, to give the parties an appeal from the decision of the magistrates to the court of quarter sessions, and to allow half of the penalty to be paid to the informer. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill to that effect, which was agreed to.—Mr. Meheux, from the office of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, presented at the bar of the house, "Extracts of Letters, &c. received from the Presidency of Bombay, relative to the sum of Bombay Rupees 31,25,944 inserted in the account of their Disbursements, for the year ending the 30th of April, 1803, and said to be money lent to the Guicowar." Ordered to lie upon the table and to be printed.—Mr. Secretary at War, presented to the house (according to order) a bill for continuing an act, made in this session of parliament, intituled, "An act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, within the United Kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man;" and the same was received, and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—Mr. Parnell presented to the house (according to order) a bill to provide for the payment at the Bank of Ireland, of the interest on certain debentures now payable at the Exchequer of Ireland, and also for altering the days of payment of the interest or dividends on certain annuities in Ireland; and the same was received and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The Marquis of Douglas moved, 1. That there be laid before this house, "an Account of all balances of public money in the hands of the receiver general of the land tax, &c. in Scotland, on the 5th day of April and 5th day of October, 1798, and on every 5th day of April and 5th day of October of every subsequent year, with a state of the manner in which these balances were employed by the receiver general, and a state of the remittances and payments made to account, or in full of these balances.—2. That there be laid before this house, an account of all balances of public money in the hands of the receiver general of the customs in Scotland on the 5th day of April and 5th day of October, 1798, and on every 5th day of April and 5th day of October of every subsequent year, with a state of the manner in which these balances were employed by the receiver general, and a state of the remittances and payments made to account, or in full of these balances.—3. That there be laid before this house, an account of all balances of public money in the hands of the cashier of excise in Scotland on the 5th day of April and 5th day of October, 1798, and on every 5th day of April and 5th day of October of every subsequent year; with a state of the manner in which these balances were employed by the cashier of excise, and a state of the remittances and payments made to account, or in full of these balances.—4. That there be laid before this house an account of all sums recovered in Scotland, either in the court of exchequer, or in the courts of justices of the peace, from any person or persons convicted in any of the said courts of offences against the acts of parliament, or any of them relative to the customs, excise, or stamp duties; as also of the amount of all sums received by compounding with persons charged with such offences; together with the names and additions of the persons from whom such sums have been recovered, with the date of recovering the same; and also, an account shewing what part of these sums so recovered have been accounted for in the exchequer, as his majesty's share of fines, forfeitures, and penalties, with the dates at which they were so accounted for; also shewing what part of the sums so recovered have been accounted for to the informer in whose name the said prosecutions proceeded, and what part of the said sums was applied in defraying the charges or expenses of such prosecutions, from the year ending 5th July, 1782, to the present time." Ordered.—Mr. Vansittart presented to the house, a paper, intituled, "Return to three orders of the house respectively, dated 11th March, 1806; for an account of all offices granted in reversion in England, wheresoever holden; specifying the nature of the office, the date of the grant, and the period for which the office has been granted; a like account of all offices granted in reversion in Scotland; and a like account of all offices granted in reversion in Ireland;" Ordered, That the said return do lie upon the table; and be printed for the members of the house.—Ordered, That the order of the day, for the second reading of the bill for the better regulation of the office of receiver general of the stamp duties in Great Britain, be now read: And the same being read; the said bill was read a second time, and committed to a committee of the whole house, for to-morrow sevennight, the 20th day of this instant May. Ordered, that the said bill be printed.—The order of the day being read, for taking into further consideration the report from the committee of the whole house, to whom the bill to explain and render more effectual an act, passed in the 7th year of King William the Third for preventing charge and expense in elections of members to serve in parliament, was re-committed; Ordered, That the said report be taken into further consideration upon Monday next.—The ingrossed bill for increasing the salaries of the Judge of the Court of Admiralty in Scotland, and of the Judges of the Commissary Court in Edinburgh, was (according to order) read the third time. Resolved, That the bill do pass. Ordered, That Mr. Alexander do carry the bill to the lords, and desire their concurrence.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.] Sir *Arthur Wellesley* said, he wished to enquire of the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull), whether he meant to bring forward the charge against the marquis of Wellesley, respecting his transactions in Oude, this week? The reason why he asked the question was, that it would be much more convenient for him to attend the discussion in the course of the ensuing week, as particular business required his going for a few days into the country. His object, however, at present, was, pursuant to his notice, to move for the following papers, viz. that there be laid before this house 1. "A Copy of a Letter to the Court of Directors in the Judicial Department, dated 6th July 1802, from the Governor General in Council, transmitting a Copy of the Answers to the Governor General's interrogatories sent by the several judicial officers and collectors throughout the provinces. 2. That there be laid before this house, extract of a general letter from the court of directors in the revenue and judicial department, dated 14th September 1803, paragraph 15, to the government of Bengal, signifying the court's approbation of the zeal which the governor general had manifested for the public interests, in proposing certain queries to the collectors and magistrates. 3. That there be laid before this house, extract of a letter from the court of directors in the public department, dated 26th March 1801, paragraph 48, approving of the arrangements of the governor general in council for the regulation of the press. 4. That there be laid before this house, a copy of the minutes of the governor general lord Wellesley, dated 19th March 1801, and recorded in the secret and political department, for improving the governor general's office. 5. That there be laid before this house, extract of a separate letter from the governor general in Council to the court of directors dated 31st of July 1801, paragraphs 28 to 40 inclusive, respecting the re-establishment of the town duties, and the improvement of the government customs; together with any reply from the court of directors to the same. 6. That there be laid before this house, extract of a letter in the revenue department from the Bengal government to the court of directors, dated 5th March 1800, paragraphs 14 to 20, inclusive, relative to the stamp duties, and to the establishment of other sources of revenue. 7. That there be laid before this house, extract of a letter from the Bengal government, in the revenue department to the court of directors, dated 5th September 1800, relative to the abkaree or tax on spirituous liquors, and the court's reply to the same. 8. That there be laid before this house, extract of a letter from the court of directors to the Bengal government, dated 14th September 1803, paragraph 24, approving of the regulations for levying a duty on spirituous liquors distilled according to the European method. 9. That there be laid before this house extracts of letters from the Bengal government, in the public department, dated 31st July 1798, paragraph 35, and the 25th December 1798, paragraphs 128 to 134, to the court of directors relative to the revenues of the post office, and the court's replies to the same. 10. That there be laid before this house, extract of such part of the proceedings of the Bengal Government, in the law department, dated 6th May 1800, as relate to the establishment of the police; together with such proceedings and resolutions of the government, in the judicial department (criminal branch) on the same subject, dated 15th May 1800; and all such minutes of the governor general, and reports, as relate to the establishment of the police at Calcutta in the year 1800, under the improvements introduced by lord Wellesley. 11. That there be laid before this house, an account of the net revenues of the ceded provinces in Oude, after deducting expences of collection, and other contingent charges, since the conclusion of the Treaty of Lucknow in November 1801 to the latest period, shewing the amount of revenue applicable to the payment of the troops, after deducting all civil charges. 12. That there be laid before this house, a copy of the governor general's minute, in the political department, dated 12th April 1805, relative to Captain Sydenham's allowances." Ordered.

Mr. *Paull* signified his readiness to concur in the suggestion of the hon. general and declared his intention to submit a motion to the house on the subject, if some satisfactory reason should not be given for the delay in the production of the Bhurtpore Papers.

[PEACE IN INDIA] Mr. *Johnstone* said, he rose for the purpose of asking a question upon a subject which he considered to be of extreme public importance. He had heard that a dispatch had been received at the India House, stating that lord Lake had written letters to general Nicholson and general Jones, in one of which he ordered general Jones to withdraw his troops from the position they held, as a peace had been concluded with Scindia. He therefore wished to enquire whether that report were true? It appeared that the present administration had, on coming into office, approved of sir George Barlow as a fit person to administer the affairs of the company abroad; and certainly, if within three months his government had succeeded in giving peace to that country, it was highly creditable, and a good presage of what was in future to be expected from it.

Mr. *Creevey* replied, that an overland dispatch had certainly been received from Bombay, at the India house, stating not the actual conclusion of peace with Scindiah, but that such an event was probable, and describing the distresses of Holkar. If the hon. gent. was desirous of learning the contents of the dispatch, he might have satisfied his wishes by applying in another quarter.

[KING'S MESSAGE RESPECTING THE FAMILY OF LORD NELSON.] Lord Henry Petty acquainted the house, that he had a Message from his majesty to this house, signed by his majesty; and he presented the same to the house; and it was read by Mr. Speaker, and is as followeth, viz.

"George R. His Majesty having taken into his royal consideration the eminent and signal services performed by the late Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson in the course of a long series of distinguished exploits, and particularly in the glorious and decisive victory of Trafalgar, in which he unfortunately fell; and being desirous to bestow on the family of the said Lord Viscount Nelson such considerable and lasting marks of his royal favour as may correspond with the sense he entertains of services so honourable to the British Navy, and so eminently beneficial to the interests of the nation; and for this purpose, of granting to the Earl Nelson, and the heirs male of his body, and such other persons to whom the title of Earl Nelson may descend, pursuant to the limitations of the patent whereby the said dignity is granted, a nett annuity of five thousand pounds during their respective lives; and also, of granting a sum, not exceeding one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, as a further provision for the family of the said Lord Viscount Nelson, a part whereof it his majesty's intention should be appropriated to the purchase of a house and lands, to be annexed as above to the said dignity; recommends it to his faithful commons to consider of a proper method of enabling his majesty to grant and settle such annu-

"ity, and to make such further provision "as aforesaid, in such manner as may be "thought most effectual for the bene-"fit of the family of the said lord vis-"count Nelson.—G. R."—Ordered, That this House will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take his Majesty's said most gracious Message into consideration.

[MESSRS. CHALMERS AND COWIE'S PETITION.] Lord *Henry Petty* moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a Committee of Supply.

Mr. *William Smith* then moved, that the petition of Messrs. Chalmers and Cowie, claiming a compensation for the loss they had sustained in the importation of Swedish herrings, be referred to the said committee.

Mr. *Huskisson* thought the house ought to pause, before they admitted an uninvestigated claim to the amount of 35,000l. The whole of this case had been diligently examined by the late board of treasury, and his rt. hon. friend (Mr. Pitt), now no more, after taking great pains in the investigation, did not think himself justified in admitting the claim. He therefore hoped the hon. member would postpone submitting it to a committee of supply, in order to afford an opportunity for further examination. He said, that since he came into the house this day, he had put a copy of the minute of the board of treasury into the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he thought he should have time to consider of it before the motion was brought forward.

Mr. *William Smith* said, that he meant to have stated the whole of the case before he made his motion in the committee. He had already put off this business three times, one of which was for the accommodation of the hon. gent. himself. As to the paper which the hon. gent. put into the hands of one of the ministers, it consisted of only about twelve lines, and did not require much deliberation. However, if it were the wish both of the hon. gent. and the noble lord alluded to, that he should postpone it, he would do so, as he was aware he had little chance of success, if he had not their concurrence.

Mr. *Long* said, that the lords of the treasury had considered themselves bound to resist the application, and had it been brought forward in the time of the late administration, the petitioners would have met with no encouragement.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* hoped, that as the attention of the house had not been turned to the subject, the noble lord would not press the matter now.

Lord *Henry Petty* deprecated delays in such cases as the present as they were attended with great inconvenience. He wished, however, that the matter might be deferred till Wednesday.

Mr. *Huskisson* said he wished for delay, as he did not know before, that there was any intention of submitting the claim, this day, to a committee of supply.

Mr. *Rose* thought the house would do well to consider the matter maturely before they decided on a subject of so much importance. Probably all of them had not read the full report of the committee upon it; but they ought to do so before they came to a determimation. It was a matter for the house at large to decide upon; for he maintained, that no board of treasury would be justified in deciding upon such a claim of its own authority.

Mr. *Wilberforce* thought it would be better to take sufficient time to consider of the subject. He had himself been a member of the committee to which the petition was referred, and he understood that the conduct of government in the affair, would, in a great measure, depend on their report. The difficulty, he believed, which the lords of the treasury had, was in not being able to find a precedent for allowing a demand of such extent For his own part, he thought it an extremely hard case; and though the demand of the petitioners might not be founded in strict justice, yet, in his opinion, they had a very fair claim on the liberality of parliament. The peculiar hardships in their case was, that in ten days after the government brought in a bill to legalise the trade in which they were encouraged to embark, in consequence of the dispute with the Northern powers, the embargo was laid on, which occasioned their cargo of Swedish herrings to be spoiled.

Mr. *Rose* said, that he did not give it as his opinion, that no compensation should be given them, but that the treasury board could not allow such a claim by its own authority.

Mr. *William Smith* explained, that by the ministers consenting to have the claim submitted to a committee of supply, he did not wish to be understood as saying, that they had agreed to his object in doing so. There was a great disadvantage in putting off things of this kind from time to time, as it caused great inconvenience to the parties, and it at last was liable to be considered as a thing which was not to be brought forward at all He should not, however, for the present, object to a delay till Friday next, in order that the subject might not be again deferred, and that no possible excuse might be received for the final determination of the house. It had been frequently the case, that when subjects were postponed from week to week, gentlemen considered that they were of no consequence: this could not apply to the present subject, which was of national importance, as it affected the confidence reposed by mercantile men in the government of the country; and it was of no inconsiderable magnitude to the individuals immediately concerned.—The house agreed to defer the consideration of the merits of the petition until Friday next.

[CONDUCT OF EARL ST. VINCENT.] Mr. Secretary *Windham* hoped the hon gent. opposite to him (Mr. Jeffery) would not object, on the ground of the inconvenience of postponing motions, to delay a little longer his motion respecting the noble lord. Not only his motion, but the order for the third reading of the bill for repealing the Additional Force act, stood for the next day. If he could postpone his motion on that account, it would be a personal favour to him.

Mr *Jeffery* said, he would certainly rather postpone his motion for another day, than that it should throw any impediment in the way of a measure which he conceived of such great importance as that bill; but in consenting to withdraw his motion for to-morrow, he relied on its being suffered to come on without interruption on Wednesday next.

Lord *Henry Petty*, in the absence of his noble friend (lord Howick), who would have to take a material part in the debate on the subject, requested the hon. gent. would state the nature of the charges he meant to bring forward against the noble earl, to whom his motion was to apply.

Mr. *Jeffery* replied, that he was resolved to pursue the course adopted by the hon. prosecutor (Mr. Whitbread) in the impeachment now pending in Westminster Hall, who gave in his charges only on the morning of the day on which the house was to proceed on them.—On being again applied to, Mr Jeffery stated, that his charges against earl St. Vincent would be for misconduct, neglect, and mismanagement, whilst he was first lord of the admiralty.

[PROPERTY DUTY BILL] Lord *Henry Petty* moved the commitment of the Property Duty Bill.

Mr. *Francis* did not mean to object to the Speaker's leaving the chair, but he thought it incumbent upon him to state his opinion of the principle of the bill. His objections to it were fundamental, and not to be done away. But he knew the difficulties under which the ministry laboured, and his object was only to clear himself from the charge of inconsistency, for he was not one of those who held one opinion while on one side of the house and another when on another side. His opinion was the same as before, with this addition, that his objections to it had been rendered more powerful by the augmentation which had taken place in it. He objected to it as being misnamed, and called a Property Tax, when in fact it was an Income Tax, and, as such, unjust and unequal, and in some cases cruel and oppressive. Having thus stated his objections to the principle, he would, when it came into the committee, give his assistance to render it in its details as unexceptionable as possible. He hoped it would not escape the attention of the house that we were now come to times of difficulty and necessity. The noble lord had found a difficulty in carrying his first tax, and he would feel it more and more in future. It was not that he wished to oppose him, but he really trusted that the house would consider that we were come to the life-blood of the country in taxation, and in proportion as our difficulties increased we ought to attend to other resources. These were parsimony and a rigorous levy of the taxes at present in force. Great frauds were committed in many branches of the revenue departments, especially in the Customs, which might be prevented by a vigilant ministry. Ministers had no right to demand more taxes while waste was permitted, and abuses remained uncorrected It was an old saying, and a wise one, that "parsimony was the "best of all the sources of public reve-"nue." He hoped this would be atttended to.

Lord *H. Petty* admitted the justice of many of these remarks, but the greater the difficulties of the country were, the more necessity did he find for this tax. As to economy, he assured the house, that it was always in his view, and he had frequently urged the necessity of adhering to it.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he was convinced that His majesty's ministers were fully impressed with the necessty of a strict economy. He agreed with his hon. friend on the bench below (Mr. Francis) in most of his observations, nor was it necessary for him to add a word to what he had before said on this tax. But he rather differed from the honourable gentleman as to the rigorous collection of the taxes. An impartial collection ought undoubtedly, to be made, but the *fortiter in modo*, as well as *in re*, would render the taxes ten times more oppressive than at present. He believed however, that the honourable gentleman meant the same thing by the word rigour, which he did by the word impartial.

Mr. *Francis* explained that by the word 'rigorous,' he did not mean a ruinous, but an exact collection. He was no friend to oppression or cruelty, but did wish to trust government with the discretion in matters of forbearance.

Mr. *Fuller* complained that the tax was on property, not on income. He complained of the effect of it on gentlemen of landed property, who were not to be allowed for sums expended on repairs, and were also to be charged for the annual increase in the value of woods. He expressed a hope that next year an income tax would be substituted.

Mr. *Tyrwhit Jones* hoped and trusted that the chancellor of the exchequer would, in the committee, be induced to relax of that firm inflexibility which he had shewn respecting the exemptions, and that the provisions of the former bill on that head would be restored.—The house then resolved itself into a committee.

Mr. *Vansittart* proposed, that in going through the clauses, the marginal abstracts should be read, and any clause to which any gentlemen wished to propose an amendment might be read at length.

Sir *Robert Buxton* objected to the first clause. He said he never could perceive the reason why farmers were to be taxed in a different manner from other classes of the community. Whether the tax were upon property or income, he thought their profits should be estimated in the same way as other traders.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, the reason of the difference was, that, from the great number of farmers, and the imperfect manner most of them kept their accounts, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to judge of their profits, but by an average. The average was not taken high, when it reckoned for profits only a sum equal to three-fourths of the rent paid. There were few farmers indeed who cleared so little.

Mr. *Holt Leigh* contended, that in a year when the farmer might have met casualties, or made no profits, it was unfair that he should be rated on an average.

Mr. *Vansittart* replied, that a productive year would compensate for that loss, and that when the average was low it was a fair mode of computation.

Mr. *Fuller* wished to know, why the English farmer should pay 1s. 6d. in the pound on his rent, while the Scotch farmer paid but a shilling.

Mr. *Vansittart* answered, that the reason was, that the rent of the Scotch farmer was higher, as he was not burdened with tythes, or poor-rates, and therefore, it would not be fair to take the same proportion of those different rents as the amount to be paid to the tax.

Mr. *Holt Leigh* observed, that it was very hard that a farmer, who with a capital of three hundred pounds, rented a farm of 200l. per annum, should pay the tax when the same amount of capital engaged in any trade, would be exempt.

Mr. *Huskisson* observed, that the hon. gent. seemed to think that the tax affected capital, whereas it was a tax upon profits, and if the profits were made upon 300l. capital in farming, it was but just they should pay it—The clause was then agreed to.

Mr. *Ker* asked, whether Irish gentlemen, who resided six months in England, were to pay for the whole year?

Mr. *Vansittart* said, they certainly were, because no property in Ireland was made chargeable.

On the clause requiring persons to return the names of those resident in their houses, or employed by them who were liable to the tax, an objection was raised by

Mr. *S. Stanhope* objected to this task as impracticable. How was one to judge who was liable? It was a question whether servants on board wages, who would thus receive above 50l. a year, were not liable, while servants who were not on board wages, but who received larger wages otherwise were not liable.—After a long conversation,

Mr. *Vansittart* promised, that the various bearings of the clause, and the hints thrown out by the gentlemen who spoke on it, should be considered.

Mr. *Robson* wished to know how the owners of the houses were to know who were liable? He had been applied to that morning by three persons from the country, who had acted as commissioners, and they begged him to obtain them all the information in his power on that head; for they did not understand by the act who were liable. He wished to know, whether clerks in counting-houses and shops, who had only 75l. a year, and a family of four or five children each, were to pay the tax? If they were, the bill would, in his opinion, be oppressive; for men in such circumstances could not pay the tax. He did not want to oppose the tax, because he knew if we would have war, we must pay the taxes; but he would take the sense of the house in some future stage of the bill, whether persons having four children, and not more than 160l. a year, or only 100l. a year, should pay any tax at all? He was proceeding farther into a view of the general merits of the bill, when he was called to order. It was then agreed that the clause should be reconsidered.

Mr. *Tyrwhit Jones* gave notice, that he meant to propose a clause imposing a penalty on assessors making vexatious sur-charges.

Sir *Robert Buxton*, after making some observations on that part of the bill which allowed a deduction of two per cent. to landlords who paid for the repair of the houses they let out, said, he conceived that this deduction would not cover their expenses, and that it was hard the landed interest should be subject to a higher tax than others. He therefore offered a clause to the consideration of the committee, the purport of which was, that eight per cent. should be deducted from the tax paid by the landlord for all dwelling-houses kept in repair by him, and five per cent. for all farm-houses.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, that the land tax which formerly existed, came much higher on the land-holder than this; and as landed property was now only taxed in common with all kinds of income he could never agree to this clause.—A conversation then took place between Mr. S. Stanhope, Mr. T. Jones, Mr. Bastard, and Mr. Wilberforce, who supported the clause, and Mr. Vansittart, and others, who opposed it. The question was at length called for, and the committee divided, when there appeared; For the clause, 51: against it, 129: majority, 78.

On the clause relative to funded property,

Mr. *Francis* agreeably to his former intimation, proposed that the profits arising from the interest upon exchequer bills, and every other species of floating public debt, should be subjected to the tax, and liable to the same stoppages on the payment of those bills, or the interest thereon at the bank; as upon any other species of government securities. The hon. gent. supported his proposition by many clear and forcible arguments, to shew that property of that species was as fair and as necessary an object of taxation as any species of funded property could be.

Lord *Henry Petty*, after fully admitting the fairness of the principle, observed, that the state derived the proposed advantage in another mode, though not in the precise form suggested by the hon. gent.; for a great part of the property in exchequer bills being in the hands of the directors of the bank of England, and of private bankers and reputable merchants, who, it was to be presumed, would make an honest and correct return of their aggregate profits in the year, would, of course, return the interest on those bills as a part of their income. The tax would operate this way in a manner less vexatious, than in the ordinary mode of deducting from the interest upon the bills, as paid off.—It was, however, argued in reply, by Mr. Francis, Mr. W. Smith, and some other members, that the more regular way, and the best security against evasion, would be the mode adopted in the case of all other funds; and that while no disadvantage whatever could arise to the fair holder of floating funds from the proposed arrangement, the noble lord and the house were bound to take the best security in their power on behalf of the public, for the regular payment of the tax, and for the prevention of all attempts to evade it.

Lord *Henry Petty* thought the arguments of those hon. members entitled to every degree of respect and deference, and requested to have time for further consideration, not doubting that he should be induced to adopt them. The subject was therefore postponed to a future stage of the bill.

On the clause for exempting the property of foreigners in the British Funds from the tax,

Mr. *Francis* saw no reason why this exemption should exist, or why the thirteen millions belonging to foreigners in the British Funds, should not be as heavily taxed as the property of the natives.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* was astonished at the opinion expressed by the hon. gent. on this subject. For his part, he should consider an act, such as that which he recommended, a shameful confiscation. The bill under the consideration of the committee was not for taxing foreign, but British subjects. So unjust did he think such a measure, it would involve in it such a flagrant breach of faith, that if the revenue resulting from it were ever so great, he should think it his duty to reject it.

Mr. *Francis* could not couceive why any man, who placed his property in the British Funds, ought not to pay for the security he received in common with the other creditors of the state.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* observed, that the public faith had never been staked more to foreigners than to any others possessed of funded property, and therefore he did not see why foreigners should be exempt. The contract was never originally made with foreigners; they came into possession of funded property by purchase. As well might it be contended that the property of a foreigner who gained an income by trade in this country, should be exempt from the tax, as that his funded property should be exempt.

Lord *Henry Petty* concurred intirely with his rt. hon. friend (Mr. Fox).

Mr. *W. Smith* confessed there was much plausibility in the arguments urged against including the property of foreigners in the tax, but was still of opinion, that in justice and equity it might be taxed.—Mr. Ker and sir C. Price, spoke nearly to the same effect; but after Mr. Secretary Fox's explanation, the objections seemed to be given up. Mr. Vansittart immediately rose and moved, that the chairman do report progress, and ask leave to sit again. The house was then resumed and the committee ordered to sit again to morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, May 13.

[MINUTES.] The house proceeded, as usual, to Westminster Hall. They returned soon after three, when an order was made to proceed further on the trial of lord viscount Melville to-morrow and a message was sent to the House of Commons to acquaint them therewith.—The order of the day on the Slave Importation Restriction bill was discharged, on the motion of the duke of Clarence and renewed for Friday.—The American Intercourse bill was read a third time and passed, and a message sent to the House of Commons to acquaint them therewith.—Strangers were for a short time excluded whilst the house discussed some matter of privilege. After our re-admission the earl of Westmoreland presented a petition from certain Merchants and traders of Manchester against the Slave Importation Restriction bill, which was ordered to lie on the table.—Strangers were again for a short time excluded. After our re-admission, the consideration of his majesty's message relative to earl Nelson was, on the motion of lord Auckland, deferred till to-morrow.

[PROTEST AGAINST THE AMERICAN INTERCOURSE BILL.] A bill intitled "An Act for enabling his majesty in council, to permit the Importation and Exportation into and from his majesty's territories in the West-Indies, and Continent of South America, of certain Goods and Commodities in Neutral Ships in time of War. Dissent.—1st, Because no proof whatever has been adduced to shew either the expediency or necessity of a measure which facilitates and systematically establishes the suspension of our Navigation and Colonial Laws; and thereby sacrifices to Foreigners, the Supply Trade of the British West India Settlements, to which the United Kingdom and its dependencies are rightfully entitled in return for the monopoly they afford at their own market to the produce of those Settlements. 2dly, Because the bill will transfer responsibility from the West India Governors to his majesty's ministers at home; that is, it will take responsibility from those who alone can be judges of the necessity, and will give it to his majesty's ministers at a great distance, who cannot possibily have any information in due time to enable them to act on emergency; therefore the power of suspending the laws must be ultimately delegated to the persons from whom the responsibility will be removed, to persons who actually derive great emolument from the frequency of the abuse. 3dly, Because it will ultimately render our West India settlements dependent on the American States. 4thly, Because the British Colonies in North America will be ruined, or greatly prejudiced, in consequence of the admission of foreign American Shipping to the Supply Trade to the British West Indies. 5thly, Because Ireland in particular will be dependent on the discretion or caprice of Ministers or Governors for the Provision trade to the West Indies. 6thly, Because, through the relaxations and suspensions of the navigation-laws, our carrying trade and commerce are transferred to foreigners, the value of British shipping greatly depreciated, and the increase of foreign shipping employed in our trade, compared with the increase of British shipping being in the proportion of 12 to 1, ship-building is so alarmingly discouraged in this kingdom, that only two ships for the merchant service have been built in the

River Thames since December 1802, a period of nearly three years and a half, and only two more are now building there, and ship-building in general in the several ports of this kingdom has decreased nearly in the same proportion. 7thly, Because if the United Kingdom and its dependencies cannot, at all times, furnish the necessary articles to the British West Indies (the contrary of which, however, may be proved) the intercourse with the American States for supplies may and can be most surely and steadily carried on as heretofore in British Shipping, navigated according to law, of which there is and has been a large number unemployed since neutral vessels have been permitted to enter the ports of the British West India settlements. 8thly, Because, if the Ships of the American States are permitted to enter the ports of the British West Indies, they will at the same time introduce, as they do at present, all East India and European goods, to the detriment of the British East India Company, and to the shipping, the manufactures, and commerce of the United Kingdom and its dependencies. Lastly, Because the Petitioners against this bill, who prayed that they might be allowed to state how they shall be aggrieved thereby, have been refused to be heard, notwithstanding the strong allegations stated in their petitions which they offered to prove by the most respectable evidence at the Bar of the House.

(Signed) SHEFFIELD".

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, May 13.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Fellowes brought up a Report from the Committee to examine into the Returns of the Bishops under the Clergy Residence act, and mentioned that it was his intention to proceed in the same manner every year in order to ascertain how far the Act had been efficient. The report was ordered to lie on the Table.—A message from the lords announced their intention of proceeding in the trial of lord Melville to-morrow, and their having passed a bill to permit the King in Council to allow certain goods to be exported from and imported into the West India Colonies in neutral vessels during the war, to which they desired the concurrence of the house.—Mr. Hurst presented Petitions from the Lawyers, Solicitors, and Attorneys practising in the Marshelsea Court, against the Small Debt Court Act. Ordered to lie on the Table. Mr. Owen presented Accounts from the East India Company, pursuant to an order of the House of the 27th February last. Ordered to lie on the table.—Lord Morpeth moved, that the accounts, stating the amount of the bonds, deeds, and other debts of the East-India Company, in the several presidencies, with the rate of interest, and its annual amount, presented on the 13th of April, 1805, should be printed. Ordered.—Sir Philip Stephens presented an account of the Iron and Iron Wares furnished for the Navy, by contract, during the last five years. Ordered to lie on the table.—The Turnpike Amendment bill was read a first and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—Mr. Robson gave notice, that, on Friday next, he would move for certain papers respecting the Barrack Department.—The Irish Annuity bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—The Irish Loan bill, and the Treasury Bills bill, were committed.—Mr. Parnell gave notice, that to-morrow he would move for an account of the number of Irish and English bank-notes now in circulation.—On the motion of the Secretary at War, the Mutiny bill was read a second time. Ordered to be committed to-morrow.—Mr. Owen (from the Directors of the East India Company) attended at the door; he was called in; and at the bar presented to the house, pursuant to their orders; 1, "An account of the Annual Revenues of the East India Company, in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, Post Office Collections, Benares Revenue, Oude subsidy and revenue, land revenues, judicial fees, &c. customs, the receipts from the sales of salt and opium, and stamp duties, for the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, and 1803-4; together with the estimate of the same, for the year 1804-5, and an account of the annual charges defrayed by the East India Company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and in Benares and Oude, distinguishing the same under the respective heads of civil, judicial, military and marine, the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and customs, the advances and charges on salt and opium, and the charges of the stamp office, for the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, and 1803-4; together with the estimate of the same for the year 1804-5; and also; 2, A comparison of the East India Company, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and from Benares and Oude, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, post office collections, Benares revenue, Oude subsidy and revenues, land revenues, judicial fees, &c.

customs, the receipts from the sale of salt and opium, and the stamp duties for the year 1803-4, and of the charges defrayed by the said company in the said provinces, and in Benares and Oude; distinguishing the same under the respective heads of civil, judicial, military and marine, and the charges of buildings and fortifications, of collecting the revenues and customs, the advances and charges on account of salt and opium, and the charges of the stamp office, for the same year; and also; 3, An account of the annual revenues of the East India Company, at the presidency of Fort Saint George, and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, post office collections, sea and land customs, subsidies from the Nabob of Arcot, from the Rajah of Tanjore, &c. and land revenues, and farms and licences, for the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, and 1803-4; together with the estimate of the same for the year 1804-5;—and an account of the annual charges defrayed by the East India Company, at the presidency of Fort Saint George, and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars; distinguishing the same under the respective heads of civil, military, buildings and fortifications, and the charges of collecting the revenues and customs, for the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, and 1803-4; together with the estimate of the same for the year 1804-5; and also; 4, A comparison of the estimated and actual amount of the revenues of the East India Company, at the presidency of Fort Saint George, and the settlements subordinate thereto, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars, under the heads of mint or coinage duties, post office collections, sea and land customs, subsidies from the Nabob of Arcot, Rajah of Tanjore, &c. land revenues, and farms and licences, for the year 1804-5; and of the charges defrayed for the same year by the said company, in the said presidency and settlements, and in the Carnatic and Northern Circars; distinguishing the same, respectively, under the several heads of civil, military, buildings and fortifications, and collecting the revenues and customs; and also; 5, An account of the annual revenues of the East-India Company, at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, under the heads of land revenues, customs, farms and licences, &c., for the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, and 1803-4; together with the estimate of the same for the year 1804-5;—and an account of the annual charges defrayed by the East India Company, at the presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto; distinguishing the same under the respective military, buildings and fortifications, and the charges of collecting the revenues and customs, for the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, and 1803-4; together with the estimate of the same for the year 1804-5; and also; 6, A comparison of the estimated and actual amount of the revenues of the East-India Company, at the Presidency of Bombay, and the settlements subordinate thereto, under the heads of land revenues, customs, farms, and licences, &c. for the year 1803-4, and of the charges defrayed for the same year by the said Company, in the said Presidency and settlements; distinguishing the same, respectively, under the several heads of civil, marine, military, buildings, and fortifications, and collecting the revenues and customs; and also; 7, An account of the annual charges defrayed by the East-India Company, for the management of their trade and commerce in Bengal, at Madras, and at Bombay, so far as the same can be distinguished from the civil or other charges, respectively, for the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, and 1803-4; together with the estimate of the same for the year 1804-5; and also; 8, An account of the expenses of the residency of Fort Marlborough and its dependencies, for the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, 1803-4; together with the estimate of the same for the year 1804-5; and also; 9, Amount of the expenses of the island of Saint Helena, and the factory of Canton, for the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, and 1803-4; and also; 10, Abstract estimate of the probable resources and disbursements of the Bengal government, from 1st of May, 1804, to 30th April, 1805; and also; 11, Abstract estimate of the probable resources and disbursements of the Madras government, from 1st May, 1804, to 30th April, 1805; and also; 12, Abstract estimate of the resources and disbursements of the Bombay government, from 1st May, 1804, to 30th April, 1805; and also; 13, A general abtract of the estimates of the revenues and charges of the presidencies of Fort William, Fort Saint George, and Bombay, from 1st May, 1804, to the 30th April, 1805; and also; 14, An account of the amount received at the several presidencies of Fort William, Fort Saint George, and Bombay, for sales of import goods and stores, and for certificates on the Court of Directors, within the three years 1801-2, 1802-3, and 1803-4; together with the estimate of the same for the year 1804-5; and also; 15, Amount of the bond and other debts owing by the East-India Company at the several presidencies in the East-Indies, on 30th April, 1804; the rates of interest which such debts respectively carry, and the annual amount of such interest; and also; 16, An account of the amount of debts subscribed in India, between 30th April, 1803, and the 1st May, 1804, agreeable to the Court's orders of the 25th June, 1793; and also; 17, Abstract statement of the receipts and disbursements of the Bengal government, from the 1st of May, 1803, to the 30th April, 1804; and also; 18, Abstract statement of the receipts and disbursements of the Madras government, from 1st May, 1803, to 30th April, 1804; and also; 19, Abstract statement of the receipts and disbursements of the Bombay government, from 1st May, 1803, to 30th April, 1804; and also; 20, An account of the balance of quick stock, exhibiting a state of the Company's affairs in respect to their debts and assets, as they stood at the several presidencies of Fort William, Fort Saint George, and Bombay, and at the residency of Fort Marlborough, at the conclusion of the year 1803-4; and also; 21, An account of the prime cost of all cargoes purchased in India, and shipped for Europe, in the year 1803-4, together with the commercial charges at each presidency, not added to the invoice; and also; 22, An account of Stock, per computation, of the East-India Company, exclusive of their capital stock, on the 1st day of March, 1805; and also; 23, An account of the amount of all goods sold at the East-India Company's sales, from 1st March, 1804, to 1st March, 1805; and also; 24, An estimate of profit and loss on the East-India Company's sales in England, and other profits, for the year ending 1st March, 1805, with other payments in England deducted therefrom." Together with a list; and then he withdrew; and the said list was read. Ordered, That the said accounts do lie upon the table, and be printed for the members of the house.—A petition of several barristers at law and counsel in the ancient Court of Marshalsea of the King's household, and of the Court of his Majesty's palace of Westminster; and also, A petition of several persons, being sworn attornies of the ancient Court of the Marshalsea of the King's household, and of the Court of his Majesty's palace of Westminster; were severally presented to the house and read; taking notice of the bill to explain, amend, and render more effectual, two acts passed in the 22d and 32d years of his late Majesty, for the more easy and speedy recovery of small debts within the town and borough of Southwark, and the several parishes and places in the said acts mentioned; and setting forth, that the petitioners have, at a very great expense to them, been duly appointed counsel and attornies to the said courts, where they enjoy a right of practising exclusively and possess freeholds in such their offices; and that their rights and interests will be most materially injured by the bill; and no provision is made to remunerate them for the great losses which they must of necessity sustain if the same should pass into a law; and therefore praying, that they may be heard, by themselves or counsel against the said bill, or that they may be otherwise relieved, in such manner as the house shall think fit. And the said petitions were severally ordered to be referred to the consideration of the committee, to whom the said bill is committed; and the petitioners are to be heard, by themselves or counsel, before the said committee, upon their petitions, if they think fit. Ordered, That it be an instruction to the said committee, that they do admit counsel to be heard, at any time, in favour of the saidbill against the said petitions; and that all who come to the siad committee have voices.—A petition of several inhabitants of the city of Glasgow, in the county of Lanark, was presented to the house, and read; setting forth, "that in pursuance of leave granted by the house, upon 25th day of April last, notices have been given of the application to the house, for leave to bring in a bill for supplying the city and suburbs of Glasgow with water from the river Clyde; and that the map or plan of the aqueduct therein described was deposited with the clerk of the peace of the said county on the 3d day of May instant; and therefore praying, that leave may be given to bring in a bill for the purposes aforesaid." Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the consideration of a committee; and that they do examine the matter thereof, and report the same, as it shall appear to them, to the house. And a committee was appointed accordingly; and they have power to send for persons, papers, and records.—Mr Lee reported from the committee, to whom the bill for the amending and repairing of the road leading from the town of Kilcullen, in the county of Kildare, to the town of Carlow, was committed; that the committee had examined and found that the order of the house, of the 13th day of March last, directing notices to be given of the application to parliament for the purposes mentioned in the petition for the bill, three times in the Dublin Evening Post, and by affixing the said notices for seven days on the respective doors where the sessions are held for the counties of Kildare and Carlow, had been complied with; and that the committee had gone through the bill, and made several amendments thereunto, which they had directed him to report to the house; and he read the report in his place, and afterwards delivered the bill, with the amendments, in at the table, where the amendments were read, and agreed to by the house. Ordered, That the bill, with the amendments, be ingrossed.—Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton presented to the house (according to order) a bill to provide a fund for repairing and improving the harbour of Dunbar, and other public works, within the Burgh of Dunbar; and the same was received, and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time.—Mr. Henry Shelly reported from the committee, to whom the bill for paving, lighting, cleansing, watching, repairing, improving, and regulating the roads, streets, and other public passages and places, within the borough of Lewes, in the county of Sussex, and for removing and preventing nuisances and encroachments therein, was committed; "that the committee had examined the allegations of the bill, and found the same to be true; and that the committee had gone through the bill, and made several amendments thereunto, which they had directed him to report to the house; and he read the report in his place, and afterwards delivered the bill, with the amendments, in at the table, where the amendments were read, and agreed to by the house." Ordered, That the bill with the amendments, be ingrossed.

[REPEAL OF THE ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.]—Mr. Secretary *Windham* moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Additional Force Repeal bill. On the question being put,

Sir *J. Pulteney* rose and said, he did not mean to detain the house, but wished to offer a few observations on the mode of proceeding that had been followed, and the line of argument that had been pursued through the whole of this question. When on that side of the house they had adverted in the course of argument to the plans proposed by the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) they had been told that they ought to confine themselves to the merits of the Additional Force bill alone. This he thought, however, was by no means a just way of reasoning, because it was not possible they could fairly estimate the merits of that bill, without taking into their calculation at the same time the measure that was intended to succeed it. Could the measures intended to come in the room of this bill be pointed out to the house as in any respect superior to it, either in its immediate effects or permanent consequences, the best mode of convincing them of the propriety of abolishing the bill, was to point out this superiority. On the contrary, if they were convinced of the superiority of this mode of raising men, to any of the new measures proposed by the gentlemen over the way, it was most natural for them to compare it in its effects and bearings with those new measures in contemplation. Though those measures had not been specifically and individually before the house, yet it could not be supposed they should yet be ignorant of them after they had been so ably developed in a speech of four hours by the rt. hon. secretary; else, to what purpose a speech of such length and minuteness? He thought it fair, therefore, to view those projects as already before the house, and therefore justifiable to compare their probable effects with the effects already produced, and those still likely to be derived from the Additional Force bill. The hon. bart. then recapitulated most of the arguments he had used on a former day against the repeal of the bill, though he readily concurred with any measure that would render the life of the old soldier more comfortable; approving, for this reason, of an additional Chelsea allowance to the soldier who retired from service, either from the length of time he had been in the army, or from any particular suffering he had experienced in the execution of his duty. While he approved of this, however, he was decidedly hostile to any thing like affluence being connected with the soldier, while engaged in the service, convinced as he was of the remarkable tendency of any such advantages to destroy discipline, to enfeeble the ardour, and diminish the spirit of enterprise in the soldier. The gentlemen opposite acknowledged, he said, that no immediate effect was to be expected from their new measure, and if no beneficial result was to be expected this year, what right had they to expect such effects next year? Were we to look then forward, he added, through a period of eight years years before we could receive any benefit from their arrangement? This he thought a very capital objection to the repeal of the Additional Force bill, the good effects of which they had already felt. This plan had nothing immediate in it. The object was to enlist men for a shorter time, in the opinion that they would engage in greater numbers, and that on the expiration of the term, they would engage again, or others would more easily be found in their room. This was a speculation in which he was not so sanguine as the rt. hon. gent. but at all events he was averse to the diminution of the army during war. Of the fourteen general officers whose opinions had been taken on this point, eleven were decidedly against discharging the men in time of war; the other three were not so decided, because that part of the question had not come under their consideration. It was not the practice of any country in Europe to discharge men in time of war, though their term of service may have expired. The Ordonnance of the French Monarchy in 1788, contained an express exception to discharging the men in time of war, though their service of eight years may have expired; they had only an additional allowance per month till the end of the war, when they were discharged. He thought the second battalions under the Army of Reserve act, and the Additional Force act, the best system for keeping up the army of this country; and he could not consent to the repeal of the Additional Force act, until a better system was offered, than that proposed by the rt. hon. gent. He had no objection to see the experiment tried: but it should be without risking the diminution of the existing army. It was contended, that unless the practice was general, it would give rise to inconvenient and invidious distinctions. But he maintained, that there would be a vast expence and inconvenience in re-engaging the men, if it was general.

General *Loftus* had voted for the Additional Force act, in the hope that it would have been effectual. If the parishes had raised the men, he was sure the act would have been highly beneficial, for local knowledge and personal connection would have prevented desertion. But the parish officers, instead of raising the men themselves, raised them by the intervention of recruiting serjeants and crimps, and thus the benefit was lost. A certain district which had to furnish sixteen men, had obtained them from London, by the aid of a recruiting serjeant; they were taken down and passed, and the next morning fourteen of the sixteen deserted. Thus it was the ordinary recruiting, and the high bounties, that found the men; and however willing he was to vote for the repeal of this bill, which now proved inefficient; and convinced, as he was, of the honourable, patriotic, and zealous motives which induced his rt. hon. friend (Mr. Windham), to propose the new plan he had suggested, yet he could venture to assure his rt. hon. friend. that in many of the sanguine hopes he had expressed for the success of that measure, he would find himself egregiously mistaken, more especially in that part where he expected to do away large bounties, without any disadvantage to the recruiting service; for he really feared, that the system of large bounties had prevailed too much of late years, and was too deeply impressed upon the minds of the common people, to be abandoned during the continuance of the present war, without totally destroying the recruiting service. With respect to enlistment for short periods, he was convinced it would be rapidly productive of recruits. He had himself been employed on the recruiting service, during the American war; and when a limited period of enlistment for five years was proposed, the effects were immediately and rapidly felt, in an extraordinary accession of men. But, as to the idea of discharging men during a war, he could by no means agree to it, convinced, as he was, that it might be ruinous to the service, and especially the colonial part. With the insertion of the word "five, or seven years, or during the war," he was ready to vote for the plan of his rt. hon. friend, convinced, as he was, that it could not injure the service, and that the very young men, so discharged, after being a short time with their friends, would be anxious to re-enlist; but there was no principle that would be more truly advantageous to the recruiting service, than that of ascertaining to the veteran soldier, that, after a service of twenty-one years, he should enjoy his pension for the remainder of his life, without being again liable to be dragged from his family, to eke out, at a distant place, the remainder of twenty-five years, as had been the case, and had excited sensations of disgust, extremely detrimental to the service, and particularly to that of recruiting.

Lord *De Blaquiere* said a few words in support of the enlistment for term for years.

Mr. *Yorke* said, he rose once more to oppose the repeal of this bill, and to express some degree of astonishment at that sort of dignified and determined silence with which the rt. hon. gent. had treated every endeavour to elicit from him some further, and more detailed explanation, of the measure which he proposed to substitute in place of this bill, which he now called upon the house to repeal, without condescending to shew them, by any explanation or argument, that in such terrible times as the present could justify them in abandoning a bill, which, though not so productive as it was expected to be by the rt. hon. gent. who introduced it, was yet productive to a degree far beyond what he (Mr. Yorke) could have supposed. It was surely but reasonable, before the independent members of that house could be expected by any set of ministers to abandon a bill, by the operation of which, 10,000 recruits a year were superadded to the production of the ordinary recruiting service, which was 12,000 men per annum, that some candid explanation should be given of the plan to be substituted in its place, and the merits of that plan fairly submitted to some discussion, in order that the house might be enabled to form an estimate of the value of that which they were to offer in lieu of that which they abandoned, and of which they already knew the value from experience. But the rt. hon. gent. notwithstanding all the questions put to him, all the solicitation by which he was repeatedly urged to come to some discussion on his plan, preserved the most inexorable taciturnity, and would not deign to enter into any further explanation of a measure, which went to involve the very existence of the country, the discussion of which should of absolute necessity precede any repeal of the present measure. The rt. hon. gent. then proceeded, at considerable length, to recapitulate many of his former objections against the plan proposed by the rt. hon. secretary, which, so far from being digressive or irregular, he considered as intimately connected with, and perfectly relevant to, the subject now before the house. It was obvious already, from returns before the house, that the annual decrease of the army by casualties was 15,000 men, and that the supply by recruits, under the ordinary system, was 12,000 men, and by the bill now in question 10,000; which made a surplus of 7000 per annum to the force of the country. Would not the rt. hon. gent. then vouchsafe to shew how his measure was likely to produce such a supply of men, before he ventured to call upon that house to abandon, and set loose all the old and established systems of recruiting the army, which had raised the public force of this country to a pitch unparalleled in any former period of its history, and greatly beyond the proportion of its population, upon any scale ever witnessed in any country of Europe. In fact, the only rational principle in the rt. hon. gent.'s plan, was copied from the Army of Reserve bill, which gave men the option of enlisting for a limited, or long service; and that bill would be abolished by the present, as well as every other mode of recruiting hitherto adopted with advantage. The system of balloting, which had been so peculiarly advantageous in raising the force of the country to its present pitch, was also to be abandoned for a system of voluntary enlistment with low bounties, which every man must be convinced, from the experience of the last ten years, was totally inadequate to keep up the army to its ordinary force, even under the present annual diminution of casualties. But what would become of such a system, when the probable losses in battle were to be added to the computation? Hitherto, this country had been in the habit of making war upon easy terms, and rarely lost a great number of men in the field since the affair of Fontenoy, when she lost about 2000 men: but, supposing that the seat of war with the enemy should be in England or Ireland, it was clear that if ever the enemy were able to effect such an invasion, it must be with an immense force, and we must be prepared to reckon upon a probable loss of even 30,000 men in the first few battles. How then was the system of the rt. hon. gent. to provide for such a contingency, and supply such a loss, when the salvation of the empire might depend upon a critical moment? It was impossible to excuse the pertinacity of the rt. hon. gent. and those who supported him, in continuing to advise his majesty to the adoption of a system which they knew in their hearts was precarious, uncertain, and therefore dangerous, and to abandon one which had been found adequate to every good purpose. He could only account for it by supposing them infatuated with a foolish persuasion, that now, when they were his majesty's sworn servants and counsellors, they were bound by some former pledge to carry into operation those wild theories they had suggested while out of office, to embarrass those ministers whose places they now filled. But, upon themselves would fall the heavy responsibility for any ill consequences resulting to the country from those philosophical theories and sentimental speculations, with which they had amused their fancies, upon the feelings and opinions of common soldiers. For his own part, he would not agree to surrender the present bill without something obviously better to put in its place. He never would consent to abandon the system which had upheld the force of this country since the revolution, in complaisance to any system adopted in France, Germany, or elsewhere; he never would consent to relinquish the ballotting system in times like these, which had proved so certain and efficient in strengthening our armies. And as to raising a militia without it, if he could suppose it possible that any minister would advise his majesty to such a measure, without the sanction of an act of parliament, and that any failure of the public safety should be the consequence, he did not hesitate to say, that such ministers would deserve to lose their heads.

Colonel *Eyre* considered the bill for the repeal of the Additional Force act not as part of the right hon. gent's. plan, but as making way for it. When this impediment was removed the plan would come after. The Additional Force act was a bad measure, and therefore, it was right to get rid of it. This he said, considering it without reference to any thing else. If it had not produced the men by the exertions of the parish officers, but by a competition which checked the ordinary recruiting, the mischief was evident. The act it was said, had become operative from the time that it had been explained by the inspecting field officers. He disliked this explanation. These were not the constitutional explainers but the deputy lieutenants. They were better explainers to the crimps than to the parish officers, and therefore the men were not had for less than 26 guineas. If a reduction was not made in this, the country would not have less than 5 million to expend in bounties. It was not only a more efficient system that was necessary, but a more economical one. The improvement of the condition of the soldier would afford great inducements to enter into the service. The limitation of the term would also attract greater numbers, and better men. These things would tend to improve the character of the soldier, which was also a most essential point.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* did not feel himself called upon to enter at length into the arguments which were now brought forward: but as a right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke) had seemed to consider his silence as in some degree contumelious to the house, he must say that there could be no contumely in not replying to arguments which did not properly belong to the subject of debate. He did not mean to say, that there was any impropriety in the right hon. gentlemen's introducing those topics, or that they ought not to have been introduced, but he must complain that they dwelt exclusively upon topics that had a very distant connexion with the subject, and hardly said a word upon the subject itself. Surely the nature of the bill that was to be repealed, was a consideration as material as any topic that could be connected with it. He had expected a different line of argument when the noble lord (Castlereagh) moved for such an immense mass of papers; but instead of that, he was much astonished at hearing that noble lord himself afterwards say, "that he gave little weight to arguments that were drawn from papers." The argument from the papers must have been much against the noble lord before he could make such a declaration. It reminded him of the very bad symptom in the case of Sir Roger de Coverly, when he "lost his roast beef appetite;" and when the noble lord could speak with contempt of papers and details, it was pretty evident the arguments they afforded were much against him. Not being willing, however, to imitate the example of the gentlemen opposite on this subject, he would confine himself to the consideration of the act, the repeal of which was now before the house. For a year after it had passed, nothing was heard of it; not only in the town but in the country. Every body was asking what had become of it. At last it was considered dead. Then came the famous letter from lord Hawkesbury, and, as appeared by the first volume of papers on the table, a kind of coroner's inquest sat on the act. As it seemed to be the fashion in modern novels, to begin instead of ending with a marriage, by way of giving a new turn and astonishing their readers, so in the details in these papers, they commenced with the death of the hero of them. He should be very unwilling to disobey the admonition "de mortuis nil, nisi "bonum," but the fact was that he was not really dead. This was soon suspected. A looking glass was applied to his mouth, and it was with joy found that he stained it with his breath. Immediately the whole apparatus of the Humane Society was set to work. Bellows, flannels, hot water, and friction, were used with persevering industry, and by slow degrees resuscitation began to take place. The act, it seemed, was like those aromatic plants which would not yield their scent, until they had been chafed and rubbed a little. The title of the bill was "a bill to provide a permanent force for the defence of the country;" but in its operation it was any thing else. There was a mortal principle in the very stamina of it, which went to destroy it. If it succeeded, it would have been but a temporary measure. He must, indeed, allow that there never was any great danger of that, or any likelihood of its becoming felo-de-se on account of its success. If the quota it was to raise was 9,000 men, after a certain time, no more could be expected from it than to supply the casualties of that quota; it could not be expected that it should repair the casualties of the whole army. The bill was as dangerous in the case of success as in the case of failure; for there was no other way in which it could succeed, but by cutting up the sources of the general recruiting of the army. Instead, then, of allowing that any men had been raised in addition to the general recruiting, he should say, that whatever men were raised under the bill, were raised in derogation of the recruiting service. He did not know that a single man had been gained in all England from this bill. Those who were said to have been raised by it, could, as he believed, have been as well got, if no such bill had ever been passed. He thought nothing but mischief had resulted from employing parish officers to recruit. The men were only to be raised by the operation of money, acting, in such cases, through the medium of oppression. How very incompatible was the character of churchwarden and recruiting serjeant! The churchwarden or overseer, was generally looked upon to be a grave and solemn man, whose conduct and behaviour were expected to set a good example to his fellow parishioners; a kind of custos morum in the parish. Would you have such a character go skipping about the parish, from alehouse to alehouse, diverting and seducing the lads of the village; and like Serjeant Kite, with his jovial recruits, Thomas Appletree and Costar Pearmain, singing—

> "We shall lead more happy lives,
> By getting rid of brats and wives,
> That scold and brawl, both night and day,
> Over the hills and far away."

When such language, however, should come from a churchwarden, it would not exactly produce the same effect. There was a story of two French officers, who, in addressing their men, differed in this point: the one said "go;" the other, "let us go;" and the men liked the one who said, "let us go," much better than the other. In the same way, if a constable were to come up to a young lad, and tell him, "It is a pity such a fine young fellow as you should wait behind your master's chair, or clean your mistress's clogs; you ought to be a soldier, there is no life like a soldier's;" the fellow would very naturally reply, Mr Constable, if a soldier's life is so very pleasant, why are not you a soldier? It really appeared to him, that parish officers could not entice young men to enter the army without destroying the morals of their parishioners, which it was their duty to protect. He was aware, however, that some gentlemen would call it merely philosophical and sentimental to speak of morality or justice in the manner of raising men for the army. He hoped, however, that the house would not be of that opinion, but would consider it a most serious objection to any military plan, if it could not be executed without a havock of the morals of the country, and without injustice and oppression. There were gentlemen who appeared entirely indifferent about the means, provided men could be got. Their sentiment was like that rant, "Ye gods! annihilate both space and time, and make two lovers happy." But whatever confidence they professed in their schemes for raising men, experience had shewn that they were inefficient. Although the parish officers were so stupid and incapable of understanding the bill, there was one who, it seemed, most perfectly understood it. This parish officer lived in Leicestershire, and by his knowledge of the bill had made pretty pickings for himself, probably about fifty guineas a month, for a considerable time. In short, this famous recruiting parish officer was one of the most experienced crimps in the whole county. Thus men were raised by the most immoral means, and to the perversion of all the decorum of society, besides the tyrannical power which every overseer was enabled to exercise over the miserable wretches of his parish. He recollected to have heard the supporters of that bill protesting, till they were black in the face, that they wanted the men only, not the money which they proposed to levy by way of fines on the parishes; but the people of the parishes did not believe them: they said, "we know better; it is money you want, and money you shall have." They saw very clearly that the avowed object of the bill could never be attained; and they never could persuade themselves that such was the intention of the legislature. The vestries seemed to be better judges of these matters than the politicians of Downing-street; they therefore agreed to pay the money at once. He would only say one word more, which was in answer to the objection started by an hon. friend of his on a former night, against the clause for returning the bounties. He thought the evil of refunding was the least of the two. If those who had already paid the fines, were to be held to it, and obliged to lose the money, injustice and oppression would take place; they had been compelled to pay for not raising men, which it was not in their power to raise, and the house should not lose sight of that excellent adage—"Nemo tenetur ad impossibilitatem." This was not a tax, but a penalty; and there was no proportion between the inconveniencies that would result from the exaction of the fines, and the expense to the public of repaying them back. Under all these considerations, he must press the third reading of the present bill.

Mr. *Perceval* said, he could not let this subject pass without making some farther observations upon it, in addition to those which fell from him on a former night. And first, with respect to the clause in the bill which the right hon. gent. had just alluded to, it was an act that would be a disgrace to the parliament, and weaken the legislative authority. Whether this clause was looked at retrospectively or prospectively, it was most glaringly unjust. It was neither more nor less than telling the subjects of the country that they had always a means of retreat, by which they could escape in case of disobedience to the laws. His majesty's ministers, however, blinded by their own success, and infatuated by the sweets of their situation, persisted in hurrying this measure through the house. And here he could not help observing on the triumphant manner in which the present ministers acted, with respect to this bill: they thought it a high honour to triumph over the measure of that great man, now no more, being well aware that they never could have done it in his life time. But he would advise the right hon. gentlemen not to be so much intoxicated with the sweets of office, as to prevent them from paying that attention to the affairs of the nation, which the circumstances of the time required. The more he considered the effect that this clause would have, the more he was convinced of its impropriety; it would create a sort of appellant jurisdiction over the legislature of the country, and would give the great mass of the people the power of judging of the propriety or the utility of any act of parliament. Henceforth, instead of the different branches of the legislature receiving petitions against any bill, they should, collectively, when about to pass an act, petition the people for leave to do it; and, instead of the act running, "May it please Your Majesty, be it enacted, &c." it should be worded, "Be it submitted to the good sense of the people." This would be the situation we should be brought to by this clause; and he should have thought the right hon. gent. would be the last person who would have legislated in this manner; and, indeed, he did think that if the bill passed, as it now stood, the right hon. gent., after he had the triumph of carrying it through the house, would see the absurdity of this clause. The right hon. gent. said it would be an act of great injustice to force men to impossibilities. But the very same principle prevailed under the militia laws. First, the men must be balloted for, and those who were drawn, and could not find a man, were forced to pay a penalty; and this very ballot, which the right hon. gent. so unwisely rejected, must perhaps be resorted to in less than six months. There might have existed in some parishes a greater difficulty than in others of finding men; but he never could believe that there was a total impossibility of finding them. As to that act, which was so much condemned, he believed in his conscience that the right hon. gent. had never read it through, and that he had read one clause which he misunderstood. He said that the object of the bill went to raise 9,000 men a year, and after that number it would raise no more. Now the provision in the bill was to keep up a force of 58,000 men; and the 9,000 men in question were to be raised to supply the vacancies occasioned by those men who entered into the line. The parish officers understood the bill no more than the right hon. gent. They had never read it; but here was a bill brought in to repeal that, and according to the new species of modern philosophy that treated of the perfectability of human reason, probably this measure would be suffered to act by the force of its own merits. He had heard of persons attempting to make a plough on such an admirable construction that it would work of itself in any field. In the same manner, perhaps, he was to be told that this act would execute itself. Happily for the country, however, it was not yet turned loose upon it. It appeared that the framers of it had some distrust of its effect, for they had introduced a clause to enable parliament to alter or amend it during the session. This was certainly, in his opinion, the best clause in it. He believed the bill abounded with imperfections and blunders; and with all the great talents which the right hon. gent possessed, he could not descend to all the minutiæ of that detail or examination, which would enable him to detect them. He hoped this would shew the right hon. gent. that he ought to be a little more merciful in treating the errors of others. He understood that a gent. of most approved knowledge in the framing of bills, was still retained by the present ministers (Mr. Abbott), but still faults would be found in every such performance. The bill sought to be repealed, was prepared under the eye of that great man now no more, who, though of a most capacious mind, was observed to be particularly versant even in this inferior department; and who had, as the right hon. gent. himself had happily expressed it, "a mind like the proboscis of an elephant, equal to the pulling up of a tree, or the picking up of a pin." The right hon. gent. had talked a great deal on a former night of the blind Cyclops, that after a good deal of puffing and hammering, had produced a most defective measure. He would tell that right hon. gent., however, that with all his accuracy, it would be found necessary to insert a clause in the bill before the house, to remedy an omission to provide for the wives and children of those who volunteered from the Army of Reserve for general service. He did not suppose the right hon. gent. meant to repeal that part of the act. He therefore hoped, that in his triumphal chariot he would suffer a clause to accompany him as a rider.

Mr. *Windham*, in explanation said, he never had expressed a wish totally to abolish the ballot. He did state, that in the uncertainty of human affairs, the country might again be driven to the necessity of resorting to it. If any error should exist in the bill it might be corrected.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he did not consider these constant insinuations of gentlemen on the opposite side of the house, wishing to triumpn over the measures or memory of a great man, who was now no more, as being at all justified by any part of their conduct. He said, he had listened with great attention to the entertaining speech of the hon. and learned gentleman opposite him, who had never once attempted to defend the Additional Force act, which was now about to be repealed; on the contrary, the whole of his pleasantry went against that very measure. He could not help admiring the military spirit that seemed to prevail among gentlemen on the other side of the house. This was now tne fourth debate which the house had had upon this bill. In the first, it seemed as if there had been a council held among the opposers of it, and that it had been resolved, "Let us attack "all the measures thathave been proposed "or suggested, but let no man say a word "about the bill." In that debate they therefore cautiously abstained from meddling with the bill itself. The second debate was began by a military general, certainly of very high consideration (sir James Pulteney). That general, however, entirely abstained from the military view of the question, and confined himself to its civil operation. In the third debate, both the civil and military questions were declined, and the argument was principally about the clause of refunding, which was the chief subject of the right hon. gent's argument upon the present occasion. If the gentlemen on the other side of the house had been twenty months before they could understand their own bill, they were not to triumph much even if they should find any omission in the present. He did not think it quite decent of the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Perceval) to say, that his rt. hon. friend had not read the bill that he proposed to repeal: since he had made that assertion, he thought himself warranted in saying, that the Additional Force bill had been drawn up in a manner so confused and unintelligible, that he could not but consider the learned gentleman himself as the framer of it; and from the little knowledge he discovered of that bill, he was only the more confirmed in his opinion. The hon. and learned gentleman in ridiculing another system said, that some men had such an idea of the perfectibility of human art, as to suppose a plough might be constructed to do its work by itself. Now, certainly the parish bill was not a machine of that construction, for with forty team of horses, or rather with forty team of asses (for such it seemed the parish officers might be described), it did no work at all. The rt. hon. gent. had warned his majesty's ministers not to be intoxicated by the sweets of power, nor led away by the pleasure of triumphing over the measures of their rivals: he therefore thought that he had a right, from the "bed of roses" on which they supposed his majesty's ministers to be placed, to warn the gentlemen on the other side of the house not to be too much mortified by their disappointment, nor to be so excessively soured by their change of situation, as to look on every thing in an unfavourable light. The hon. and learned gentleman had said, that if his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) would but take time to consider, he was sure he would change his sentiments; and yet the principal accusation against his right hon. friend had been, that he had taken too much time to consider, and that he delayed his measure too long. A noble lord (Castlereagh) particularly anxious for the well being of the ministry, had said, that if his wish had been to overturn the present government, the mode he should have taken would be to hold his tongue, and let them carry their own measures in such a way as must completely disgust the country. He believed, however, that that sort of hostility was not much dreaded by his majesty's ministers, and that they would be better pleased that those gentlemen should hold their tongues, than that they should misrepresent, and endeavour to inflame the country by those misrepresentations. He believed that it would hardly be contended that there was a single parish in England that had raised its quota of men in obedience to the law, and, therefore, when the hon. and learned gentleman spoke so much of the dignity of parliament requiring that the laws should be obeyed, he should have recollected that the parishes which violated the law, were those who raised men contrary to the provisions of the act, and the parishes that did not violate the law were those who raised no men. In Leicestershire, it appeared, there was a wholesale crimp, by whose assistance that county procured its quota. There appearing to be some difference of opinion on this subject, between two representatives of that county, it had been stated, in the course of the debate on a former night, that one of them did not reside in the county he represented, and that probably his constituents would remember it at the next general election. He must compliment the constituents of the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Canning) who made the observation for his residence among them. He wished, however, to know whether he had ever seen the place he represented (Tralee in Ireland), or whether he knew the name, or had seen the face of any one of his constituents? When it was seen, that in some districts a considerable number of men had been got, and in others none at all, it was impossible to suppose, that it was because there was a great deal of loyalty and zeal in one parish or district, and none in that which immediately adjoined i?. The reason was very different. In some cases it was represented as necessary, in order to support the characters of the ministers who brought in the bill, that some men should be got, and for that reason exertions were made to procure them, by means that were contrary to the law. In the parish of Marybone, the same crimp offered his services who had raised men for other parishes, but his offer was refused, as that parish did not wish to violate the law. In St. Anne's parish, however, they were not so nice, and they got some men. Here the rt. hon. gent. read one of the hand-bills which had been printed in London, offering the largest bounties to recruits for the Army of Defence, and inviting all brave fellows to come forward; "Irishmen, Germans, and Boys "excepted". This was in the parish of St. Anne. In St. Luke's also, they raised some men, by adding 12l. to the government bounty. As to getting men at the bounties fixed by government, it was impossible. If government were to want a levy of cavalry horses, and would allow no more than 5 or 10l. to be given for them, the parishes might answer, that it would be as easy for them to raise as many elephants or rhinoceroses, or any other strange animals as to get good horses for such a price. It was the same thing in the case of the recruits. There was an utter impossibility of procuring them for the bounties stated in the act. He felt convinced that the rt. hon. framer of the bill would not (if he were now living) support the bill. When he himself moved for the repeal of it last session, that rt. hon. gent. expressly stated, that if upon trial it failed to produce the men, he should himself move for the repeal of it. The act had completely failed, and in order to give the appearance of its having partially succeeded, scandalous measures were resorted to by the government. He considered the letter of lord Hawkesbury, of the 31st December, as a most atrocious act, which the rt. hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt) would never have consented to. That letter of instruction allowed the men to be raised contrary to law, and gave the recruiting serjeants a privilege to libel the regular army, and point out this additional force as much more eligible to enlist in. As the rt. hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Perceval) had suggested a form for acts of parliament to run, he also should name a title which would have been more fitting for the additional force act than that which it had. It should rather have been called an act "for "degrading the Magistracy of the country, "for raising the bounties, perverting the "public morals, destroying the regular "army, and encouraging mutiny and de-"sertion." Such an act should be immediately repealed as a great evil. If he saw a person afflicted with a wen, or any other disorder, and spoke of curing him, he did not think he could fairly be asked, what other disorder he proposed to substitute in its place? or if he were to see a mad dog in the street, he should conceive himself justified in killing it, without providing any substitute for it, and this was precisely his feeling with respect to the present bill. The famous letter of lord Hawkesbury began by stating: "Whereas, "information has been received that the "Additional Force bill has generally failed, "on account of the negligence and supine-"ness of the parish officers." He had read all the correspondence on the subject, and he would venture to say, that the earl of Essex was the only person who gave such information. The letter, therefore, began with a violation of truth, (in saying violation of truth, he did not allude to the noble lord personally, but to the act of the government), and proceeded to order the violation of the law by increasing the bounties. Colonel Campbell, who acted under the directions of the secretary of state, gave notice, that there was no occasion for being very nice in the manner the men were raised, so they were got. It was also a subject worthy of serious observation, that by the law the recruit was obliged to take an oath, that he was a native of the parish or district for which he served. Now, in the manner those recruits were raised in distant parts of the country, it was necessary that perjury should be added to the violation of the law before such recruits could be received. He then concluded by utterly denying that he or his hon. friends acted at all through hatred of the memory of the great and illustrious man who framed the bill. At the time that lord Hawkesbury's extraordinary circular letter of the 31st December was circulated, the late right hon. chancellor of the exchequer was on his death-bed. He should therefore be acquitted of having any share in that atrocious action. As for me, said the right hon. gent., there were many who flattered him more than I, and some who feared him more; but there was no man who had a higher respect for his transcendant talents, his matchless eloquence, and his inflexible integrity; and yet it has been often my fate to have opposed his measures. I may have considered that there was somewhat too much of loftiness in his mind which could not bend to advice, or scarcely bend to co-operation. I may have considered, that as a statesman his measures were not adequate to the situation of the country in the present times, but I always thought his purpose and his hope was for his greatness and glory of his country. Let not his friends, then, suppose they are dealing fairly with the house, in representing that we seek a triumph over the memory of that illustrious man, when we now move the repeal of a measure, which he would himself have repealed if he had lived. A right hon. gent. (Mr. Wilberforce), who had many opportunities of knowing his intentions, has told you that he intended to repeal it if it failed in getting men. It has failed. Let the failure of the measure be buried in his grave, and never remembered in his epitaph.—The question for the third reading of the bill was then put and carried without a division. Upon the question, that the same do pass,

Mr. *Yorke* said, he thought it was necessary that the bill should specifically renew the provision of the Additional Force act, that the men raised by it were not to be sent out of the kingdom.

Mr. *Perceval* said, that as by this bill both the Army of Reserve and the Additional Force acts were repealed, the greatest injustice would be done, if the same provision as those acts made for the wives and families of the men, was not retained in the bill.—A short conversation then ensued, in which Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox urged, that the amendments proposed would unnecessarily delay the passing of this bill, and that they would be the subject of another bill.

Mr. *W. Smith* thought there was much weight in the amendments, and that it would be preferable to delay the bill a short time, in order to make it complete, than to pass another on purpose to supply an omission.

Mr. *Perceval* said, that the injustice which would result from the omission was so apparent, that the amendments would certainly be made in the house of lords; the consequence of which would be, as they related to the dispensation of money, that the bill would be altogether rejected on its return to this house.—After the Speaker had explained away a doubt of Mr. Fox's as to the forms permitting the bill to stand over, Mr. Secretary Windham withdrew his motion, that the bill do pass, and the bill stands over for to-morrow, in order to have the amendments added.

Mr. *Yorke* said, he had before put a question to the right hon. secretary (Mr. Windham) as to the time when he would bring forward the measures which the country had been for some time expecting? As neither courtesy, nor a sense of duty on the part of the rt. hon. secretary had induced him to return an answer, he (Mr. Yorke) repeated the question.

Mr. *Windham* replied, that he did not know that he was bound to answer the interrogatories of the right hon gent., but he would say, if a day had been open which he could have fixed upon for the purpose of bringing those measures before the house, the right hon. gent's. question would have been unnecessary. He had already said, that what he had to submit was ready; and he would now add, that a day would soon be mentioned for the purpose.

Mr. *Yorke* replied, that he had asked the question as a matter of courtesy. He did not know whether, after the bills were ordered, it was not in the power of any member to move that they be brought in forthwith.

Mr. *Windham* observed, that if so, the right hon. gent. might make a motion on the subject, but could not compel him to answer his question.

[NELSON GRANT.]—On the motion of lord Henry Petty, the house then went into a committee to consider his majesty's message of yesterday, lord viscount Howick in the chair.

Lord *Henry Petty* then rose and said that, in the terms of his majesty's most gracious message, he should have to move, first, that a sum of 5000 l. per annum for ever be granted to his majesty out of the consolidated fund, as an annuity to the family of the late lord viscount Nelson, and the persons succeeding to the title of earl Nelson; and, secondly, that a further sum of 120,000l. be granted to purchase an estate to descend to that family. Although he was convinced no persuasion could be necessary on his part to induce the house to adopt these propositions, indeed that there was not a man in the kingdom who could be brought to think any tribute too great to the memory and services of such a person, yet he could not bring himself to submit the proposition altogether without comment. He felt it to be one of the highest gratifications of his life that it had fallen to his lot to submit this subject to the house. Much as it was his duty, strongly as it would accord with his inclinations, to bring forward any measure which could increase the finances and add to the resources of the country, not even that agreeable duty could he perform with more pleasure than he now called on them to pay away this large grant. From the consequences of that grant, he hoped, would spring more valuable advantages to the country than any money could bestow, in the emulation which the respect and admiration in which his glorious deeds would be seen to have been held, must inspire into the breasts of our future commanders. The pages of history, the noble lord said, did not afford so numerous, so great, and so closely continued a series of successful and meritorious services rendered his country, as that which the history of the noble viscount, whose family, and the perpetuation of whose memory were the objects of the present resolutions, presented. If we looked to the early part of his life, we were struck with admiration, and felt ourselves almost led on to form presages of his future greatness. It undoubtedly, however, did happen, in the present instance, that high as his services and merits then were, and high as the expectation which they may have been presumed to have excited, the former part of his life has been eclipsed by the transcendent brightness of the latter. It happened, fortunately for his country, that with his increasing age his vigour, too, increased, and that he was enabled to give full scope, in a close and unbroken series of successes, to those talents, virtues, and abilities with which he was endowed. Off Cape St. Vincent, against the Spaniards, it was his good fortune to be eminently serviceable; and, when the fleets of France, in pursuit of that spirit of aggrandisement which then began to manifest itself, sailed to the east, it was his lot to defeat their hopes in that quarter, by a total destruction of their fleets. Not long after, when a combination was formed against us by the northern powers, he, under the walls of Copenhagen, terminated the war and the confederacy. His last memorable battle was in the recollection of every one, when the fleets of France and Spain, having united, for a while menaced our trade and colonies, till driven by the fame of his name from the West Indies, he pursued them to Europe, and, watching the first opportunity of their coming out of Cadiz, brought them to action, and had again the satisfaction of knowing, though his own valuable life was the forfeit, that he had totally annihilated the enemies of his country. Of him it might be truly said, what was address'ed to a great person of antiquity—"Tu felix Agricola non tantum vitâ sed etiam opportunitate mortis." Such was the life, and such the death of the man, in honour of whose memory, and on whose family, they were this day called on by their sovereign to bestow a mark of the gratitude of a generous people. His family, honoured, enobled, and enriched, as it unquestionably would be, would be the means of inducing others to follow his brilliant example, and of handing down to posterity our ideas of his eminent services. They would also bear testimony to the truth of this, that burthened as this country at present is, she still knows how to reward liberally, when her liberality is called forth by such transcendent merit and services. His lordship concluded by moving, "that it is the opinion of this committee, that the annual sum of 5000 l. be granted to his majesty, out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, to commence from the 21st day of October, 1805, and be settled, in the most beneficial manner, upon the present earl Nelson and the heirs male of his body, and such other persons to whom the title of earl Nelson may descend, pursuant to the limitations of the patent whereby the said dignity is granted."

Mr. *Rose* wished to know whether in the 120,000 l. was included any provision for other members of the noble lord's family, or whether any further provision for them was intended.

Lord *Henry Petty* replied, that 90,000 l. were to be laid out in the purchase of a mansion and lands, to be annexed to the title; that 10,000 l. were to be given to earl Nelson to make such reparations or improvements therein as he should deem necessary, and that 10,000 l. each were to be granted to his lordship's two sisters.

Mr. *Rose* expressed great satisfaction at the statement of the noble lord, because he knew that nothing had been so near the heart of the noble person now no more, as some provision for those sisters.

Mr. *Francis* rose and said: On the merits and services of the great admiral, whom we have lost, there can be but one sentiment, of united admiration and gratitude, in this house and in this country; and in that sentiment no man can participate more heartily and sincerely than I do. Yet even this feeling, just as it is, and powerful as it ought to be, must in some reasonable degree be subject to the regulation of other principles in particular circumstances. We live in times of great public services, and great rewards. But we ought not to forget that the times we live in have another character, which indicates other duties; I mean the difficulties and distresses, that belong to our situation. Even in the distribution of the best deserved liberality of parliament, we ought not to forget that the present means of the country are not quite equal to all the claims, which great services may have on the public gratitude. On this principle, painful as it is to me, I cannot refrain from expressing a doubt, whether one part of the proposed vote, I mean the sum of 120,000, (in addition to the annuity of 5000 l. a year,) may not be more, not than is due to the merit of lord Nelson; far from it, but than can fairly be expected in circumstances, which demand economy from us, even in the exercise of our virtues. The rewards given to the earl of Chatham, fell far short of this grant. Those given in the first instance to John Duke of Marlborough, who placed England at the head of Europe, I believe, did not exceed it. If, happily for his country, the noble admiral had lived to enjoy these proofs of its gratitude; or, if he had left children to represent his person, and to transmit his memory, with all its honours, to an illustrious lineage directly descended from him, I should never have thought of uttering one word, but in support of the question. All my doubt is, whether the claim on the nation stands exactly on the same footing in the person of a collateral relation, as it would have done, if it had been possible to preserve the reward of his services, united with his name, in direct descent to his own offspring, and to their posterity.

Mr. *Rose* stated that Blenheim had cost the country 540,000l.

Gen. *Tarleton* had always been an admirer of the military glory of the duke of Marlborough, but his victories had not been achieved by English armies exclusively. Lord Nelson, on the contrary, had conquered with British fleets. Never had triumphs been more completely English than those acquired by him.

Mr. *Wilberforce* complimented his hon. friend (Mr. Francis), for his upright, manly, and conscientious declaration of the sentiments which he had expressed; such conduct as that of the hon. gent. on a subject of so much delicacy, he conceived to be a victory of principle over personal feeling, and as such it met with his highest approbation. That hon. gent., however, should consider that the value of money was now considerably altered, and that the sum proposed to be given, would not make the family of the hero, whose high merits we meant to commemorate and reward, by any means too affluent for the situation which they were to hold in society. It was, in fact, no more than what he thought they were entitled to from the country; and, as an incitement to heroic actions in future, he suggested that the building to be erected for the Nelson family, should be placed in such a situation as to be conspicuous to our seamen on their approach to England, or on their setting sail, perhaps, in quest of an enemy. When they beheld such a testimony of the gratitude of the country, it could not fail to inspire them with an ardent desire to imitate his glorious example.

Lord *Henry Petty* agreed in the suggestion of the right hon. gent. The idea had occurred to himself, and the trustees, in whom the money was to be vested, would, he was sure, pay every attention to it.—The Resolutions were then agreed to, and the Report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, May 14.

[MINUTES.] The house proceeded, as usual, to Westminster-hall, and returned about four, when an order was made to proceed further on the Trial of lord viscount Melville the next day, and a message was sent to the commons to acquaint them therewith.

[NELSON GRANT.] Earl Spencer, in the absence of his noble friend lord Grenville, moved the order of the day for taking his majesty's message into consideration, relative to a provision for the family of lord Nelson. He was confident that every noble lord who heard him would cheerfully concur in any measure that went to confer adequate rewards for services so important and beneficial to the country as those rendered by the signal exploits of the late gallant and ever-to-be-lamented hero, lord viscount Nelson. His lordship then moved an address to his majesty, thanking him for his gracious message, and assuring his majesty that the house would readily concur in promoting the object of the same.—The address was agreed to, *nem. diss.*

[INSOLVENT DEBTORS' BILL.] Lord *Holland* moved the order of the day for their lordships going into a committee of the whole house on this bill. On the order being read,

Lord *Ellenborough* rose and said, that, consistently with his own conviction of the mischievous consequences of such acts, he could not suffer the present bill to go into a committee, without suggesting some observations by the way of objection to the measure. It was with reluctance that he opposed any measure, apparently founded on principles of humanity; but, in considering the general interests of society, and particularly in this commercial country, and viewing impartially the claims of creditor as well as debtor, a sense of duty operated, in this instance, in a superior degree upon his mind. It was incredible how injurious the frequent repetition of Insolvent acts was to the course of fair trade. The professed principle upon which the bill, in the first instance, proceeded, was highly objectionable, namely, that the gaols were overloaded with prisoners. It was his opinion, that persons threw themselves into prison in order to take the benefit of an insolvent act; and, therefore, that such an act, in relieving such a description of persons, produced great injustice. With a view of accurately ascertaining this, he had, some time since, moved for an account of such persons as had been committed to prison previous to and since the first day of Michaelmas term last. From the returns which had been made, in pursuance of his motion, and which were now lying upon their lordships' table, it appeared, that, out of 204 persons confined in Newgate, 127 had been committed since the first day of Michaelmas term: in the prison of Ludgate, out of 23 persons, 16 had been committed during the same period;

in the Poultry Compter were 31, of whom 20 were in the same predicament: in Giltspur-street Compter, out of 42, 25 had been committed since that time: in the Fleet, where the residence was more convenient and where many may be said to be domiciliated, there were 286, out of which 133 had gone in since Michaelmas term; and, in the King's Bench, were 608, out of whom 267 had thrown themselves in since the period he had mentioned. He must again impress upon their lordships the increased frequency of such acts in late years. In the reign of queen Anne, there were only two Insolvent acts passed; and the condition was, that the persons who were discharged by them should enter into her majesty's service. In the general view of the case, their lordships would have seriously to consider the situation of the creditors. The injurious result which must ensue to them from such a measure as the present, would have the effect of placing many of them in the situation of their present debtors. It was not only the creditor who was injured, but even the debtor himself, by the natural consequences of frequent enactments of this kind, as leading him into a habit of contracting debts which otherwise he would avoid. While he thus expressed his sentiments, he must beg leave to assure the house, that he was convinced that the noble lord who proposed the present bill was actuated by the most honourable and humane motives.

The Duke of *Norfolk* said that he was equally an enemy to the whole code of laws relative to imprisonment for debts, and to the frequency of these acts; but he still contended for the propriety of the bill going into a committee. There were many creditors who gave credit with such a degree of facility, as to deserve suffering, rather than commiseration. That numbers of those who had petitioned might have thrown themselves into prison, may be true; but then it was as certain, that many of them had been thrown in by their creditors: their situation should, therefore, be discriminated from that of the fraudulent debtors. At all events, he would recommend to the house to go into a committee, where provisions might be added to satisfy the objections of the lords, and where a clause might be introduced, if their lordships thought necessary, making the condition of the discharge an entrance into his majesty's land or sea forces.

Lord *Holland* called the attention of their lordships to the conversation which had taken place on the introduction of some petitions by him: he had then considered it as the opinion of their lordships, at least of some of the most distinguished members of the house, that some bill of temporary relief should be immediately introduced; the public exigencies preventing a revision of the whole code between debtor and creditor. His noble friend below him (lord Moira), who, much to his honour, had so frequently come forward on occasions of the kind, had stated that, from the pressure of his official avocations, he could not, with propriety, undertake to bring forward, this session, any specific measure tending to an amelioration of those laws, the severity of which were, by the most eminent characters, almost universally admitted; but, that as he conceived that the sufferings of the unfortunate, imprisoned debtors should not be prolonged, he would give his support to any act of temporary relief introduced in the interval. Under these impressions, he had the honour of submitting the present bill to their lordships' consideration. This bill he had framed in the most guarded manner, for the specific purpose of precluding the slightest opposition. It was drawn up according to preceding bills generally; but care was taken that no novel proposition should obtain in it, especially in favour of the debtor. Indeed, he was free to confess, that it was far from answering all those purposes which might be expected even from a limited measure of this kind, and was, by no means, as comprehensive as the indulgence of his own feelings and opinions on the subject would have induced him to have brought forward. He was, therefore, not a little surprised, to find petitions presented to their lordships to prevent its adoption. It was his wish, as well as that of the learned and noble lord (Ellenborough), to look to the interest of the creditor as well as to the interest of the debtor. In cases of this kind it was the duty of their lordships to consider the situation of both. In his mind every consideration of humanity demanded some such measure as the present. Relative to the increased frequency of such acts, he must affirm, that the noble and learned lord (Ellenborough) had assumed, as a fact, what the journals of the house would prove to be incorrect. There, he would find that, in the early part of the present reign they were much more frequent than they had been of later years. In the years 1764, 66, 68, 1772, 74, 76, 78, 1781, acts were passed for the relief of insolvent debtors; they were then not only more frequent, but more extensive in their general provisions, and embraced a much greater sum; and not until the last act, was the clause (a clause, if he recollected right, proposed by the noble and learned lord opposite (Eldon), making the future property of the debtor liable) ever introduced. Much stress had been laid upon the fraudulency of many persons, who perhaps may be released by the provisions of this act; but the debtor who was not fraudulent, but unfortunate, appeared to have been wholly left out of sight. The house should consider, that this person was placed in a situation suffering innumerable hardships, without the possibility of exerting himself to provide for the liquidation of his lawful debts. In answer to the alledged increased frequency of these acts, he had to impress on their lordships' recollection, that for debtors of a different description, there was a code of laws, of a very different nature, not only perpetual, but much more extensive in their operation than any temporary act of this kind ever professed to be: he meant that code applying to the case of merchants, traders, &c. commonly called the Bankrupt Laws. Those laws afforded to a man the means of declaring himself insolvent; by which, upon paying a certain poundage upon his debts, he was relieved from all further molestation, and his future property rendered clearly and exclusively his own. In this point of view, it was far from his intention to censure the code of laws to which he had alluded; he most sincerely believed, that they contributed more effectually to preserve credit, as having a directly contrary tendency to those laws which regarded the concerns of inferior debtors. All that this bill claimed for the unfortunate debtors, for whose relief it was intended, was to place them upon the same level as bankrupts; but with this material difference, that where the future industry of bankrupts was not fettered, the future property of the insolvent was expressly made liable. Thus, under every view of the case, the condition of the creditor was ameliorated, as in place of the imprisonment of the person, which trial had proved nugatory, every fair, just, and legitimate security was granted him by the provisions of the bill he had introduced. With respect to the idea that the operation of this bill would drive the creditor into the prison which the debtor now occupied, he must contend, that such an argument, if worth any thing, cut both ways, and must eventually prove more favourable to the bill than it possibly could operate against it. But how stood the case as to the creditor? The continuance of the body of his debtor in prison will neither pay the debt nor satisfy the demand. It will not increase the resources of the creditor to meet any impending embarrassment. No notion of benefit can possibly arise from the detention. The bill takes nothing from the creditor which he before possessed, but, on the contrary, surrenders to him all the property of every sort and kind whatever, which the debtor may now possess, as well as all that he shall ever possess hereafter. With respect to the observation made by the noble and learned lord near him (Ellenborough) as to the number of persons who had been committed to prison, since the first day of Michaelmas term last, he thought it calculated rather for the committee, than as an objection militating against the principle of the measure now proposed. Upon that conception, he had, in the bill before their lordships, inserted no specific date for its operation. But, at the same time, he would never admit, that it was fair to suppose, that all persons who were committed to prison, since the first day of Michaelmas term last, or even any part of them, had thrown themselves into prison, for the purpose of availing themselves of the benefits of this act. No; he thought the noble and learned lord should not have attributed to the petitioners any intention of availing themselves of this measure previous to the necessity of this measure being first admitted in this house. Nor could he conceive, that a reference to the state of the prisons in the metropolis alone, was a fair criterion of judging in those respects. It might perhaps be true, that many improper persons frequently threw themselves into prison, with the hope of being comprehended under the provisions of Insolvent acts. But it should be recollected, that there were many others, victims of unforeseen distress, who had entered into engagements with the purest intentions, and whom the malignity of revengeful creditors have detained in prison, solely for the purpose of gratifying their feelings of spleen and malice. Was, therefore, any noble lord prepared to say, that innocence was to be punished, because fraud was confounded with it? Were the miseries of the unfortunate to be aggravated, even to excessive cruelty, because there might be an equal, or possibly a greater, number of guilty among them? He was sure that their lordships would not consent to that; and he also called upon them to recollect, that the greater the number of the persons immured, whether guilty or not, the greater must be the hardships, the sufferings, and the miseries, of those who were innocent. Thus he trusted, that this measure would appear, not as proceeding upon any such limited view of the subject, or any such contracted principle, as had been referred to, but one which he could as safely submit to the cool dispassionate judgment of their lordships, as in any appeal to the sympathetic feelings of the noble members of that house. He sincerely hoped, that their lordships would be induced to allow the bill to go into a committee; when any noble lord, who might conceive any particular provision as bearing hard upon the creditor, might argue for its modification and amendment; and in a discussion of this kind he should cheerfully contribute every assistance in his power.

Lord *Eldon* declared, that if any person conceived him hostile to the prayer of the petition of the unfortunate debtor, he was much mistaken in the individual who then had the honour to address their lordships. On the contrary, he had sometimes supported, and sometimes opposed measures of this kind, according to circumstances, in both houses of parliament. On one occasion he had introduced a bill of a similar nature, whilst a member of the other house; but acquired experience had convinced him of their injurious tendency and effects. He agreed in the necessity of some permanent measure on the subject, and thought the remaining time of some professional man, who had retired from the active duties of the profession, could not be better employed, than in studying the principles and the present regulations respecting debtor and creditor; and devising some certain and permanent system of procedure. One great consideration was, that some general rule should be adopted, in order that the creditor may know what, in his dealings, with respect to giving credit, he had really to depend upon. When he looked at the situation of the unfortunate debtor, no man could feel more compassion than he did; and sorry should he be, were he instrumental in gratifying any feeling of revenge. But, when he considered the general interest of the empire, and its commercial relation, he must avowedly declare his hostility to such frequent acts of relief: they sapped the very principle of credit, and, too often, forced the creditors of those very debtors, so released, into those prisons which they had left. For what did the preamble set forth? That this very bill, so introduced, was in direct opposition to the interests of trade and credit, and solely referring for its support to the crowded state of the prisons; a false principle in any point of view, especially so in a commercial country; to him it appeared monstrous. In his opinion, the question amounted exactly to this; Was that legislature, which had pointed out to the creditor the means of enforcing the payment of his claims, to say to that creditor, Now that you have pursued the steps, and adopted the measures recommended by us, (after having acted under the protection, and under the confidence of those laws which tended to secure to him the payment of what was due to him,) without your consent, we will oblige you to liberate your debtor, without the least liquidation of your demand. It would cost their lordships no money to free such debtor from his debts; and the consequence of such a measure might be, that against the next Insolvent act the former creditor would endeavour to take the benefit of it himself. With respect to the effect of the Bankrupt laws, alluded to by the noble lord who spoke last, there were some considerations as comparative of these laws of creditor and debtor referred to by the bill, which seemed to be overlooked. The merchant, or opulent trader, or even the petty trader, cannot experience the protection of these laws without the consent of a certain number of his creditors; and, in the mean time, he might be kept in prison at the suit of any one of them, till a dividend was made of his property: indeed, though one creditor may select the estate, another may detain the person of the debtor as a satisfaction for his demand. In saying this, he did not mean to speak in approbation of that part of the code alluded to. It should further be recollected, that the whole property of the bankrupt in prison, was taken possession of by a process issued for that purpose; whilst in the case of a debtor, not subject to the bankrupt laws, he might go to prison, if he chose, with 100,000*l.* in the funds, which his creditors could not touch. He believed, and he appealed to the recollection of the noble and learned lord opposite (Ellenborough), that, on the rejection of a similar bill to the present, some time ago, many debts then deemed hopeless were, at length, paid. He agreed with the noble lord (Holland), that some amendment of the law was necessary: but, whether by an extension of the bankrupt laws to those debtors who were not now subject to them, or by any other mode, he could not now attempt to determine. He thought, however, that, in such cases, a general principle should predominate; but that the house never should proceed upon such a false principle as that held forth by the present bill. Were the property of such debtors to be vested in the hands of assignees, with full power to treat for the general interests of the creditors, proceeding on a general principle, he might be inclined to agree to it. But even this should be prospective in its operation, and should be undertaken with the utmost caution. If any general regulation, founded upon such principles, could be suggested, he would willingly give the best of his humble assistance in digesting and maturing it. He thought, however, that one hardship might be immediately removed. As the law now stood, the discharge of the person of a debtor, when charged in execution, was an effectual surrender of the claim of the creditor. This, of itself, reduced the creditor to the necessity of keeping his debtor in prison, or renouncing his demand. This, in his opinion, might be remedied, by reviving an act which has, some time since, been expired; and by introducing into it some amendments, which, he thought, he himself should be able to suggest, allowing the contract between debtor and creditor to remain untouched, notwithstanding the release of the latter, if the latter would so consider it. However painful, and however liable to misapprehension, such conduct might be, he still felt it his duty to join his noble and learned friend (Ellenborough) in opposing the bill; and he thought that, if it were now rejected, many debtors now in prison would find the means of discharging many demands which their creditors now considered as hopeless.

The Earl of *Moira* said, it must be in the recollection of their lordships, that he had, on all occasions, uniformly exerted his humble talents to procure some general legislative provision which would obviate the necessity of recurring, as a temporary or partial remedy, to those measures, of the effects of which the noble and learned lords so much complained. He felt all their objections to acts of insolvency; but, at the same time, he was of opinion, that justice and humanity required the adoption of the one now proposed. His noble friend behind him (Holland) had correctly stated the circumstances which gave rise to the present measure; but, at that period, he was not aware that his official avocations would have allowed so much leisure as he had found they did, otherwise he would, most certainly, have brought forward his promised measure; which the advanced state of the session alone prevented him from immediately submitting to the attention of their lordships. He declared his perfect acquiescence in what had fallen from the noble and learned lord (Eldon) as to the hardship of the unfortunate bankrupt, who, having literally subscribed to the provisions of that code, and fully surrendered the whole of his effects, was still rendered subject to the malignity of an irritated and vindictive creditor. But, if there was one argument stronger than another in support of the measure introduced by his noble friend (Holland), it was the case so stated by that learned lord (Eldon). Many unfortunate men, so circumstanced, were to be found in the various prisons of the united kingdom; and, therefore, the necessity existed of immediately relieving them by the direct interference of the legislature. There was also another observation of that noble and learned lord (Eldon), which immediately applied to and bore on the bill before their lordships. That learned lord had asserted, that, by the frequent operation of such acts, the distresses and embarrassments of creditors was so augmented, that, in many cases, they were unfortunately forced to succeed to those very prisons so lately vacated by their debtors. Here, then, was another undeniable proof of the necessity of a temporary measure of relief. Men, admitted to be unfortunate, were actually suffering. Ought, then, the means of relief to be postponed for another session? Such delay would, in his opinion, be an act repugnant to every principle of justice, equity, and law. The principle and object on which he wished and recommended this measure to proceed, was that of full enquiry and just discrimination, as his sole motive and desire was to relieve those whose distressing situation precluded the capacity of liquidating their debts, from absolute inability. Did the insolvency arise from causes founded in unprincipled dissipation, or a wanton profusion of means, it would be an act of false humanity, nay even of dishonesty, to endeavour to relieve it. But his noble and learned colleague (Ellenborough), and the noble and learned lord opposite (Eldon), in asserting, that the debtors who had signed the petitions on their lordships' table, had entered into engagements with fraudulent intentions, had assumed as a fact what they had by no means attempted to prove. On them rested the task of proof; and, until they had substantiated it, it was perfectly justifiable for him to assert, that they were not only free from the imputation of fraud, but that they were unfortunate; and that they had been peculiarly distressed, and hardly dealt with. He maintained, that every prisoner who had signed the petition on their lordships' table, was innocent. This assertion might be considered as extravagant; and it was so; it might be considered as the effect of inveterate prejudice, and, perhaps, it was so. But it was a position he had a right to assume, equally on the principles of Christian charity, as on those which had uniformly governed the proceedings of their lordships, and which were so well understood, and so strictly adhered to, in that court in which the noble and learned lord (Ellenborough) so honourably presided, where every man was supposed to be innocent until his guilt was proved. In such a case, how then was truth to be elucidated, or the fact to be ascertained? Only by the operation of a bill which gave to the creditor the power of proving the fraud, and to the imprisoned debtor the power of rebutting the accusation. To the fictions of law he had no objection, so long as they operated in the furtherance of justice; but he should ever deem it incompatible with British jurisprudence to punish any subject for a fraud until the charge was substantiated by a full and accurate investigation. Those who were confined for debts, were composed of two classes,—the unfortunate, and the fraudulent. To continue the imprisonment of the first for his inability to pay, was an act, not of false humanity, but of complete and flagrant injustice: how to proportionate the punishment of the other was the next object of consideration. In the commission of crimes, the smallest circumstances often were found to create the nicest shade of distinction between the degrees of criminality; and the most minute change in the quality of the guilt, led to a punishment extremely different. In two cases which had lately met his view in the newspapers, he had found the principle of this observation fully illustrated. The first was, where a man, by frequently kicking his servant-maid, had caused her death; the other was that of a serjeant, who had wounded a soldier so severely with a halbert, as eventually to deprive him of life. In both these cases, the charge was murder; and the prisoners, by some peculiar nicety of discrimination, escaped conviction; but the jury, in each case, returned a verdict of manslaughter; and the prisoners were sentenced to a year's imprisonment. Viewing the intentions of the respective parties, he believed the decisions, in both instances, just. Now, admitting that the persons whom the noble and learned lords suspected of fraud, were really guilty of fraud, he would ask them, were they willing to assent to the proposition that such a term of confinement, adjudged as the proper punishment for a crime, approaching nearest to the extreme of human turpitude, was also a sufficient punishment for the fraudulent contraction of a debt? The noble and learned lords had arraigned the increased frequency of those acts, and he had expected to hear from them what interval ought to take place between acts of Insolvency. He regretted that they had not favoured the house with their opinions of what confinement a debtor should suffer, and what determinate principle should operate in fixing the punishment in such cases. Against fraudulent debtors it was his wish, and he knew it to be the wish of all the friends of the present bill, that its provisions should be made as severe as possible. A principle of enquiry and discrimination ought, above all things, to obtain in a measure of this kind. The nature of the debt should be fully and accurately considered;—whether contracted with the probable means of liquidation; and whether such means were wantonly expended with a profuse and criminal extravagance. If fraud should be detected, that fraud ought to be punished; but let it be punished as a crime, and not under the pretext of imprisonment for debt. But, if the inability of the debtor proceeded from unavoidable misfortune, or unforeseen embarrassments, to keep such a debtor in prison, merely from his incapacity to pay, was, in his mind, nothing less than an insult to, and a mockery of, every principle of justice. It was insisted by the noble and learned lords, and on that assertion much stress was laid by them, that a majority of the persons confined had thrown themselves into prison for the purpose of participating in the benefits of the Act now before this house. The truth of this fact he knew not; but, with his noble friend (Holland), he thought there was every reason for doubting it. But, even if they had done so, he contended that they not only did that which was natural, but that which was just. They had appealed to the wisdom and humanity of the legislature to interfere between them and their rigorous creditors; and, being ready, fairly and honestly, to render up every species and sort of their property, they were, by every consideration of justice and equity, entitled to the benefits of the compromise. The noble and learned lord, opposite, (Eldon) when he presented some petitions hostile to this measure of relief, had said, that they merited the particular attention of the house. In that remark he fully coincided. They did indeed merit the attention of their lordships; but it was as objects of curiosity: and he could not help expressing his surprise, that that noble and learned lord should have presented petitions so incompatible with the principles and maxims of every regular and constitutional policy in all free states. These petitioners had inveighed against the provisions of a bill of which they were totally ignorant, and which was not known even to their lordships. Without proving to their lordships any immediate concern that they had in the express object of the bill, they had assumed the right, not of petitioning, but of delivering their conclusive opinion on the principle which was likely to occupy the attention of the legislature. One strong inducement with him why the bill should no longer be deferred was, that the greater the delay, the greater would be the injury to the creditors, from the additional number of debtors which such delay would enable to take the advantage of it. Taking this measure in every point of view, of policy, justice, and humanity, he felt the legislature imperiously called on to sanction this act of relief, for so large a portion of their unfortunate, distressed, and suffering countrymen.

Lord *Ellenborough*, in explanation, said, that one reason why he objected to the bill was, because it contained no such principle of discrimination as had been alluded to by the noble lord (Moira); but that it went to set all at liberty, to discharge the whole in the gross. He was convinced, from the acknowledged liberality of British traders, that they would be found, on all occasions, ready to indulge their debtors in the most liberal manner possible; and he would take upon him to say, that there was scarcely an instance where, if they perceived any inclination on the part of the debtor to act justly, to the extent of his ability, they were not always anxious to release him. He must impress upon their lordships' mind that if this bill should pass into a law, the prisoners would be for ever discharged, as to their persons, without any satisfaction to their injured creditors. This was a hardship which tended to the destruction of all trade and credit, as was fully admitted by the preamble of the bill itself.—The question was then put, and the house divided; For the commitment 10; Against it 5; Majority 5. The house accordingly resolved itself into a committee, *pro formâ*.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 14.

[MINUTES.] A message from the lords announced their lordships' intention of proceeding with the trial of lord Melville, at 10 o'clock to-morrow, in Westminster Hall.—On the motion of the Secretary at War, the Mutiny bill passed through a committee.—Lord Howick brought up the Report of the Committee of Supply, the resolutions of which, for a provision to the family of the late lord Nelson, were read and agreed to, and leave given to bring in a bill in pursuance of the same.—Sir J. Newport brought up the Irish Stamp Duty bill, the Irish Loan bill, and the Irish Tea Duty bill, all which were read a first time.

[CONDUCT OF EARL ST. VINCENT.] Mr. *Jeffery* rose, and addressed the house as follows:—Mr. Speaker, I now rise, pursuant to my notice, to call the attention of the house to the papers laid on the table, relative to the Naval department; and to bring forward and substantiate the Charges which I have made of misconduct and neglect against the earl of St. Vincent, during the time he presided at the board of admiralty, for which I stand pledged to this house and to the public. I flatter myself, sir, that the house will do me the justice to believe, what I at first declared, and now upon my honour repeat, that I did undertake the task of public accusation of his lordship, without previous consultation with any person whatever; but not without having good grounds for the accusation, and sufficient information to warrant it. Still, however, I had not any intention of doing it on the day I at first addressed this house; but was, at that time, solely impelled by the repeated, ill-timed, and extravagant praises of the earl of St. Vincent's zealous, but mistaken friends. I then felt, as I now feel, that I was, and am, discharging a duty which every member ought to feel when the interests of the country are at stake; and, at a time when our very existence as a great, free, and independent state is threatened and endangered. The task I have undertaken I by no means repent. I only lament that it has not fallen into more able hands; but, as I pursued my enquiries, I have derived strength and confidence from the strength of my cause, in point of substantial proofs founded on facts authentically recorded. On these I now proceed, intreating the patient attention and candid hearing of this house.—Before I adduce any charges against earl St. Vincent for unprecedented neglect in building and repairing of ships whilst his lordship presided at the board of admiralty; and with delivering up the navy to his successor in a far less efficient state than that in which he received it; it is important that I should shew what exertions were made during a period of several years preceding his lordship's administration; and what exertions are necessary to preserve the Navy in an effective and powerful state. Having done this, it will only remain for me to shew, whether earl St. Vincent followed the footsteps of his predecessors in making provision equal to theirs; and whether his measures were generally such as the situation of the country demanded. — By an account presented the 28th of May, it appears that no less than 42 sail of the line and 45 frigates were launched between 1783 and 1792, a period of peace previous to the last war. This proves, that building to a great extent, and thereby recruiting our navy, was deemed highly necessary in time of peace; and its beneficial effects have been fully felt in the late war. It is worthy of remark, that out of the number so built, 30 of the 42 sail of the line, and 41 of the 45 frigates, were launched from the merchants' yards. So that even in peace we were indebted to the merchants' yards for the greater part of our naval strength; although perhaps the necessity for so doing might have been less urgent, than earl St. Vincent expressed it to be in his letter of 29th Dec. 1802; on which I shall have occasion to observe more fully.—But, sir, I shall shew, that notwithstanding the laudable attention paid to building ships, it is notorious that the greatest exertions were also made in all the king's yards in repairing ships during the whole of the peace preceding the last war; and that, in that time (as I have just stated) 42 sail of the line and 45 frigates were built, so that the good state and condition of the navy at the commencement of the last war cannot be doubted; indeed, I am warranted in asserting, that there were at that time not less than 100 sail of the line; together with a suitable proportion of smaller ships, in complete condition, and fit to go to any part of the world; and many more, with trifling repair, might have been so, if they had been wanted. This then was the state of the navy at the commencement of the last war in 1793. The accounts beginning at page 4 of the papers ordered to be printed 28th May, 1805, will shew the means by which the navy has been upheld. On one side, are the numbers added from time to time, either by building, capture or purchase; and on the other, the numbers taken from the navy, either by being sold, taken to pieces, captured by the enemy, or lost. From Jan. 1793, to Feb. 1801, when earl St. Vincent came to the admiralty, a period of 8 years, it appears there were 18 sail of the line and 46 frigates built; 43 sail of the line, and 66 frigates captured; and 5 sail of the line, and 9 frigates purchased; making in all, 66 sail of the line, and 121 frigates; which for the 8 years made an average of 8¼ ships of the line, and 15 frigates annually.—But, it may be said, that as this calculation includes captured and purchased ships, which cannot be considered equal to new; and it being my wish to ascertain the actual annual increase of new ships, in order to maintain a given force; I shall deduct ⅓rd from the number of ships captured and purchased. And as no less than 24 sail of the line and 36 frigates of these captured ships were in commission in May last, it must be considered a very liberal allowance. This will reduce the fair annual average addition to 6¼ sail of the line and 12 frigates, new ships.—The next point to be considered is, whether the increase which the navy received during 8 years preceding earl St. Vincent's vice-administration was, or was not actually necessary for maintaining it in an effective state.—It must be allowed, that great even as the exertions of his lordship's predecessors were, they have unquestionably proved insufficient to preserve the navy, in the same good state in which it was when the war began. Our ships had very severely suffered, although the actual numbers had increased. Their state and condition (by which alone the real strength of the navy can be estimated) was greatly impaired. This is most alarmingly proved by the account of ships paid off, between Oct. 1801, and May 1804; for out of 114 sail of the line and 120 frigates so paid off, 110 of the former, and 115 of the latter, stood in need of repair; and by far the greater part of great repair.—As a further proof that the annual addition of 6¼ sail of the line and 12 frigates, which I have stated, is not equal to maintain the naval force which has been employed in actual service for years past, I will observe, that a ship is calculated not to run above 15 years; affording such ships, one with another, every repair which it can be adviseable to give. Now, there have been upon an average during the greater part of last war, 110 sail of the line, and 170 frigates in commission; and allowing every ship to run 15 years, it would require an addition of full 7 sail of the line and 12 frigates to maintain such force—any thing short of this supply would diminish the naval strength. I must likewise observe, that this supposed sufficiency depends upon contingencies; for it will not provide against casual possible disasters to our fleets.—Sir, I shall now enquire whether earl St. Vincent did keep pace with his predecessors; and whether he did add at the rate of 6¼ sail of the line and 12 frigates annually, which it was manifestly his duty to have done; and whether he left to his successors the practicable means of doing it? First, as to ships of the line. I beg to refer to p. 16 of the papers before mentioned, where it will appear that on the 18th Feb. 1801, when earl St. Vincent came into office, there were 15 sail of the line on the stocks building, viz. 6 in the king's yards, and 9 in the merchants' yards, which, with the 4 captured, between Feb. 1801, and May 1804, would, I conceive, have enabled his lordship to have added the required increase without extraordinary exertion, and by the usual and ordinary methods, without the necessity of inventing new projects, by which it has been said that 50 sail of the line might be built in the king's yards in a twelvemonth.—But I shall prove that his lordship neglected the certain productive means practised by his predecessors, and every other mode of maintaining the navy; for only 10 ships were launched in the 3 years and 3 months whilst he was at the admiralty; namely, 7 out of the 9 in the merchants' yards, and 3 only of the 6 in the king's yards, which ships were completed without his lordship's assistance. For those in the merchants' yards were of course completed according to contract, and 2 of the 3 in the king's yards were in so forward a state in Feb. 1801, as to be launched in June and October following, before any effect was produced from his lordship's remissness. His lordship never used the means for completing the remainder; for he launched but one single ship (the Colossus) between Oct. 1801, and May 1804; and at the same time forbad recourse to the merchants' yards. And though his predecessors left him 15 sail of the line building, he left but 9 to his successors; and 5 of those 9 were upon the stocks when he came into office. And so little was done to the ships left, that only 7 out of the 9, as will appear by the printed accounts, notwithstanding every exertion has been made, can be launched within 3 years, from the period of his quitting the admiralty in May 1804. From these incontrovertible facts, it is evident that earl St. Vincent was left by his predecessor with the ample means for provision equal to former years; but instead of availing himself of those means, there were only launched 10 sail of the line in 3 years and 3 months, while he was in office; and he left his successor with only the possibility of launching 7, in 3 succeeding years, making 17; which with 4 captured, between 1801 and 1804, are in the whole 21 sail of the line in 6 years, not one half the number which had been provided by his lordship's predecessors in the same space of time, though he had the peace in his favour. But even the full number would not have equalled what the situation of the country, and the impaired state of our navy, demanded.—I shall now make a similar statement in respect of the frigates. As lord St. Vincent paid so little attention to building line-of-battle ships, it is not surprising that he should be equally negligent in providing a competent supply of frigates. On the 18th Feb. 1801, there were 11 frigates on the stocks building; viz. 4 in the king's yards, and 7 in the merchants' yards. Those in the king's yards were in a state of great forwardness; the 7 in the merchants' yards were on contract, and 5 of them were actually launched long before the expiration of the year 1801.—That the predecessors of earl St. Vincent, by leaving 11 frigates on the stocks (even had they not been in such forward state), left his lordship ample means to make as great a provision within the year, by building alone, as had been made for a series of years, previous to his lordship's administration, will appear by reference to the last mentioned account, which proves that the successors of lord St. Vincent, finding that exertions were necessary, and earnest as they were to remedy the effects of his lordship's inactivity, actually built 4 frigates in the king's yards, within the short space of 6 months; forming a striking contrast to the supineness and negligence of lord St. Vincent.—During the 3 years and 3 months earl St. Vincent directed the affairs of the navy, he launched only 12 frigates, even under the favourable circumstances I have stated. There were also 10 frigates captured during this period, from which I deduct ⅓rd, upon the same principle as I made a similar deduction from the ships captured in the 8 years previous to earl St. Vincent's coming to the admiralty. This will make the total number of frigates added by earl St. Vincent in 3 years and 3 months, 19. Now, sir, I trust I have already convinced the house, that an annual addition of 12 frigates had been made to the navy during the 8 years preceding earl St. Vincent's administration, and that such addition was not sufficient to preserve the navy in the good and effective state in which it was, at the commencement of that period. In what point of view then, will this house and the country see the conduct of lord St. Vincent, when, instead of making greater exertions, and greater provision than his predecessors (which the situation of the country, and the state of the navy certainly demanded), he literally did not make half the provision which they did?—In 3 years and 3 months he added only 19 frigates, whereas he should have added 39. His lordship was not awakened to the necessity of building this class of useful ships, until a short time previous to his quitting the admiralty, and long after the war began, when orders were issued for laying down 8 in the king's yards; none of which were however begun, till after he quitted the admiralty, and which measure is more to be attributed to the dissatisfaction which began to shew itself about that time within this house, and the clamour without it, than to any spontaneous effort of his own.—On the 15th of May 1804, when earl St. Vincent resigned his office, the country being then at war, he left but one single frigate on the stocks, building in the king's yards, see p. 17. of the printed accounts. It is true there were 9 contracted for, to be built in the merchants' yards; but of these 9, only four were just begun, so that earl St. Vincent, instead of leaving to his successor 11 frigates building, being the number he received from his predecessor, left but 5; viz. 1 in the king's yards and 4 in the merchants' yards. I trust the house will do me the justice to acknowledge that there were good grounds for an investigation of the conduct of earl St. Vincent.—Having thus proved that earl St. Vincent did not make those exertions in building, which were made by his predecessors, I naturally enquired into the cause of this neglect; what arguments could be adduced in extenuation of his conduct; whether or not, as great a necessity for building existed at the one period as the other; whether earl St. Vincent was more fortunate in point of captures than his predecessors; whether the political situation of the country, during his lordship's administration, demanded less energy; whether the preparations in foreign, and particularly the enemy's ports, were carried on with less vigour than heretofore; and whether they were building merely cockle-shells, as stated by the gallant admiral (Markham), one of his lordship's colleagues, and which would be too contemptible to require a British navy to subdue?—But I submit to the judgment of the house, whether in every one of those respects, the state and situation of the country were not such as to call forth and demand every possible exertion, even far beyond those of his predecessors. I find from the accounts commencing at p. 4, of the last mentioned printed papers, that from the 1st Jan. 1793, to 18th Feb. 1801, 66 sail of the line were added to the navy, by building, capture, or purchase; and that there were taken from the navy, by various casualties, no more than 21; leaving an addition of 45 sail of the line in the period of 8 years: and that there were in the same time 121 frigates added, and only 53 taken away; leaving an addition of 68 frigates: whereas during the administration of earl St. Vincent, from Feb. 1801, to 15th May 1804, only 14 sail of the line were added, and 11 were taken from the navy; leaving an addition of 3 sail of the line in a period of 3 years and 3 months. But as to frigates, 22 only were added, and there were 30 taken away; an actual decrease of 8 frigates.—I appeal to the house, whether under the general circumstances of the country, earl St. Vincent had any grounds to suppose that exertions were unnecessary; whether his neglect was not criminal? But earl St. Vincent's criminality was great indeed: he cannot plead ignorance in extenuation of his guilt: he knew that there was necessity for building: he declared that opinion in this emphatic language, in which I am sure the house will concur; "that there was an urgent necessity for building in every part of the kingdom." So fully was he convinced of that necessity, só much did it prey upon his mind, that he owned "he could seldom converse with the comptroller of the navy on any subject without introducing this topic." And when he erroneously conceived that the comptroller had delayed, even for a few days, his orders for entering into contracts, he addressed him in terms of reproach; repeated his orders to build; and accompanied those orders with a sharp rebuke. I beg permission to read the correspondence on this subject. [Here the hon. gent. read the said correspondence to the house; having done which, he continued as follows:] Will not the house be astonished after hearing these letters, and knowing the urgent necessity for building ships; and convinced as the noble lord himself was of that necessity, to find, that although his lordship remained in office a year and a half after this extraordinary correspondence, and that the war took place within 3 months, his lordship did not even condescend to give any reasons for rejecting the builders' terms; nor direct any measures to be taken by the navy board to build, or procure a single ship in any other way, during his lordship's stay in office? This must be deemed a very unaccountable termination of the correspondence, and I leave to his lordship's friends to make the best excuse they can for such extraordinary conduct, and to explain the reasons and circumstances which occurred in the short space of 15 days, and at a moment when war was inevitable, to render the building line-of-battle ships altogether unnecessary. It has been asserted in another place, that the reason ships were not contracted for, were the objections to such as were built in merchants' yards; were not those objections as evident on the 29th Dec. 1802, as they were on the 13th of Jan. a period of only 15 days after? But if his lordship changed his mind in this respect in a short time, did that remove the necessity of building ships? Could there be any possible reason for declining to build altogether? Why were not ships built in the king's yards; particularly when he affected to be convinced by every thing but practice, that the king's yards were equal to build the whole navy? It was certainly evident to the noble lord himself, that the country required every possible exertion to maintain an efficient navy. I see by papers called for by an hon. admiral (Markham), that speculative schemes and new-fangled projects were about that time in contemplation, by which 50 sail of the line might be built in the king's yards annually. When those papers are brought into discussion, and arguments adduced in support of this misrepresentation, I shall have no difficulty in proving the fallacy and absurdity of the statement, and that it is founded on an imposition and deception; somewhat similar to the extraordinary and ingenious but very irregular calculations of the same author, wherein pounds sterling were stated instead of Rupees of half a crown each; for the purpose of criminating a gallant and meritorious sea-officer. (Vide the papers printed by the house of commons relating to sir Home Popham). This cannot be misunderstood.—But during the time these whims and fancies employed the attention of the noble lord, instead of building 50 sail of the line, he was taking no one step by which a single line-of-battle ship could be added to the navy. It was not for want of slips to lay down as many as they wished; for it appears by p. 19 of the papers printed 28th May, that 13 out of 20 were unoccupied on 15th May 1804, when earl St. Vincent quitted the admiralty. N ; his lordship had wantonly discharged the workmen from the dock-yards and they had obtained employment elsewhere; many, in the dock-yards of our enemies. His haughty and illiberal conduct had disgusted every man in the service, and this at a time when our navy was fast running to ruin, as I have already stated, and will more fully prove; and no provision was making to remedy so alarming an evil, either by building new ships, or by repairing those which required it.—Our dock-yards had neither Ship Wrights, nor materials, nor sufficient stores of any kind to supply the wants of the service. The deficiency of Ship Wrights is proved by an account called for by an hon. admiral and now on the table, which shews the number borne in all the yards on 31st Dec. in each year from 1793. To prove (if proofs are wanting) the miserable state of the yards in respect to timber, I need only read the letters from the officers of the yards, which will be found in p. 39 of the papers presented the 28th of May, and then enquire, if this is the way in which the works of the British navy can be maintained?—Sir, I flatter myself that I have fully proved to the house the shameful neglect of lord St. Vincent in regard to building ships. I shall now proceed to shew some of the effects which have resulted from this neglect. Why the tenders which were sent from the navy board to the admiralty were refused, we are yet to learn. But, I beg leave to state that in consequence of his lordship's unfortunate capricious determination, the country has sustained an increased expence of more than 200,000*l.*; for his successor (from the urgent necessity of the case) was compelled to give 36*l.* per ton, i. e. an advance of 10*l.* per ton, or 40 per cent. for building ten 74-gun ships. This however was not the only circumstance to be regretted. Had his lordship continued in one mind from the 5th Jan. to the 13th, those 10 ships would ere this have been ready for the sea.—As the circumstances contained in the letter from the navy board to the admiralty, informing them of their having been obliged to give 36*l.* per ton for the ships which they had, by direction of the board of admiralty, agreed for, are rather of an extraordinary complexion; I must beg the patience of the house while I read it, as well as that which introduces it. [Here the hon. gent. read the said letter, which will be found in p. 27 of the papers presented the 28th of May.] As these letters speak for themselves, I shall only observe, that a similar instance of breach of faith between government and individuals is not, I hope, to be found, for it has done much mischief. And I cannot but lament that one of the noble lord's colleagues should have had the interest of his country so little at heart, as to have acted in a manner so unbecoming, and so detrimental to the concerns of the nation.—But, whatever might have been the expence of those ships, if there were no means by which they could otherwise have been procured, there was an urgent necessity, and that necessity, in lord St. Vincent's own emphatic words, went to the length of "as many as could be procured in every part of the kingdom." And yet the noble lord thought proper to risk the safety of the country, by a false, ill-judged, and ill-timed economy, of which the inevitable result, as his lordship ought to have foreseen, led to very great additional expence in the course of the requisite preparations for maintaining the navy. Possibly his lordship's successor might have the censure of earl St. Vincent and his friends, for giving the additional price of 10*l.* per ton; but instead of censure, I highly commend the conduct of that noble lord, I mean lord Melville; and his active, zealous successor lord Barham; who till lately presided at the board of admiralty; whose exertions and judicious measures have preserved the navy and perhaps the country from ruin.—Suppose the contracted system of lord St. Vincent had been persisted in; must it not have been ruinous to the great interests of the kingdom? We should not then, as we happily now have, an opportunity to exult in, and commemorate the signal and glorious victory of Trafalgar, achieved by that great, renowned, and ever-to-be-lamented hero, lord Nelson; nor the subsequent success of the gallant sir R. Strachan; by which the victory was made complete. Neither should we have had to congratulate the country on the more recent, signal and glorious defeat and capture of the enemy's fleet off St. Domingo, by that meritorious officer admiral sir J. T. Duckworth; nor that of the Maringo and Belle Poule by sir J. B. Warren: instead of the almost complete demolition of the combined fleets of France and Spain, our inferior blockading squadron (for such, if any, it must have been) would have been compelled to have quitted their station, when the enemy had chose to put to sea, on which they would have rode the triumphant and unmolested masters; and uncontrolled, would have directed their hostile attempts against our unprotected shores, colonies, and commerce.—As an Englishman, I shudder at the thought, but I have every reason to believe, that this supposition and probability (dreadful as they are) would have been fatally realized. And had this actually been the case, in what a dishonourable, degraded state must this country have been in at this moment; humbled to the dust at the feet of France; and obliged, perhaps, abjectly to sue for, and accept, any terms of peace, which that proud, ambitious, all-grasping power would deign to grant or arrogantly impose!—Sir, I mean not to reprobate lord St. Vincent's plan of reforming the abuses and economizing the management of the dock-yards, but I do consider him as highly culpable, for neglecting the not less important branches of his duty, that of building and repairing ships, in order to keep pace with the alarming augmentation of those of the enemy. The state of the navy had claims, above any other consideration whatever, to his lordship's serious attention and most active exertions.—If lord St. Vincent was of opinion, that the long-accustomed mode and practice in the dock-yards respecting Ship Wrights and labourers required change and reform, why did he not give directions for the adoption of a system deemed by him so necessary and beneficial to the public service, and have seen that such directions were carried into execution? The time that should have been thus employed, was spent in ineffectually projecting schemes which were suggested by the new master Ship Wright of Plymouth yard, and approved of only by his brother, the friend and adviser of lord St. Vincent.—And here I beg to call the attention of the house to the following very important observations. It appears from the documents before the house, that the proposed alteration of system was not approved of by any of the officers of the other dock-yards, nor by the navy board. But the commissioners of the navy, in letters bearing date 31st March, and 21st April, 1804, say, that "they are willing to adopt whatever plan lord St. Vincent should please to direct;" and that "no exertion shall be wanting on their part, to give it the fullest effect." But, no; his lordship did not think proper to commit himself by positive orders, so as to bring responsibility on himself.—What is the result of the papers called for, in proof of lord St. Vincent's vigilance and activity as to the increase of our naval power? Did he, whilst he presided at the admiralty, build, as was suggested might have been done, 50 sail of the line? No. I am sure the house will be astonished at hearing me declare, that he did no more towards building line-of-battle ships than what is equal to 2¼ sail of the line, for the 3 years and 3 months he was first lord of the admiralty. What, then, becomes of the boast of what was intended to be done? Where are we to find the promised augmentation of our great bulwark, the navy? There surely can be nothing to boast of, where nothing has been done. I cannot leave this part of the subject without expressing my full conviction, that the present state of the navy requires the most serious consideration of this house, and of the country; and however fortunate we have been in our unprecedented success and our many signal victories, the state of the navy calls for all the vigilance, energy, and industry of the noble lord who now fills the important office of first lord of the admiralty, and I conjure him to give it his most serious attention; for even at this moment there is "an urgent necessity for building as many ships as can be procured in every part of the kingdom;" as well as for the utmost exertion to repair our present navy.—Having thus entered into a long and I fear tedious detail of the measures and conduct of earl St. Vincent with respect to building ships; having shewn the baneful effects of such measures; and I trust, already justified the expression I used on a former day, that lord St. Vincent was, by a culpable neglect of the duties of the great and most important office, (eventually, for it cannot be supposed that I meant intentionally and with design,) as great an enemy as this country ever had; I must now beg the indulgence of the house for a short time longer, while I make a few observations on such parts of the papers as clearly demonstrate the disgraceful manner in which his lordship neglected to perform another equally important part of his duty, the Repairs of the Fleet; and which, I think, cannot fail to convince every member of this house and the country, that the navy of Great Britain, under the management of earl St. Vincent, was fast approaching to destruction.—With a view of obtaining clear and precise information on this head, I called for a list of the Ships of the Line and Frigates paid off between 1st Oct. 1801, (when the preliminaries of peace were signed,) and 8th March 1803, the commencement of the present war; shewing the nature of the repair each required, to be put into condition for permanent service. Also, a list of the Ships in Ordinary on the 1st Oct. 1801; stating in like manner the nature of the repair each required, to be put into condition for permanent service.—I likewise moved for a List of Ships of the Line and Frigates actually repaired, between the 1st Oct. 1801, and 15th May 1804, when earl St. Vincent quitted the admiralty; shewing the time when each was completed; the nature of the repair each required when taken in hand, to be put into condition for permanent service; and the nature of the repair actually given. Had his lordship been aware of the state and condition of the navy at the conclusion of the last war; and to suppose him ignorant, would be to suppose him highly culpable; his lordship must have known that in consequence of a long and harassing war, the situation of our navy, so far from justifying supineness and inactivity, called loudly upon the first lord of the admiralty for extraordinary, for unprecedented exertions and activity.—It appears, sir, by these accounts, that there were only 15 sail of the line in ordinary in Oct. 1801, (exclusive of such ships as were unfit to be repaired for sea-service,) and that 10 of those 15 stood in need of repair, and the other 5 required either fitting for sea, or making good their defects; and that between Oct. 1801, and March 1803, 114 sail of the line were paid off, two only of which were in good condition; one other is expressed as fitting; and another whose state and condition is uncertain. So that there were no less (including the ships in ordinary on 1st Oct. 1801,) than 120 sail of the line which stood in need of repair.—And here I beg to enumerate the numbers, under each head, or class of repair required, and under the various official denominations: 14 required very large repair, 38 large repair, 14 between middling and large, 22 middling, 12 between middling and small, 16 small, 4 very small; total 120.—I shall now, sir, enumerate the number of ships of the line actually repaired by earl St. Vincent, between Oct. 1801, and May 1804, as taken from the account ordered to be printed July 3, 1805, and which account the house will understand is not confined to those paid off by his lordship, but relates to the whole of the navy repaired.—Of the 14 under the head of very large repair, not one was repaired; of the 38 under the head of large repair, 5 were repaired; of the 14 between middling and large, none were repaired; of the 22 middling, 4 were repaired; of the 12 between small and middling, 3 were repaired; of the 16 small, 10 were repaired; and the 4 which required very small, were all 4 repaired; total 26.—So that it appears that earl St. Vincent during a period of 2 years and 8 months immediately succeeding the war, repaired no more than 26 sail of the line, the greater part of which were those that required the least repair; although his lordship must have known that there were full 120 sail of the line which stood in need of repair, and that the ordinary did not afford any resource.—But, sir, the proportion of work performed by earl St. Vincent in the 2 years and 8 months, to the whole quantity of work necessary to be performed, before the 120 sail of the line could be put into a complete state, falls far short of the proportion of 26 to 120; for the greater part of the ships repaired, were, as I have already stated, such as required the least to be done to them; and I have, for the information of the house, ascertained, what proportion the actual work performed by earl St. Vincent bears to the whole.—The expence of workmanship for each denomination of repairs will accurately determine the proportion one bears to another; and which expence, I believe, will be found upon an average as nearly as possible, on the following calculation for a 74-gun ship. I conceive it necessary to be thus minute, as, in bringing forward charges of so serious a nature, it is but reasonable that those who may be disposed to take upon themselves the defence of his lordship, should see the precise grounds on which the charges rest. The expence of workmanship may be reasonably estimated at, 14,000*l.*; Large Repair, 10,500*l.*; Between Middling and Large, 8,000*l.*; Middling, 5,500*l.*; Between Middling and

Small, 3,500*l.*; Small, 2,500*l.*; Very Small, 2,000*l.*—Now, sir, the whole expence of workmanship for the repairs actually performed by earl St. Vincent agreeably to this calculation, would amount to 118,000*l.* The expence in like manner on the ships in ordinary in Oct. 1801, and the 120 ships paid off between Oct. 1801, and March 1803, amounts to 918,000*l.* Therefore the proportion of repair, performed by earl St. Vincent to the whole amount required, was as 118,000*l.* is to 918,000*l.*, or nearly 1 to 8, and this in 2 years and 8 months. His lordship at this rate (which cannot be denied to be a fair statement) would have been 20 years completing the whole.—I have only to remark, that a ship, after being completely repaired for permanent service, cannot be expected to run above 5 years without requiring fresh actual repairs, exclusive of casual defects made good: how far, then, his lordship's measures were calculated to maintain a navy of above 100 sail of the line in actual service at sea, I shall leave the house and the country to determine.—Lord St. Vincent was not, it seems, awake to a sense of danger, and to the necessity of beginning to put the navy into an efficient state, even till within a month before Press Warrants were issued; I beg to refer to letters from the officers of the dock-yards, which prove this to its full extent. They will be found in p. 39 of the papers presented to the house on the 28th of May.—Is it impossible that the officers of our principal dock-yards, should have had occasion to express themselves in those terms, only one month before the commencement of hostilities? Can any one who has seen the correspondence which passed between the ministers of this country and those of France, from the time the definitive treaty was signed, to the commencement of the present war, the whole of which bespeaks the almost certainty of war; I say, sir, can any one, having seen such correspondence, believe that during the time it was carrying on, those who directed our naval affairs were incurring to the country a useless and great expence in fitting its Navy for a state of Ordinary? and that, so far from taking such precautionary measures as might facilitate our means of defence and offence, in the event of hostilities, they were throwing every impediment in the way by putting the navy to sleep; discharging the Ship Wrights and artificers from the dock-yards; and turning adrift the brave and gallant seamen; many of whom immediately resorted to foreign countries, and are at this moment in the dock-yards and fleets of our enemies? and this, even before they had repaired a single ship?—But so much were they infatuated with false ideas of economy, that they were actually selling ships, instead of repairing them, till hostilities stared them in the face; for it is a fact, that at the moment when press warrants were issued, there was an advertisement in the public newspapers, dated March 5, 1803, for the sale of several vessels; but which advertisement was afterwards withdrawn.—The earl of St. Vincent also authorised the sale of hemp; conceiving, I presume, that the stock in hand was greater than was necessary; which acceptable article found its way to the enemy's fleets. His lordship next visited the dock-yards, in order to introduce his system of affected reform and false economy; which visitation, as it was called, was attended with unprecedented acts of cruelty and oppression. He found them, as he thought, over-stocked with artificers, and instantly a large reduction took place. And, sir, so little importance did he attach to it, that this reduction took place, even before that solitary ship the Russel was completed; the only ship repaired, out of 60 sail of the line; part of those which were even paid off by himself, all requiring the 3 first denominations of heaviest repairs. It was at a moment when every man in the country anticipated the renewal of the war; which expectation was so soon realised. It was unpardonable, that ample provision was not made for it. Our preparations should at least have kept pace with those of foreign powers, but more particularly with those of France.—The consequences resulting from such measures are in a great degree shewn by the accounts on the table; by which it appears, that during the latter years of the last war, this country never had less than 100 sail of the line actually in commission, not including harbour duty ships; the average is, I believe, 104. On the 18th of Feb. 1801, when earl St. Vincent came to the admiralty, a few months previous to the termination of the war, there were 102. It was, sir, my intention to have drawn a comparison between the number in commission at this latter period (not knowing it had been soon afterwards increased), and the number in commission at the time his lordship quitted the admiralty, 14 months after the war began. But the hon. admiral who has moved for such voluminous papers, has enabled me to lay before the house a much stronger case than I expected.—By his calling for an account of the ships in commission, on 1st Oct. 1801, it appears there were 122 sail of the line, being an increase of 20 ships, since 18th Feb. 1801.—If the hon. admiral called for this account, with a view of giving credit to earl St. Vincent for his great exertions in adding those 20 sail to the fleet; which I can hardly believe he intends, because the hon. admiral cannot be ignorant to whom that credit is due, and to whose exertions the country is indebted; I reply that the fact is, earl St. Vincent came into office, just at the time the coalition of the northern powers was at its height, and when every possible means were necessary, to beat down that formidable confederacy. These ships, for this purpose, were provided, and many of them on the point of being commissioned at the time earl St. Vincent came into office in Feb. 1801. The greatest part were, it is true, commissioned by the noble lord, but 8 were actually ready by the end of March; 7 by the end of April; and the remaining 5 by the last of May; in short, the country was indebted to earl Spencer for those exertions which proved so successful. An extraordinary survey was made about 2 months previous to earl St. Vincent's administration, at the different dock-yards, for the express purpose of putting this measure into immediate effect. And therefore this proves that when earl St. Vincent came to the admiralty, the permanent force was at least 100 sail of the line in commission, with the means of equipping, upon an emergency, 20 sail more. But when earl St. Vincent quitted the admiralty, above 12 months after the war commenced, though he had had the peace, during which he might recruit and refit at his pleasure, there were only 88 sail of the line in commission, although it cannot be said that he was very nice as to their state and condition; not another ship could be sent to sea; and I fear there is too much reason to suspect that representations from officers, of the defective state of their ships, were not attended to; of which there was one instance in particular; though I would now avoid entering into the melancholy subject.—At this time the navy of our enemy was much superior to what it was in the latter part of the last war. They employed the interval of peace, in building and repairing ships; and which (by knowing it, as we must have known it) urged the necessity, on our part, of similar exertions.—But, sir, it is notorious that we had not the means. I appeal to the hon. admiral himself, who at that time was at the board, whether another ship could have been sent to sea? And to add to the calamity, the successors of earl St. Vincent had the mortification to find after all their exertions, which were of no ordinary nature, that though in the course of about 8 or 9 months they had fitted 12 fresh ships, they only served to replace an equal number which were found totally unfit for further service at sea. Such even was the state of those which earl St. Vincent had commissioned. This fact has been confirmed in another place, from authentic documents.—Let us look at the exertions of his lordship's successors, immediately after he quitted the office. Between that period and 15th Oct. 1805, there were put out of commission 16 sail of the line and 21 frigates, and commissioned 35 sail of the line and 38 frigates. The improved state of the navy since that period, speaks for itself; and I shall only say that it will be fortunate for the country, if the brilliant success of the navy, provided by that truly great and meritorious servant of the country, lord Barham, shall be followed up with equal good fortune, and by similar wisdom and energy, on the part of his successor, who now presides at that board.—I must again, sir, beg the further indulgence of the house, while I make some observations on such part of the papers, as respect the supply of timber for the navy; and I conceive that this interesting and important subject will be found equally deserving serious attention, as those matters which I have already had occasion to submit to the house.—It is unnecessary, sir, that I should enter into a tedious detail of the measures which were pursued by the predecessors of earl St. Vincent, in order to obtain supplies of timber for the navy; it is sufficient to know that they were effectual. Timber was procured; and although the stock of timber in the country might have been gradually decreasing for many years, still there was no want; the dock yards were abundantly supplied; no serious difficulties presented themselves, until earl St. Vincent came to the admiralty. That the supplies of timber failed during the administration of earl St. Vincent, is most clearly proved, by the accounts on the table; by which it appears, that in 8 years preceding that period, the annual average receipt of timber was upwards of 32,000 loads; whereas in the years 1802 and 1803, it was reduced to less than 20,000. His lordship quitted the admiralty in May 1804. Offers are usually made at that season, of the timber intended to be felled the ensuing year. The navy board state, in their letter to the admiralty, of 24th March 1804, that the merchants could not be induced to come forward, and that the offers then made amounted to no more than 2,300 to 2,400 loads. This, sir, was the situation of the country, at a moment when the greatest possible exertions in our naval arsenals were absolutely required.—The stock in hand, more particularly of useful timber, greatly decreased; the works in the dock yards actually stopped for want of timber; and the melancholy prospect of only obtaining from 3 to 4 thousand loads, when the annual expenditure is above 30,000.—As I perceive by the tenor of the correspondence between the admiralty and navy boards, and by many very specious accounts and papers moved for by an hon. admiral, that it is intended to attribute the cause of all the insurmountable difficulties which arose during the administration of earl St. Vincent to the navy board, instead of the admiralty, it is necessary that I shew the real cause of such difficulties, and to whom it is to be attributed. And here, sir, I must shortly observe, that the failure in supplies of timber appears to have been confined to earl St. Vincent's administration.—There were abundant supplies in the time of his predecessors, and also in the time of his successors. The same navy board existed before, during, and after his lordship's administration. Soon after earl St. Vincent came into the admiralty, some material alterations were made by direction of that board, in the Rules and Regulations laid down for the receipt and management of timber in the dock yards; and an officer was appointed in each yard, called a timber-master, to whom the whole of this branch of the service was entrusted. I do not wish to be understood, that the serious mischief which ensued, was owing to the regulations themselves, but to the unfortunate interpretation which they were liable to, by the officers acting under them being influenced by a system of terror. A system which, I am sorry to say, under the administration of earl St. Vincent, was unhappily introduced into every department of the naval service, but more particularly the dock yards.—I will, in as few words as possible, state the timber-master's duty, as I think it material it should be clearly understood. Upon any quantity of timber being offered for the navy, a purveyor, or shipwright is dispatched into the country to view the timber, where it lies; he marks all that he deems fit for the purposes of the dock yards, upon which the merchant, or contractor, sends it to the yard. Upon its arrival there, it is the duty of the timber-master to inspect every piece of timber, and to determine the specific purpose (in building) to which each piece is applicable; which determination decides the value of the timber; for it is paid for according to such decided qualification; i. e. the uses to which it is applicable in ship building. If the merchant objects to the valuation of the timber-master, the only alternative he has, is to take away the timber from the yards, after incurring great expence for carriage and freight. Now, in order to preserve a check upon this officer, an account is kept of every stick of timber, with the qualification at which it was received, and according to which it was valued and paid for; and this very much depends on the opinion as to its capacity for conversion; and whenever the timber is converted, the use to which it is actually applied or converted, is noted against the original entry of the timber; so that it is seen at once whether the timber ultimately proves of superior or inferior quality, of greater or less value, than that at which it was originally received; and according to the favourable or unfavourable appearance of this comparison, the conduct of the timber-master is deemed culpable or meritorious.—I conceive, sir, that these regulations, when exercised with candour and justice, according to their true spirit, are beneficial; but when exercised by persons who do not strictly consult the mutual interest of the individual and the public, and who are in a measure awed by the responsibility of their situation, they become detrimental. Inasmuch as the interest of the timber-master is diametrically opposite to that of the merchant, it is his interest to qualify the timber as low as possible, and he has the power of doing it; or if the merchant objects, the timber-master may refuse it altogether. If the quality of timber is doubtful (and a great deal must be so), he will at once reject it, rather than hazard its ultimately turning out worse than he estimated it; the effect of which must be the refusal of a vast deal of useful timber; it increases the scarcity, enhances the price, creates immense loss to the merchant, and finally puts a stop to the supply of timber for the navy.—That the timber-masters acted under these impressions, when earl St. Vincent presided at the board of admiralty, and that the consequences I have pointed out immediately ensued, I am sure no one who has read the correspondence on the subject can entertain a doubt. What is the language of the timber-merchants? They all assert, that such alterations have taken place in the receipt and qualification of their timber, that it is impossible to supply the dock-yards. They do not conceive that an advance in price can counterbalance the disadvantages which in this respect they labour under: the receipt of timber, both in qualification and measurement being so considerably reduced, and the quantity refused being increased to an amount exceeding all conception. [See papers ordered to be printed, July 3, 1805, p. 66 to 72.]—I observe, in a letter from a Mr. Larking to the navy board, Feb. 13, 1803, he says, "there "must in the nature of things be always "a great proportion of timber, which will "not be quite free from defects, and of "course some that may be called unpro-"fitable for conversion; but if all such "is to be refused, it will be in vain to "look for any thing like an adequate "supply from this or any other country." But, sir, I need not occupy more of your time in bringing forward matter, of which the papers moved for afford abundance to prove that the representations of the timber-merchants were well founded—their almost entirely withdrawing themselves from any connexion with government is sufficient proof.—However, before I quit this part of the subject, I must beg to make a few remarks on some of the papers which have been moved for by the hon. admiral, as I cannot help suspecting that he intends to infer from them that no severity towards the timber-merchants in the receipt of their timber has been practised; that no alteration has taken place in the measurement and qualification of timber, injurious to the merchant; but that on the contrary, the alterations in the contracts have been advantageous to the contractor, of 18 per cent. on sided timber, and 12 per cent. on rough timber. [Vide papers ordered to be printed, July 3, 1805, p. 11 to 19.] The other papers I allude to are copies of the letters from the timber-masters to the admiralty, in answer to directions which they had received, to state how far the representations of the timber-merchants to the navy board were true; and if in discharge of their duty in the receipt of timber, they had exercised any unnecessary rigour, or cut up timber, as the merchants represented; or if they considered it to be their duty to do justice equally to the merchants as to the public. [Vide papers ordered to be printed, July 3, 1805, p. 87 to 93.]—The answer that they returned naturally was, that no unnecessary rigour had been exercised, and that timber had not been improperly cut up, and that they had done justice to the merchant as well as to the public. I would simply ask, How could they return any other answer, and retain their places? But there are paragraphs in their letters, which evidently shew that alterations have taken place in the mode of measuring and receiving timber, but which they conceive to be justified, when acting up to the letter of their instructions, and of the contract; and seem to infer, that no injustice is done to the contractor, as long as he has the option of either submitting to their terms, or taking back the timber.—Now, sir, can it be supposed that a merchant, after having been at the expence of preparing the timber for the yard, and of the land and water carriage, does not incur a very heavy loss, by having that timber rejected, when it comes to the dock-yards? And would he not rather submit to a considerable reduction below its real value, than to have it returned upon his hands? In short, sir, I think that the letters of the timber-masters, so far from having a tendency to refute that which is established upon the most satisfactory documents, strongly confirm it.—Another paper, which I have alluded to, as being calculated to mislead the house, will be found in p. 11. of the papers printed July 3, purporting to be an account, shewing the price of timber in the king's yards, on the 18th

Feb. 1801, the advances which have been since made thereon, and the advantages which have been given to the timber-merchants by the alteration in the mode of measurement, and qualifications of the timber, as shewn in money. The precise time when those alterations took place is not noted in the account, but I believe they occurred during the time earl St. Vincent was at the admiralty. Now, sir, at first view of this document, we should very naturally be inclined to think, that so far from the merchants having any cause of complaint, they had every reason to be satisfied, every encouragement having been held out; i. e. great advances on the price, and other favourable alterations in the mode of measurement, by which they appear to have gained 18 per cent. But, sir, on examining the case, I find that the merchants had no reason to be so satisfied; for there was at the same time another alteration made, which was that of the conduct of the timber-masters, which subjected the contractors to such a loss, as no reasonable advance in price would compensate. The very same piece of timber, which formerly, without hesitation, would have been received as applicable to a principal use in ship-building, and paid for accordingly, was now deemed only of inferior qualification, and the price of course reduced; but the greatest loss to the merchants was, the immense quantity rejected on the appearance of slight defects. That this was the case, appears by the repeated remonstrances of the merchants.—Stook and Farr, in a letter of 24th Aug. 1801, state, "that in "the last cargo of timber delivered by "them, the classing was lowered from "100 to 90, and from 90 to 74-gun ships, "and so in proportion." Stuckey and Bagshot, of 27th Aug. say, "the receipt "of timber, both in qualification and measurement, has been so considerably re"duced, and the quantity refused, so "greatly increased, as to exceed all con"ception." In a letter, signed by several merchants, they state, "that the timber "is in general classed one rate lower than "it used to be; in consequence of which, "a great deal of timber has been refused." These statements are repeated by every merchant, and the truth is assented to by the navy board.—I am aware, that if the hon. admiral entertains the same ideas as the board of admiralty, at which earl St. Vincent presided, and of which the hon. admiral was a member, he will tell the house, that the former mode of receipt in the dock-yards was collusive; he may perhaps add, that there was nothing but fraud and corruption practised, and that the yards were loaded with useless and defective timber.—I am ready to admit, that formerly a larger proportion of inferior timber was received into the dock-yards; but I do assert, that it was paid for as inferior timber; that it was advantageous to receive it; and that so far from being useless, it was equally fit for the purposes to which it was applied, as the best of timber. It lessened the consumption of prime timber, and tended to keep down the price. It is impossible that this country can afford a supply of timber for our navy, free of apparent or slight defects; the result has proved the impossibility. And to shew that we do not require prime timber for all the work in the dock-yards, and that it is even policy to receive a quantity of inferior, I beg leave to read part of a letter from the officers of Deptford yard, dated June 8, 1805. "We think it our "duty to state, that the timber converted "in the 3d month of 1803, was taken "from piles of timber known to be infe"rior, which had arisen, some from con"version, and some from Plymouth, and "which was equally applicable for the "purpose for which it was used, the fit"ting of the bomb vessels, as the best of "timber, and therefore selected for that "very purpose, to save the consumption "of better timber." [Vide papers ordered to be printed, June 25, 1805, p. 8.]—Without dwelling longer on the causes of that deficiency of timber, which was so peculiar to earl St. Vincent's administration, I shall proceed to that part of the correspondence between the admiralty and navy board in March and April 1804, when the supplies almost wholly failed.—On the 24th March 1804, the navy board addressed a letter to the admiralty, in which they fully stated the alarming situation to which the service was reduced, in respect to timber; that no supplies could be obtained for the ensuing year from the timber-merchants, the source from which the navy board had hitherto been supplied; and therefore they proposed, as the only means which occurred to them of obtaining supplies, to send agents into different parts of the kingdom to purchase timber on account of government.—This letter was immediately answered, and without further communication with the board, the proposal was rejected; and in the place of it, the admiralty directed a measure, in my opinion, improper and mischievous to the public service, and to the interests of the country, and inadequate to the object in view; they directed the junior surveyor of the navy, to proceed into the country to purchase timber.—Before I offer any observations on this measure, I shall beg to say a word as to another point in the letter from the admiralty; they desire to be informed when the navy board first failed in their efforts to obtain the necessary supplies to keep up their 3 years stock of timber, in conformity to their lordships' orders; and if they made any, and what representation thereof to the admiralty, that such steps might have been taken to procure it as should have been judged proper.—Now, sir, the only construction to be put upon this is, that the admiralty were inclined to shake off as much responsibility as possible from their own shoulders to those of the navy board; they were pleading ignorance; the navy board had kept them in the dark. Had they made known when they first failed to obtain supplies, the admiralty would have earlier exercised their judgment as to the measures to be adopted. How far the admiralty can plead ignorance on this head, the house will determine, by reference to the navy board's letter in reply, dated 21st April 1804. [Vide papers ordered to be printed July 3, 1805, p. 59.]—It is pretty evident that the admiralty were fully acquainted from time to time with the situation of the dock-yards, in respect of timber; and we know that no means whatever were taken to increase the supplies from this country; and that with regard to foreign timber, the effort which the navy board made, to procure supplies from abroad, was frustrated by the injudicious interference of the board of admiralty. They add, in another part of their letter, "their lord-"ships will also permit us to say, that "had we been allowed to proceed with-"out interference, in procuring the aids "which we proposed from the Continent "in 1802, we have no doubt that the "stock of useful timber in the dock-"yards would have been much greater "than it is at present."—With regard to the measure of sending the surveyor of the navy into the country to purchase timber, I think but little need be said. We find that it was very strongly remonstrated against by the navy board, who clearly point out the mischief which must ensue, and the impracticability of obtaining timber by such a puerile mode of proceeding.—In addition to the observations of the navy board, I have only one remark to make. The immense supply of timber, which is required for the navy, must be obtained from every part of the kingdom. Timber can only be felled at a particular season, which was at hand, when the orders were given; and before that time expired, it was utterly impossible for any individual to travel over the kingdom; much more to make extensive arrangements, for transacting a business of which he was wholly ignorant. These remonstrances however had no weight: it was too much to expect that the admiralty would acknowledge an error. Their order was enforced for the surveyor to proceed, and the effects pointed out by the navy board immediately followed, as will be seen by the correspondence which afterwards took place. The price of timber was greatly advanced wherever he appeared, and little or none could be purchased.—This, sir, was the situation of the country at the moment when earl St. Vincent quitted the admiralty; and I have no hesitation in saying, that by the sole event of his then leaving it, the British navy was saved. It is impossible for me to quit the subject of timber, without pointing out to the house, that it affords the most concise and unanswerable proof of the shameful neglect in the administration of earl St. Vincent to build and repair ships. Vol. IV. p. 28. contains two accounts, one of the stock of timber on 31st Dec. in each year since 1793; the other of the receipt in each year. Now, by a comparison of these two accounts an important fact results; namely, the consumption in each year; and it will be found that the annual average consumption, during the 7 years preceding earl St. Vincent's coming into the admiralty, was full 34,000 loads; whereas in 1802, it was decreased to 23,166, and in 1803, to 17,977.—I need only add, that the consumption of timber must determine the quantity of work executed. Ships cannot be built or repaired without timber.—And now, sir, I trust I have fully proved, from the documents on the table, the charges which I at first made against the earl of St. Vincent. And though, as I proceeded, I have done little more than state facts, and made but few comments, I cannot conclude without offering some short observations. I will venture to assert, that the naval history of Great Britain does not furnish another instance of equal or like criminal misconduct and culpable neglect in any first lord of the admiralty, at any period, or in any situation. And I am fully persuaded, that, had lord St. Vincent continued at the head of the admiralty, the honour, glory, and unrivalled fame of the British navy would have sunk, and lost all their splendour. Let it not be admitted, as has been asserted, that the earl of St. Vincent laid the foundation of all our naval victories. The facts, which I have had the honour to state, give the most positive contradiction to that assertion. And, though charges of so serious a nature have been brought against that noble lord, and which I trust I have fully substantiated, we see the noble lord, pending the enquiry, appointed to the highest and most extensive command ever given to any officer of the British navy. I do not mean, sir, to question lord St. Vincent's merits as a naval officer. They form no object in the present enquiry; neither can any professional merits serve to set off against proved and mischievous conduct in his civil and political capacity.—I shall now, sir, conclude with reading certain resolutions, which it is my intention to move to be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house. On enquiry I am persuaded that this house, and the nation at large, will be convinced that I have not wantonly calumniated the noble lord, or sullied his character, reputation, and fame. If these have been tarnished—if his lordship's laurels have been blasted—they have not been tarnished or blasted by me. I have only recited lord St Vincent's acts. If he fall from his elevated station of honour and fame,—he has rashly precipitated himself, and sinks by his own misconduct.—I do not see, how it is possible that my motions can be negatived, unless the facts comprised in them can be controverted, which I am sure they cannot; or unless they are deemed wholly unimportant and uninteresting; that is, unless it be decided, that the care and preservation of the navy of Great Britain, is a concern unworthy of the attention of the British parliament.—Having now, sir, very conscientiously, though very imperfectly, discharged the duty which I thought due to this house, to the public an to myself; I most gratefully acknowledge the candid and patient attention with which I have been honoured. I beg leave to read the following resolutions:—

RESOLVED;—1. That it appears to this House that from the 18th Feb. 1801, to the 15th May 1804, the right hon. the earl of St. Vincent presided at the board of admiralty.—2. That it is the duty of the board of admiralty to maintain and support the royal navy in a complete and efficient state.—3. That 42 ships of the line and 45 frigates, had been launched between 1783 and 1792; of which number, 30 of the line-of-battle ships, and 40 of the frigates, had been built in the merchants' yards.—4. That from Jan. 1793, to Feb. 1801, there were 18 ships of the line, and 46 frigates built; 43 ships of the line, and 66 frigates, captured from the enemy; 5 ships of the line, and 9 frigates purchased; making in all, 66 ships of the line, and 121 frigates added to the navy in a period of 8 years; being on an average, an annual addition of 8¼ sail of the line, and of 15 frigates.—5. That from Jan. 1793, to Feb. 1801, 21 ships of the line, and 53 frigates were by various casualties taken from the navy.—6. That there had been maintained at sea, upon the average of 8 years, prior to Feb. 1801, 101 sail of the line, and 146 frigates, exclusive of Harbour duty ships.—7. That on the 18th Feb. 1801, when the earl of St. Vincent came into office, there were building, 15 sail of the line; 6 in the king's, and 9 in the merchants' yards; and 11 frigates; 4 in the king's, and 7 in the merchants' yards.—8. That between the 18th Feb. 1801, and the 15th May 1804, there were launched 7 sail of the line, and 8 frigates from the merchants' yards; and 3 sail of the line, and 4 frigates from the king's yards; and that there were captured in the same period, 4 sail of the line and 10 frigates; and that none were purchased: so that the total addition to the navy in this period of 3 years and 3 months, was only 14 sail of the line and 32 frigates; making an average of not more than 4⅓ sail of the line, and 7 frigates per annum. — 9. That of the 3 line-of-battle ships launched in the king's yards within the said period of 3 years and 3 months, one of them was launched in June, and one in Oct. 1801; and that only one line-of-battle ship was launched from the king's yards, between the 22d Oct. 1801, and 15th May

1804.—10. That in these 3 years and 3 months, viz. from the 18th Feb. 1801, to the 15th May 1804, there were taken from the navy by various casualties, 11 sail of the line and 30 frigates; leaving the increase of ships of the line, only 3; and an actual decrease of frigates; whereas in the 8 years preceding, there had been (after deducting the ships taken away from the navy) an actual increase of 45 sail of the line, and 68 frigates.—11. That when the earl of St. Vincent quitted the admiralty on the 15th May 1804, he left building only 9 line of battle ships; 5 of which were actually building, before the commencement of his administration.—12. That the earl of St. Vincent officially declared on the 29th Dec. 1802, that there was an urgent necessity for entering into contracts for building as many 74-gun ships as would be undertaken by fit persons in every part of the kingdom; and that offers were made for building ships of that rate, at the average price of 26*l.* per ton.—13. That on the 13th Jan. 1803, these offers, to build 74-gun ships at 26*l.* per ton, were rejected, by direction of the board of admiralty; that board declaring at the same time its determination, that no line-of-battle ship should be then built in merchants' yards.—14. That notwithstanding the official declaration made on the 29th Dec. 1802, by the first lord of the admiralty, of the urgent necessity of entering into contracts for building as many 74-gun ships, as could be undertaken by fit persons in every part of the kingdom, not a single ship was ordered to be contracted for, in the merchants' yards; or to be laid down in the king's yards, in the subsequent 18 months during which his lordship remained in office.—15. That in the month of Jan. 1805, contracts were entered into for building in the merchants' yards ten 74-gun ships, at the rate of 36*l.* per ton; being an advance of 10*l.* per ton, on the rate, at which they might have been built, under the tenders made in Jan. 1803.—16. That there were on the 15th of May 1804, 20 ships in his majesty's several dock-yards, capable of receiving line-of-battle ships; of which, 13 were at that time wholly unoccupied.—17. That on the 1st Oct. 1801, there were only 15 sail of the line, and 7 frigates in a state of ordinary, exclusive of such ships as were unfit to be repaired for sea-service; and that between the 1st Oct. 1801, and 8th March 1803, there were 114 sail of the line, and 122 frigates paid off; and that out of the number of ships so paid off, and in a state of ordinary on 1st Oct. 1801, 121 sail of the line, and 120 frigates, stood in need of repair; the greater part, of repair of large denomination.—18. That in a period of 2 years and 8 months from Oct. 1801, to May 1804, there were repaired from the whole navy but 26 ships of the line, and 34 frigates, by far the greater part of which, had only repairs of small denomination.—19. That the average annual supply and expenditure of English oak timber in his majesty's several dock-yards, for 8 years prior to 1802, was upwards of 34,000 loads; during which period ¾ of the new ships added to the royal navy, were built in the merchants' yards.—20. That in the years 1802 and 1803, the average supply and expenditure of English oak timber, in his majesty's several dock-yards, was under 20,000 loads per annum; and that during this period, contracts were entered into for building 2 sail of the line only, in the merchants' yards.—21. That prior to the year 1801, supplies of English oak timber, were easily and regularly obtained.—22. That early in the administration of earl St. Vincent, great difficulties were experienced in procuring supplies of oak timber, in consequence of the injudicious regulations adopted by the board of admiralty, and that such difficulties continued to increase till the beginning of 1804, when the supply almost wholly failed.—23. That during the time earl St. Vincent presided at the admiralty, the royal navy was not maintained in a complete and efficient state.—24. That the said earl of St. Vincent was guilty of great negligence, misconduct, and dereliction of his duty, in the office of first lord of the admiralty."—I beg leave to move, sir, "that these Resolutions be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house."

Mr. *Dent* rose to second the motion, but without pledging himself to support the object of the hon. member. He merely wished that the question should be put, in order to give the house an option of going into, or declining the discussion. But he was convinced, if the house should think proper to grant the committee, that the conduct of the noble earl would stand fully vindicated, to the conviction of every member of that house.

The *Speaker* thought it his duty to call the attention of the house to a subject involving the maintenance of its own order of proceeding. The hon. gent., in bringing forward the series of resolutions he had just now read, had thought proper to read nearly the whole of his very long speech. The house had not judged it necessary to interrupt the honourable gentleman, and, therefore, he had not interfered, lest in him it might seem ungracious. He begged, however, to inform the honourable gentleman, that such an indulgence was wholly inconsistent with the order and usage of parliamentary proceeding; and he therefore hoped the circumstance of its having been suffered to pass now, would not be pleaded as a precedent to justify a similar occurrence hereafter.

Lord *Howick* said that it was not his purpose, at that moment, to go at length into any thing like a detailed discussion; but as the hon. gent. had moved to refer all those papers upon the table to a committee of the whole house, he wished to know if the hon. member proposed to do any more in the committee than merely to propose his resolutions. The noble lord thought it would have been a more candid mode of proceeding if the hon. member had proposed the committee in the first instance.

Mr. *Jeffery* professed himself but little acquainted with the forms of the house; and having already discharged, as he thought, his duty, was willing to submit to any mode of proceeding the house might think it proper to adopt. Having stated the charges he thought it his duty to make, he was ready to be advised by the house as to the best mode of proceeding for giving them effect.

Lord *Howick* replied, that it was rather extraordinary the hon. gent., if he was so ignorant of the proper order of parliamentary proceedings, did not consult with somebody who could have directed him. The honourable gentleman, however, had availed himself of the opportunity of making a long speech, in crimination of the character of a noble earl, in the hope that at all events his object would be answered by the publication of this speech, if no one should oppose the motion, so that his speech might go forth in print, unrefuted in the first instance. He would therefore advise his honourable friends, who meant to vindicate the character and conduct of the earl of St. Vincent, to proceed in the debate on the present question.

Mr. *Jeffery* said, that if that was the wish of the noble lord, he should be well pleased to go immediately into the discussion.—The question being then put,

Admiral *Markham* rose, and, in offering himself to the notice of the house, for the purpose of refuting a series of charges, which he conceived to be the most unfounded that ever were offered to any house of parliament, he could have wished the task had fallen into abler hands than his own. He must also lament that he was not so well prepared with an arranged series of written documents as the hon. gent., to read in defence of the noble lord whose cause it was now his task to vindicate. But these were not the only difficulties with which he had to contend. Through the whole course of this proceeding, the hon. gent. had most studiously avoided giving the slightest hint as to what direction his charges would take; for if the hon. gent. had given any explanation upon that head, it would not have been necessary for him to have troubled the house with moving such a number of papers, or impressing upon their consideration so voluminous a mass of documents, as the proofs necessary to his purpose would have lain in so much narrower a compass. It was not until 12 o'clock that day that he had read the heads of those charges that night adduced by the hon. member, in a speech of such unusual length; and pressed as he was by the avocations of his official duty, from nine every morning till six in the afternoon, he had not much time to prepare himself for an answer to the hon. gent. Trusting, however, to the indulgence of the house, he would proceed, as well as he could, in reply to the charges which had been urged against his noble friend. The first point adverted to by the hon. member related to ship-building; and he stated that the number of ships of the line added to the navy, from Jan. 1793 to 1801, including captures, was 66 ships; but conceiving it an unfair statement to include captured ships under the head of building, he must beg to dismiss them from the credit of the account, as he could see no possible connection it could have with the number of ships built in the merchants' yards, or any thing to do with a charge against that noble lord in the performance of his official duty. Dismissing these, then, from the account, the number of ships of the line built in the 8 years preceding lord St. Vincent's administration would be 24; and comparing with that the period of that noble lord's administration, from his accession to office in March 1801, to his departure in May 1804, the total number was ten in a period of little better than 3 years; which, upon a comparison of averages, so far proved no deficiency. It also appeared that when the noble lord came into office, he found upon the slips building about 16 sail of the line, whereas on his departure from office he left 18 in forwardness upon the stocks. It was said by the hon. gent. that the noble lord had ordered the building of ships; but where were they? But if those ships were not built pursuant to the orders issued, the noble lord surely was not to blame; it was not his province to build the ships, or to lay them down for building; that was for the navy board to have looked to. He did not know how far to look back for the proofs of a similar case; but many gentlemen who heard him must recollect instances of vessels having been 4 years ordered to be built by the board of admiralty, the keels of which were not laid down till 4 years afterwards. Certainly such orders, when given, ought to be carried into immediate effect; but if they were not so carried, the blame could not attach upon the admiralty, whose province it merely was to issue the orders for building, and describe the size and force of the ships, but who had no more to do with the building than they had with finding the timber, or the funds for defraying the charges of building. There were many similar instances, to shew that the noble earl, who had done his part in ordering the building, was not to blame for tardiness in the execution. The Ocean, the Impregnable, and many other ships of the line, had been many years in building. The Caledonia was ordered to be laid down in the year 1795, and for the building of which, 1000*l.* was voted that year; 1000*l.* in 1796; 1000*l.* in 1797; 40,000*l.* in 1804, and 10,000*l.* in 1805; yet her frame was not set up till that year, by 30 men and 6 boys; and the calculation was, that it would take 90 men to complete her for launching in 9 months. The Hibernia was ordered to be built in 1792, yet was not launched till 1804. There was nothing new, therefore, in the practice, which could cast any blame on the noble lord, who was entitled to credit as well for those ships he had given orders to build, as for those which had been built; and whatever blame was due, the responsibility lay with the navy board. The hon. gent. had said there was no provision made to supply the losses of the navy in the smaller class of vessels, during the noble lord's administration; but in refutation of this, it appeared from documents on the table that there were built in that period 21 or 22 frigates, of which 14 were now at sea; 32 sloops, 21 gun-boats, 10 schooners, and 8 cutters. The hon. gent., in his zeal to criminate the conduct of lord St. Vincent from the first moment he came into administration, had asserted that the noble lord had every thing prepared to his hand, and little exertion to make beyond the ordinary routine of duty. It was very extraordinary that every exertion of that noble lord should be depreciated, and the merit placed to the account of his noble predecessor; but without any wish to diminish the merits of earl Spencer, for whose integrity and honour he had the highest respect, he begged to ask, was there no merit in the exertions made by the earl of St. Vincent on his accession to office, and his arrangements for providing what the country then wanted more than ships, namely, seamen to man the channel fleet? For this purpose he had taken the men out of the first-rates and frigates, and thereby effected a purpose so essential to the safety of the country. The measure was certainly a bold and a strong one, and what few others in his situation would have ventured to adopt; but it succeeded, and he deserved every credit for it; for at the end of an 8 years' war, he was thereby enabled to man 20 additional sail of the line, while he increased the number of frigates from 183 to 195, and the total number of the navy from 285 to 317. With respect to the charge of having neglected the repairs of the navy, he begged leave to observe, that after so long and arduous a war, carried on by our fleets and squadrons in every part of the world, the number of ships requiring repairs must be prodigious: for out of 220 ships, only 15 remained in ordinary, so that the whole naval strength of the country was engaged in service. If there was a considerable reduction, it was on account of the excessive repairs necessary, and the enormous expence. Several large ships were certainly broken up; but it was because the navy-board so recommended; and, surely, the first lord of the admiralty could not be expected to attend to the necessary operations in every department. In the small craft, certainly, great diminution took place, and a vast number of rotten old tubs had been got rid of, that were useless, and not worth repairs; they were turned into money, the expence of ship-keeping saved, and the warrant-officers, who would have been occupied uselessly in that way, turned over to new ships that were building, as a provision for them. The noble earl also gave orders, that the Ship-wrights should be kept at work upon the repairs, with increased allowances, as his object was to keep the fleet, as much as possible, in a condition ready for immediate service; and in consequence of this determination, all the materials of the ships usually brought on shore, such as their guns, &c. were ordered to remain on board; which was an arrangement that the hon. gent. did not think proper to give the noble earl credit for. The number of ships repaired in the king's yards, from Oct. 1, 1804, to May 15, 1805, amounted to 61. This, he was aware, the hon. gent. could not deny; but he supposed he would ask why, during that time, were there not some repaired in the merchants' yards? To him the reason was obvious, and he thought the house would in a short time be of the same opinion. Eighteen frigates were repaired in merchants' yards.—

Mr. *Jeffery* called the hon. admiral to order, as he digressed from the point before the house, by adverting to circumstances which had happened, perhaps, 20 years before the subject of the present charge arose.

Lord *Howick* spoke to order. He was surprised, after the speech the hon. gent. had made, and the subsequent motion to refer the papers to a committee, that he should interrupt the hon. admiral, who argued fairly from the papers before the house. One of the charges was, for not repairing ships in the merchants' yards, and his hon. friend was only bringing instances to prove the ill effects of that practice.

Admiral *Markham* proceeded to shew, from a variety of examples, the enormous prices charged at the merchants' yards, upon no less than 18 sail of ships, repaired in ten years from 1782 to 1792, as a fair criterion to judge of the policy of employing them. In one ship the charge for repairs was 12,392*l.*, when the charge for building her new at the same time would have been only 7,943*l.* For another, the repairs were charged at 10,395*l.*; the building new would have cost but 6,374*l.* In two others repaired in 1792, the charge was 39,730*l.*, when the price for building new would have been but 15,481*l.*; and the total charge for repairs on the whole number was 252,607*l.*, when the building new would have cost 150,280*l.* This was the report from the navy board; and these were the grounds upon which the noble lord had acted in his unwillingness to repair to the extent so anxiously desired by the hon. gent.; and he was still further justified by the example of the Powerful, of which the building cost 31,230*l.*, and the repairs at Chatham 27,058; by that of the Lion, which was built new for 21,335*l.*, and the cost for repairs at Chatham, in 1805, as estimated by the dock-yard officers, was 24,735*l.*, but the repairs actually came to 61,109*l.*; and hence he trusted that lord St. Vincent would appear to have acted laudably and judiciously, in declining to carry the system of repairs to the full extent. The next allegation of the hon. member was founded upon the discharging workmen from the dock-yards, which was termed a tyrannical proceeding, and one that banished our Ship-wrights to the dock-yards of the enemy. Now the fact, as proved from the documents on the table, was, that not a single man was discharged who was capable of doing any duty; that many of the men who had been long in the habit of receiving the highest wages in the dock-yards were some of them actually blind, and others lame, disabled, and moving on crutches: those, to the amount of 327 men, to whom, in the year 1800, no less than 28,024*l.* wages were paid, were superannuated by lord St. Vincent. At Plymouth, 76 were discharged, of a similar description, to whom, in 1800 and 1801, 10,943*l.* wages were paid. Now, some of these were put upon allowance greater than usual, amounting to 4,529*l.*, and others superannuated, upon allowances to the amount of 2,264*l.* 11*s.* The usual allowance of 20*l.* per ann. had, in those cases, been increased to 24*l.*; and the allowance of 24*l.* to 28*l.*; while to the rope-makers, and others discharged, to whom no such allowance had ever been usual, 20*l.* a year had been allowed. So much then for tyranny; while, at the same time, in order to provide for the deficiency thus created in the number of artificers, apprentices to the number of 390 were taken, between 1802 and 1804, and distributed among the best workmen in the yard; many, or most of whom, were now able to take men's births. This did not shew any inclination to strip the docks of workmen, as had been pretended, nor a total disregard to their future supply. The hon. gent. had attributed all the late victories we had gained to lord Melville and lord Barham, and allowed nothing to lord St. Vincent. He asked that gent. if it was not to lord St. Vincent's discernment that we had been indebted for a Nelson? It was that noble lord who had brought him forward, and employed him. It was that noble lord also, who had employed sir R. Strachan and sir T. Duckworth, and he had no doubt that those able officers would willingly acknowledge that they had learned a great deal from that noble lord. Was it no credit to the noble lord, that so many of our great officers had, been bred under him? The hon. gent. had talked of the new-fangled schemes that the board of admiralty under lord St. Vincent had been projecting, and a certain gent. had been mentioned (Mr. Tucker) as having suggested and encouraged those schemes. That 55 ships of the line might be built in a year, had been also mentioned as one of those projects. This could not be, as there were only 18 slips for laying them down; but the truth was, it had been only mentioned in conversation, that such a number might be built from the hands employed, and if we were to judge of the quantity of work done in the merchants' yards compared with the number of men, it would be found that his majesty's yards might produce a great deal more than they did. This he illustrated at great length, and stated, that in June 1804, the Circe and Pallas frigates were both laid, and were launched on the 17th of December following, being built in the course of 5 months and few days, of a burthen of 670 tons. The hon. member next proceeded to defend the arrangements of the noble lord with respect to timber, and the employment of timber-masters, which he stated to have the effect of correcting the enormous frauds effected by collusions between the dock-yard clerks and the timber-merchants, to whom they were, in fact, agents, and took in any timber they sent, without examining. The stock of timber in the yards had been, for several years before the accession of lord St. Vincent, in a progressive state of decline, while it had been a principal object of the noble lord to seek in all directions for the means of increasing the stock; for which purpose he had sent to Dort upon the Rhine, to Trinidad, to the East-Indies, by Botany-Bay ships, and ordered a ship of the line to be built at Bombay, as an experiment, to try the timber of that country. He next proceeded to state some instances of the fraud in ship-building committed in the merchants' yards, which left little reliance to be placed upon them; and he instanced the particular cases of the Ajax and Achille; the former of which was launched the 3d of March, 1798, commissioned in the same month, and in the month of June, in the same year, proceeded no farther than Portsmouth, when her repairs cost 2788*l.* and her building cost 20,502*l.*, while the whole of her repairs in 1802 cost 28,977*l.* The Achille was also launched and commissioned in 1798; her repairs in 1799 cost 1,124*l.*, and in 1803 and 1804, the remainder of 37,900*l.* A similar complaint was to be made of the Ardent: from all which circumstances, the impolicy of contracting with the merchants was obvious. Upon the whole, therefore, he trusted he had proved to the house the fallacy of the hon. gent.'s arguments, and vindicated the noble earl from his aspersions; and he should now conclude by voting against the motion.

Lord *Garlies* said, that, in his opinion, the present discussion centered in one point, namely, whether every thing connected with the navy could have been done in the king's yards, or whether it might have been sometimes necessary to have recourse to the merchants' yards. Considering this as the principal point before the house, he felt himself called upon to give his vote against the motion of the hon. gent. Lord St. Vincent had thought that the king's yards were sufficient for supporting the navy. This was, however, merely a matter of opinion; and no blame could attach to the noble lord on that account, who, he was confident, had uniformly acted from the purest motives. He himself had thought, however, that the noble lord had carried his opinion too far; and he was disposed to believe, that in time of war it would be necessary to have recourse, to a certain extent at least, to the merchants' yards. Respecting the repairs which ships had undergone in these yards, it was indeed sometimes found that they exceeded the prime cost. But this was often found to take place in repairing an old house as well as an old ship; and it was generally an object with ship-builders to obtain the repairing of those ships which they built, as they thus got rid of parts of their timber that were not so fit for the purposes of building. They therefore undertook to build ships at a cheaper rate, on stipulating that they should also be employed in repairing them. With respect to several ships which he knew to have come from the merchants' yards, he must confess that they were very improper for his majesty's service. This was particularly the case with the Ajax, which he had commanded; and there were several others which he knew to be equally unfit. But he contended, that the officers employed for superintending the progress of ships of war in the merchants' yards should do their duty in preventing such abuses, and that they should be made responsible for the defects that might take place. In his opinion, Lord St. Vincent had done much good to the dock-yards, and by his visit to them had introduced a degree of energy, from which the most beneficial consequences might be expected. Abuses had gradually crept in, and had gone on increasing for a long period of time; and it was highly necessary that some remedy should be applied. Still, however, the noble lord's energy seemed to him, in some instances, carried too far, and rather to border on severity and rigour. But still, sure he was, that the noble lord was actuated by the best motives, and had the good of the navy at heart in all his regulations. It might also be justly said of lord St. Vincent, that he excelled in the selection of naval officers; though he could not allow that lord Nelson owed his promotion to his discernment alone. He himself had carried out lord St. Vincent in his own ship, to take the command in the Mediterranean, and there they found lord Nelson commanding a squadron, with a distinguished pennant. The glory of that distinguished character originated from himself alone. On the whole, though some of the resolutions which the hon. gent. had read were perhaps well founded, yet looking upon the whole as a matter of opinion only, and also considering those meritorious services performed by the noble lord, and which infinitely outweighed what he might think some errors in judgment, he should find it his duty to oppose the motion of the hon. gent.

Lord *Howick* said, he could not agree with the noble lord who spoke last, that such a variety of charges and such extensive matters as were brought forward on this occasion, could be centered in one point; and whether they were or not, they could not be made the foundation of a charge that the noble lord, to whom his country was indebted for having raised her naval glory to so high a pitch, would intentionally work her ruin. Surely the hon. gent. who made these charges, could not believe any such thing. Were it not for the obligation he felt himself under to vindicate the character of the noble admiral, he should have felt himself bound, from the situation he now held, to be silent on the present occasion. The hon. gent. who brought forward this question, had said, it was a matter of indifference to him how the house disposed of it; and the hon. seconder of the motion said, he knew nothing of the matter. If this subject referred solely to the question, whether or not any shipping should be built in the merchants' yards, as the noble lord who had just sat down had stated, he should not feel it necessary to enter into it. But the hon. mover had adduced a number of statements, so calculated to make a false impression, that he thought it proper to say something, in order that nothing should go forth to the country that had a tendency to mislead the public opinion. The hon. mover's charges, as well as he could recollect, seemed to be supineness, negligence, and culpable inactivity on the part of lord St. Vincent. A charge of any nature against an illustrious person, whose reputation stood as high, and in whom the country felt such an interest, would, he confessed, at any time, excite his regret; but the charges now advanced against him, he could not hear but with surprise. What! to accuse lord St. Vincent of supineness! The noble lord who last addressed the house, had particularly dwelt upon the energy of the noble earl, and observed, that that energy was on some occasions carried to the extreme of rigour. Others had sometimes said, the noble earl was rather too violent. But now, for the first time, he believed in his life, that noble earl was accused of supineness. In order, however, to support this singular accusation, the hon. mover had entered into various details, but contriving to make these details as favourable to his object as possible, he drew all his comparisons from periods which were most unfairly contrasted. The hon. mover dwelt upon the difference of our shipping, in numerical force, at the conclusion of the last war, and the commencement of the present, and this difference he attributed to the mal-administration of earl St. Vincent. Now, what was the fact? Why, that at the close of the war, such was the state of our fleet, that there were only 2 sail of the line actually in good condition; and yet, although at the commencement of this war, there were only 36 sail fit for service, we had in 12 months afterwards no less than 88 sail in commission, and now we had 101, together with 8 fitting out from a state of ordinary. Now, if such a force, repaired so soon after a ten years' war, were compared with the force in commission at the beginning of the last war, the house would be enabled to judge how far inactivity was imputable to lord St. Vincent. At the end of the year 1794, our naval force, after a long period of peace to prepare it, exceeded but by one sail of the line that which the administration of lord St. Vincent contrived to put in a state of readiness, only one year after the beginning of the present war, and after an interval of only 17 months. During the 3 years of lord St. Vincent's administration, 5 sail of the line had been launched; and during the 2 years which followed, what addition had been made to our navy? Why, none that was effective. Orders had been given to build ships, but these ships would not, even according to the contract, be ready before 1809. It was true that some purchases had been made; but what were they? 6 East-Indiamen, 10 sloops, 10 gun brigs, and 12 fire-vessels. Of the first, 4 were found unfit for service, and one more, which cost 26,000*l.*, was, after a single voyage, discharged as unfit for any purpose whatever, the India Company refusing to take it back again on almost any terms; and yet these vessels were bought at the rate of 33*l.* per ton. Of the gun-brigs, 4 were found to be unfit for service; of the sloops, 7; and of the fire-vessels, 11. Now, if those provident bargains, and the species of activity which they betrayed, were compared to the conduct of lord St. Vincent, what inference was likely to be drawn, and to whom should blame attach? Lord St. Vincent had ordered 8 sail of the line, and 103 vessels of men-of-war description to be built. Of these, 84, 14 of which were frigates, were now in actual service. Very soon, indeed, 90 of the smaller-sized vessels, ordered by the noble earl, would be in readiness, and this would form 25 more than had been produced, of the same sort, for the 12 years preceding his administration; and all this was done, the house would bear in mind, in the king's yards, which were also equal to the repair of 61 vessels, 40 of which were of the line. Yet the hon. mover asserted, that it was happy for the country the noble earl had quitted the admiralty, as, if he had remained there, the battle of Trafalgar would never have been won. But the fallacy of this assertion would be obvious to any man who examined the papers on the table; for by none but earl St. Vincent had that addition been made to our navy, to which the hon. mover thought proper to ascribe the result of that glorious engagement. If the ships ordered to be built by earl St. Vincent, were not yet laid down; if his orders were not fully executed, he begged to observe, that the fault was in the navy board, whose duty it was to have such orders fulfilled.—The noble lord animadverted on the periods chosen by the hon. mover, for those comparisons as to the number of our fleet, which he seemed to think a proper criterion, from which to judge of the comparative merit of different naval administrations. But no criterion could be more erroneous. For instance, he had only to observe, that although very little merit comparatively belonged to the capture of so many ships at Toulon and the Helder, in the course of the last war, yet how great an addition to our navy, from those events, compared to the 4 ships which we had from the battle of Trafalgar! We fought not, however, for ships, but to destroy the enemy's fleets; and the success of our object might as little depend on a mere increase in the numerical force of our navy, as that increase might determine the comparative merits of the different naval administrations, under which increase should arise.—With regard to the propriety of building king's ships in merchants' yards, for himself, he should say, that not having yet had sufficient time for an enquiry upon that subject, he should not pledge himself to any system. But as to lord St. Vincent, he had no hesitation in stating, that his conduct was perfectly justifiable; for that noble lord entertained an opinion, upon coming into office, that to build in merchants' yards would be adviseable; but this opinion was changed by the representations of the navy board. For the grounds of that representation, the noble viscount referred to the facts, quoted by his hon. friend, particularly respecting the Ajax, Achilles, and Lion. The noble viscount went into a calculation, to shew, that although the number of shipwrights employed in the king's yards amounted to 2581, while those in the merchants' yards amounted to but 4961, yet the work done by the latter exceeded the former, in the proportion of 3 to 1. Indeed, Mr. Wells, an eminent ship-builder, had stated, in a letter to earl St. Vincent, that, in his own yard only, more work by 8000 tons was done in one year than in three of the king's yards. Such an inequality could proceed only from the want of some such efficient regulations as it was the great object and endeavour of lord St. Vincent to introduce, and for attempting to introduce which, the noble person had incurred so much abuse. But such abuse could have no other effect upon that noble lord, than to raise him still higher in the opinion of those whose opinion was of any value; he meant all the honest, thinking part of the country. That the king's yards, under proper arrangements, were capable of doing more for the navy, than had been hitherto effected, he had little doubt; and that any reference to the merchants' yards should be avoided, unless where the necessity was pressing, seemed to be the general sentiment among them who were capable of judging upon the subject. But whatever might be the sentiments as to this point, it was, at all events, a mere matter of opinion; and surely that which was but a matter of opinion could not be alledged against lord St. Vincent as the ground of a criminal charge.—Here the noble viscount entered that part of the subject which related to the building in merchants' yards, and proceeded to discuss the hon. mover's allusion to the stock of timber in the king's yards, the limited amount of which, the hon. mover seemed to attribute altogether to the misconduct of lord St. Vincent. Now it happened that the supply of the article rested entirely with the navy board. An order had been made in 1785, that a return should be annually made to the board of admiralty, of the state of the timber in the dock-yards, in order that care should be taken always to keep up a sufficient stock for 3 years' consumption. Since the year 1795, this order had been dispensed with; in consequence of which, when lord St. Vincent came into office, he had no opportunity of knowing the quantity of timber in the dock-yards. That article was, no doubt, rather limited, but not more so than during the latter years of lord Spencer's administration. But the limitation in both cases proceeded from the same cause, namely, an order of lord Spencer's, that the timber taken into the dock-yards should be more carefully examined. In consequence of this examination, the timber of the yards became less in quantity, but so much better in quality, that he understood there was more capable of use than when the stock was much larger. However, as soon as lord St. Vincent was apprised that the stock was not so large as was desirable, he took measures to provide an adequate supply; with that view he sought to obtain timber from New South Wales; ordered ships to be built in the East Indies; and had actually contracted for a large quantity of timber from the coast of Dalmatia. The latter would have appeared to the house, had the late minister assented to the production of a paper moved for by his hon. friend in the course of the last session. But that paper was refused. But the enemy became acquainted with the object. That enemy, however, had now got possession of the province, and with it 40,000 trees, which had been actually cut down ready to be carried to this country. As to the proceedings of lord St. Vincent respecting foreign timber, his justification would be found in the 6th Report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, in the history of the contract with Mr. Larkin, and in the observations of the navy board on the appendix of the 6th report above alluded to; although that board had thought proper on a particular occasion to state that the mode of receiving timber at the dock-yards, previously to the enforcement of lord Spencer's regulation, was, "on the whole, beneficial." What was to be said of such a board, but something must be done? Had lord St. Vincent remained some time longer at the admiralty, the probability was that the evils complained of would have been remedied; that their root would have been cut up. The hon. mover was perfectly right in saying, that he (lord Howick) had undertaken a great responsibility. He felt it, and should execute the duty assigned to him, to the best of his ability. He was aware that the present state of our navy was by no means such as could be desired, but he trusted to the resources of the country for supplying its wants, and for upholding the strength, the rank, and the unparalleled character which it had so long maintained. To do that, however, he felt that the most advisable course to pursue would be that chalked out by earl St. Vincent, namely, to root out abuses, and to infuse that energy into the several officers, of which he was sorry, from his own experience, they were very much in want. This deficiency had been particularly observed upon in a late report from the commission of enquiry, at the head of which was a noble lord (Barham); and that report stated the best mode of removing the evil, to be the appointment of vigorous and active officers in the department of the navy board. It were much to be regretted, that that noble lord himself did not act upon this recommendation, as, in two appointments made by his lordship in the department alluded to, he did not appear to have had any such thing in contemplation. The noble viscount disclaimed any inclination to excite the least discord between departments which ought to act cordially together for the public service. He could, indeed, appeal to the late comptroller of the navy board, to prove that his disposition was quite of a contrary nature. The observations he had made respecting individuals, the house would feel to have been forced upon him.—The noble viscount concluded, by expressing his conviction that no blame could attach to lord St. Vincent upon any of the grounds stated by the hon. mover, nor upon any other that the most active of his enemies could imagine, and of course that there was no reason for going into the proposed committee.

Mr. *Dent* said, he was happy he had afforded the noble lord an opportunity of entering upon so ample a discussion and explanation of this subject as he had done, which he could not have indulged in if the motion had not been seconded.

Mr. *Bastard* thought it a duty to state to the house what he knew concerning a matter in which the character of earl St. Vincent was involved. It was, in his opinion, a consideration for the house, that the noble earl was employing the latter part of a glorious life in the active service of his country, when he could, with so much propriety, enjoy the *otium cum dignitate;* instead of which, he was submitting himself to the perils of the seas in defence of his country. He then proceeded to justify what had been done at Plymouth under the naval administration of the noble earl. A reform had been carried into effect there, when it was much wanted. He instanced some refractory behaviour in the shipwrights, and certain misconduct in those on board the Culloden, who had erected what they called the tree of liberty, under the banner of which alone, they said, they would act. He was at the head of a military force, which it became necessary to employ for the purpose of reducing those insurgents to obedience at the point of the bayonet. These were the men who afterwards went into the service of the enemy, as the hon. gent. who brought this motion forward had related, and the house would see what sort of useful ship-wrights and artificers they were. He was happy that the report of the naval commissioners was now about to be efficiently attended to, so that abuses would be reformed. He was ready to say that he saw no blame whatever; on the contrary, much praise was due to earl St. Vincent, for his naval administration, notwithstanding the hon. gent. had read his pamphlet to the house.

Mr. *Tyrwhitt* said he should detain the house but a very short time, for he should not enter on any detail of official business on this occasion, that having been amply and ably done by his noble friend; nor should he have said a word if the hon. gent. had not said of earl St. Vincent, that under an affected reform he had been guilty of cruelty and oppression. This allusion he knew to be totally unfounded, and that at the dock-yard at Plymouth, very essential reformations had taken place under the auspices of Mr. Tucker; a more useful reform, perhaps, had never been attempted in this country, and under which greater advantage had arisen. As to oppression in carrying it into effect, there was no evidence in that respect. The hon. gent.'s speech in the house had, from its manner of delivery and matter, given him reason to apprehend, that it would go out of the house as delivered within, and the false impression it was calculated to make ought therefore to be counteracted. The hon. gent. had charged earl St. Vincent with introducing with his name a system of terror. As to cruelty and oppression, there was not a tittle to justify that charge; but as to the system of terror, he knew no other that his lordship could be charged with, except that system of terror to his majesty's enemies, which he began on the 14th of Feb. 1797, and which example had been nobly followed by many others of our naval commanders. The noble earl had been the means of introducing a system of reformation of abuses, which he hoped to see carried into effect in every department of the state; under a conviction of which, the good subjects of this country would cheerfully contribute to the support of the state. This was what he in his conscience believed.

Mr. *Osborne Markham* complained, that the hon. mover had read one part of the letter only, respecting the stores at Deptford, without reading the remainder, which proved that the lowest size of timber contracted for in the merchants' yards were for 44-gun ships. The hon. gent. was incorrect in stating, that the stock of timber never was so low as in the time of lord St. Vincent's administration. The stock at that time was all good serviceable timber.

Mr. *Bankes* objected to the motion, because he did not see any practical good that was to arise from it. When such a serious charge was brought against any person, it should either be with a view of founding some criminal prosecution, or at least some useful regulation. If neither of those objects were proposed, the house would be fruitlessly wasting their time in the discussion. The hon. gent. seemed to have brought his charge forward, merely with the view of redeeming some sort of a pledge that he had given to the house, and declared himself quite indifferent about the fate of his resolutions, after he should have finished his speech. The hon. gent. who seconded his motion, seemed also to have taken a curious mode of setting the question at rest, which he had declared was his only object in seconding the motion. One would have supposed that the motion might as well have gone to rest, if no gentleman had been found to second it. It could not be expected that gentlemen were to consume their time in studying such an immense mass of papers as had been produced, unless some practical good was likely to result from that study. The house were not to spend their time merely in the investigation of abstract truths, unless it were to lead to some practical conclusion. Upon this ground he thought the present subject was unworthy of any farther discussion. There was one thing, however, that he thought it necessary for him to state, in consequence of what fell from the hon. admiral. He always had considered that the navy board was subject to the controul of the admiralty, which was consequently responsible for its conduct. Whatever he might think there was to blame in the conduct of the noble earl, he saw a great deal to commend, in that eagerness which he always manifested to put down frauds and abuses of every kind. Whatever faults he had were certainly not in his heart; and he sincerely hoped his successors in office would follow the laudable example he had set them, of enquiring into abuses and waste of the public money.

Lord *Howick*, in explanation, said, that the navy board were in the first instance charged with those controuls. There were two cases in which the admiralty would be to blame; 1st, if they did not keep a general superintendance over the acts of the navy board; and, 2dly, if by too great an interference, they were to hinder them in the execution of their duy.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, he would trouble the house but for a short time; but there was a subject which had been introduced into this discussion, upon which he felt himself called to state his opinion distinctly. If the navy board should conduct itself ill, whether by improvident contracts, a waste of the public money, or else by negligence of their duty and supineness, it was the duty of the board of admiralty to controul them; and if they were evidently unfit for their situations, they ought to be displaced. A great deal of mischief had resulted from this not being well understood; and the only error he could impute to the earl of St. Vincent was, perhaps, that he misunderstood the nature of that circumstance. If the navy board acted corruptly, or from criminal negligence, that would be a subject for punishment; but if, from ignorance or insufficiency, they were unfit for their situations, they ought to be removed. The earl of St. Vincent was, perhaps, too delicate in that point, and had given way to a false opinion, which, if persevered in, would materially prevent the reform of abuses. The false opinion that many entertained, and to which, perhaps, his lordship had in some degree given way, was that it was a hardship on individuals to remove them from office, unless their misconduct was of such a nature, as could ground a criminal charge against them. It was supposed by many, that the removal from employment was such an impeachment on the characters of the persons removed, that nothing could justify it, but such criminality as might be made the subject of prosecution. This opinion, however, was most erroneous and dangerous. There might be many cases, where the lords of the admiralty, or any persons in high situations, might discover a total incompetency in those they employed, and might even have strong suspicions of their integrity, without being absolutely prepared to bring forward a criminal charge; but it was the duty of the lords of the admiralty not to employ in the public service persons who were unfit to be employed. This was a principle of duty, which delitacy to individuals should never allow them to depart from; otherwise they might go on with unfit persons, squander the public money in injudicious contracts, and place even the security of the country in the greatest hazard.—Having risen to express this opinion, he then proceeded to the question before the house. Of all the papers that had been laid on the table, there was not one which went to criminate the noble lord, or even to make the charge against him plausible. As to the question whether the merchants' yards should have been more or less used, that was entirely a matter of judgment. Certainly it could not be imputed to the noble lord as negligence, his not doing what he conceived would be injudicious and improper to do. The business was now fairly before the house. The papers were on the table, and had been referred to by those who spoke on both sides, and, therefore, the house must be supposed competent to form some judgment of the case. Those who had attended to the arguments that had been advanced, and to the extracts from the papers which had been read, could not have a doubt, that on the one side there was the completest exculpation, and that on the other side the case was not made out at all. He thought, then, the proper way of putting the question to rest, would be to express the approbation of the house to the naval administration of lord St. Vincent. He, therefore, gave notice, that he should make such a motion when the original question should be disposed of.

Mr. *Atkins* said a few words respecting the supply of timber in the dock-yards since the administration of earl St. Vincent, and expressed his approbation of the noble lord's measures.

Mr. *Jeffery*, in a reply of great length, adverted to the statement of an hon admiral (Markham), which he insisted was not authorised by the documents upon the table. He next enumerated a number of ships, which were built, and required almost immediate repair, during the administration of the noble earl; some of them were built for mere experiment, and in so insufficient a manner, that they soon fell into ruin and disuse. He particularly alluded to the Ajax, which, soon after she was built, required repairs; her bottom, and all other parts, being completely rotten. He was proceeding to state some calculations, from written papers; when chair! chair! was loudly called.

The *Speaker* wished to be instructed by the house, whether it could be permitted to a member to read written speeches in that house?

Mr. *Canning* observed, that when an hon. member had to state facts from an intricate calculation, it was generally usual to refer to any notes he might have made upon the subject. If this practice was to be disallowed, it would certainly curtail the proceedings of the house to a very narrow compass.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, that what the hon. gent. was reading was not any thing like what was called notes; it was a written discourse. If this practice should prevail, members might read speeches that were written by other people, and the time of the house be taken up in considering the arguments of persons who were not deserving of their attention.

The *Speaker* observed, that the paper read by the hon. member, appeared to him to be a written argument; he thought the house was not in the habit of receiving such, and therefore felt it his duty to interfere.

Mr. *Jeffery* answered, that, although he admitted the paper was not his own handwriting, yet it was copied from his writing, by his directions. After a few observations, the hon. gent. concluded with expressing his confidence, that he had fully made out his charge against the noble earl.—The question for referring the papers to a committee was then put, and negatived without a division.

[VOTE OF THANKS TO EARL ST. VINCENT.] Mr. Secretary *Fox* then rose, and said, that if the hon. gent. had brought forward his charge in any tangible shape, which could be brought into question, he should have contented himself with moving, that the charge was frivolous and vexatious; but the hon. gent. had been extremely cautious, and had declined to bring forward his motions either in the house, or in the committee which he moved for. He had moved, indeed, for a committee to consider those resolutions, but never stated that it was his intention to proceed further in his charge. As to the charge itself, he did not hesitate to pronounce it frivolous and vexatious, and he thought the house had, by the vote they had just given, pronounced it void of foundation. Under these circumstances, it appeared to him, that it would be right to do what the house had often done on similar occasions, by expressing their approbation of the conduct of that noble person, who had been so unjustly attacked. He remembered, when an accusation was brought in that house against admiral Keppel, no sooner was the accusation rejected, than the house by their vote expressed their approbation of his conduct. It had been also done, when a charge was brought by general Burgoyne against the late lord Clive, and he believed he could mention other instances which would shew that his motion was conformable to precedent, and the usage of the house. It had been said by the hon. gent., that he was in the habit of making extravagant encomiums on that noble lord. He had only expressed what he felt, a most sincere respect for the character of the noble earl, and particularly for the zeal and activity he had displayed in the discovery and reformation of abuses. He concluded by moving, "That it appears to this house, that the conduct of the earl of St. Vincent, in his late naval administration, has added an additional lustre to his exalted character, and is entitled to the approbation of this house."

Mr. *Wilberforce* felt considerable pain in being obliged to vote against the motion of the right hon. secretary: he considered, that notwithstanding the precedents which the right hon. gent. had quoted, it was quite unusual to come to such a vote, without any previous notice of an intention to make a motion of that nature. It was a very different thing indeed to negative the motion which had been made by the hon. gent. (Mr. Jeffery), and to be called upon to vote for such a one as had been proposed by the right hon. secretary. The charges that were brought forward against him were limited to the building of ships and repairing them, and embraced but a small part of the noble earl's naval administration. Although the charges on certain parts of his administration might have no foundation, it by no means followed that the whole of his administration was entitled to the approbation of the house. If it were entitled to such a distinguished expression of their approbation, that approbation ought to be conveyed in a manner more worthy of the house and of the noble lord. It would be but a poor triumph that appeared to be gained by a surprise of this kind. It would have more the resemblance of a party triumph, than that of any deliberate expression of the sense of that house. It gave him sincere pain to oppose the motion, but he hoped the right hon. gent. would not persevere in it.

Mr. *Yorke* was sorry to be obliged to differ from his hon. friend who had just sat down. He considered the charge which had been brought against the noble earl, as frivolous from the beginning to the end; and when a great public character was attacked; when a man who had so long distinguished himself in the service of the country, and who still continued to serve it, was subjected to such an accusation, he thought that when the house were of opinion that the accusation was unjust, it was not enough simply to repeal it, but that they should express their approbation of the conduct of the person who was the object of it. He did not find fault with the hon. gent. who brought forward the accusation; he made no doubt that he did so from honest motives, and, as a member of parliament, he had a right to do so. The house had, however, the privilege of expressing its feelings, and its sense of the merits of the noble lord; and he should therefore, in the same freedom, give his warmest support to the motion of the right hon. secretary.

Mr. *Canning* thought it most extraordinary to bring forward a motion of such great magnitude, without any previous notice. [Mr. Fox said, across the house; I gave notice!] Notice, to be sure, was given, but when? At a quarter past twelve notice was given of a motion that was brought on at one. He could remember some instances somewhat similar to what were stated by the right hon. secretary, but still very different from the present motion. He remembered that when a motion was once made, for an address of thanks to his majesty for removing his late right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) from his councils, there was an amendment moved, which turned the motion into a vote of thanks. The difference, however, between that case and the present one was, that notice was given of the amendment that was to be moved, on the same day that the notice was given of the motion; but even that ample notice did not save the motion from the severest censure of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), who contended, that it was most unparliamentary to get rid of a charge in that manner, by turning it into a vote of thanks. Upon that occasion, he had forgotten to refresh the recollection of the house with the cases of admiral Keppel and lord Clive, which he could cite on the present occasion, when they suited his purpose. What would the right hon. secretary have thought, if, when an accusation was brought in that house against sir Home Popham, his friends had moved for the thanks of the house to that meritorious officer? Why did not the right hon. gent. then make such a motion? or had nothing occurred since that time, that could induce him to think, that the house should express its approbation of the conduct of sir Home Popham? He could not conceive upon what grounds he was now called upon, at such short notice, to express an approbation of the naval administration of lord St. Vincent. What had the building of ships to do with the pressing of Mr. Bartholomew, and other parts of his naval administration? If the approbation of the house was wanted to the administration of the noble lord, they ought to have gone into a committee, and discussed the whole of his conduct. He confessed, that he had very grave and serious doubts in his mind, from the statement of the hon. gent. (Mr. Jeffery), which had not been answered by any arguments on the other side. He had no wish to revive the question about the merits or demerits of lord St. Vincent's administration: he wished that question to be now at rest, and he thought his friends would have done better if they had left it so. He concluded by moving the previous question.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, that the ground on which he had opposed the form of the amendment mentioned by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Canning) was, that it was contrary to the usage of parliament to adopt, in the shape of an amendment, a thing so totally contrary to the original motion. He did not think the case of sir Home Popham applied at all to the present case. Although his majesty's ministers might not consider the service at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope as sufficiently splendid to obtain the thanks of parliament, yet if an accusation had been brought in that house against sir H. Popham, for his conduct in contributing to the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, then indeed he should think that the house could not too strongly mark their indignation at such an accusation, and in such a case he would think the approbation of the house ought to be expressed by a direct vote. Such nearly was the present case; for who was it that could doubt that it was the merits of lord St. Vincent, and his zeal and success in the detection of abuses, which was the real cause that had stirred up so many enemies? Was there any person who was not an idiot, that did not perceive that the detection of frauds and abuses must necessarily make many enemies? The present attack never would have been made, but for the enquiries into abuses instituted by the noble earl. His meritorious exertions to put an end to the most scandalous jobs that ever disgraced a state, had provoked this hostility. When he saw a man, then, attacked on account of his merits, and persecuted on account of his virtues; and when the person so attacked was a man who had rendered the most important services to the country, he thought it did become the house not only to shew their indignation at the charge, but to express their approbation of that meritorious conduct, which had been the cause of so much enmity, and of so much calumny. It would be strange indeed to argue, that every individual member had the privilege of coming down to the house, and saying whatever he pleased against the most distinguished character, but that, at the same time, the house were not at liberty to express their sense of those merits and virtues which formed the very ground of the attack, and the object of its prosecution.

Mr. *Sturges Bourne* had no objection to the vote, provided it was confined to the zeal of the noble earl for reform, and did not extend to a general vote, comprehending the dock-yards, naval stores, and his naval administration in general. He would allude, and that reluctantly, to one fact, he meant the impressing of a naval officer, in the hall of the admiralty, by the order of the noble earl; and he contended, that unless the house approved that fact, without consideration, they could not agree to a general vote.

Mr. *Tierney* expressed his most hearty concurrence in the motion of his right hon. friend (Mr. Fox), and asked, Was it because an hon. gent. had thought proper to move for papers from month to month, and from day to day, which, when produced, did not substantiate a single charge against the noble earl, that the noble earl was to be still held up to the public, as a suspicious character? It was now a year since the hon. gent. had pledged himself to the house, that he would prove lord St. Vincent to be one of the greatest enemies the country ever had. It was now seen in what manner he had redeemed this pledge.

He had also frequently charged him with tyranny and oppression, and talked of his reign of terror. How did it happen that the hon. gent. did not think proper to bring forward a tittle of evidence in support of that part of the case? In the case of Bartholomew, although there was no evidence before the house upon the subject, he was prepared to defend lord St. Vincent and shew that his conduct was perfectly correct. Bartholomew was not an officer; but having passed his examination as a lieutenant, presumed upon that circumstance, and was excessively impertinent to the admiralty. The noble lord could do no less. The only charge that it appeared to him could fairly be brought against the noble lord was, that of entertaining mistaken notions of economy. When his great services were considered, he thought it due to the country and the navy, of which he was the most distinguished ornament, that, as his accusation was long protracted, his acquittal should be proclaimed in that way that was most honourable to the feelings of the house, and most honourable to the character of that illustrious person who had been so long exposed to those ill-founded speculations.

Mr. *Bankes* thought that this motion came quite by surprise upon the house, and after a few observations, declared he should oppose it.

Sir *Charles Pole* considered the charges alledged against the noble earl as frivolous and vexatious, and not confirmed in any one single point. Earl St. Vincent, he observed, never knew Bartholomew had been pressed; and the meritorious conduct of the noble earl, in endeavouring to suppress abuses in the naval department, deserved high public approbation; he should, therefore, heartily concur in the right hon. secretary's motion.

Mr. *Perceval* said, he certainly should vote against the previous question; he was also adverse to referring the papers to a committee of the whole house, as he thought no public good could possibly arise from it. He confessed he could not speak on this subject without partiality, as he was prejudiced in favour of the noble earl, having had the honour to act with him and approve of his measures. He thought the question should have been gone into in some shape or other, and really wished the vote of thanks had come in some better way, as the manner in which it was to be carried, would certainly deprive it of that value, which the noble earl would otherwise have set upon it.—The question being loudly called for, strangers were ordered to withdraw. In their absence, the previous question was negatived, and the original vote of thanks was carried without a division.—Adjourned at three o'clock on Thursday morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 15.

[MINUTES.] The house proceeded as usual, to Westminster Hall, and returned about 4; when an order was made to proceed further on the trial of lord Melville to-morrow, and a message was sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.—The house resolved itself into a committee on the Insolvent Debtors' bill; several amendments were made, on the motion of lord Holland. The house having resumed, the report was received, and the bill with the amendments was ordered to be printed.—Mr. Williams, from the commissioners of Naval Enquiry, presented the 13th report of that board, which, on the motion of earl Spencer, was ordered to be printed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 15.

[MINUTES.] A message from the lords acquainted the house, that their lordships would proceed further with the trial of lord viscount Melville to-morrow, in Westminster Hall.—Mr. H. Thornton presented, pursuant to order of the house, an Account of all sums of money paid to the Sierra Leone company pursuant to grants of parliament; also an Account of the disbursement of said sums.—Mr. Williams presented the 13th report of the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry. Ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—The Irish Loan bill, and Irish Treasury Bills bill, were read a third time, and passed.—The Mutiny bill was read a third time and passed.—The speaker stated to the house, that he had received a letter from admiral Duckworth, dated the 1st of May, in answer to the vote of thanks of the house to himself, and the officers and seamen under his command. The letter was to the following purport: "Superb, off Cales, May 1. Sir; I have received yours of the 25th of March, conveying the highest honour that can be conferred on any officer in his majesty's service, the Thanks of the Imperial Parliament of his Country. However feebly I may be able to express the high sense "which I entertain of this high and distinguished honour, I certainly feel it "deeply. The best return that I can "make on this occasion for the proud "distinction which the house of commons "has conferred on me by its approbation "of my conduct in the battle of the 6th of "February off St. Domingo, is to request "you to assure the house, that I shall shew "my gratitude in the manner which will "be most agreeable to them, and that is "by using my best efforts in opposing "the enemies of my king and country. "They have done me a particular favour "when they desire that I should communicate their thanks to the officers under my command, and no lesser favour "when they desire that the captains of the "several vessels should communicate to "the seamen and marines the most honourable reward of their services, the thanks "and approbation of the representatives of "the nation, I beg leave to return my particular thanks to you for your congratulations, and the very handsome terms in "which you have transmitted to me the approbation of the house. I have the honour "to be, &c. &c. J. T. Duckworth."—The Secretary at War presented at the bar the Army Estimates for the current year. On his moving that the Estimates do lie on the table, the right hon. secretary acquainted the house that they contained the regular Estimates for the year, and added that it was desirable they should be taken into consideration on as early a day as possible. In order, however, to afford the gentlemen opposite an opportunity of considering the nature of these accounts, he should not propose an earlier day than Wednesday next. The usual course on such occasions was to suffer a week to elapse between the presenting and voting the estimates. That time would nearly intervene between this day and Wednesday, and he therefore trusted, that no objection would be made to voting the estimates on Wednesday, for which day he fixed his notice. The estimates were then ordered to lie on the table, and the abstract of them, on the motion of general Tarleton, to be printed.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.] Mr. *Paull*, seeing a noble lord in his place (lord Morpeth), wished to know why the papers he had moved for respecting Bhurtpore, were so long delayed. He had first moved for their production on the 11th of March, and finding the order of that day was not complied with, he moved, upon the 13th of April, for a peremptory order. As the papers were by no means voluminous, and there had been such abundant time for their production, he should now make a further motion, unless he received a satisfactory reason for their delay.

Mr. *Creevey* said, that the board of controul had done all that was incumbent on them to do, when they served the India board with notice of the order that had been made by that house. He thought, however, that it must appear most unfair in that hon. gent. to charge the board of controul with wishing to keep back any information, when it was recollected, that they had not resisted one of the 98 motions for papers which the hon. gent. had made in the course of the last 4 months. He, however, in consequence of the conversation in that house upon the subject, had sent to Mr. Ramsden, the secretary of the India board, to know the reason why those papers were not produced. He was informed by the answer, that there was at present a chasm in the consultations of Bengal, which probably the next ships would supply. Since that time, the hon. gent. had made 39 motions for papers, which went so far as to require a detailed account of the most minute expences of the marquis Wellesley in his entertainments. At the same time, they were getting ready the papers relative to Surat, which were no less than 2000 close folio pages. While all these accounts were making out at the same time, it would not be wonderful if there should be some delay; this delay could not, however, be imputed, in any degree, to the board of controul, who were really willing to give him as many papers as he asked for. If these papers were not necessary, they had a mischievous effect, as they interfered with the making up of the official documents. There were two India budgets in arrear, and now in preparation, the papers connected with which would afford a much better knowledge of the affairs of India, than all the minute details moved for by the hon. gent.

Mr. *Paull* replied, that he was entitled to these papers to enable him to substantiate against the marquis Wellesley, as important charges as ever were brought forward in that house. He thought there was great delay in the production of all these papers.

Mr. *Creevey* denied, that there was any delay that was not unavoidable.

Mr. *Francis* thought, that when a member moved for any papers, he was himself the best judge of their effect, and therefore was not obliged to take the advice of those who might be adverse to his views. He had seen a paper signed by twenty-three directors, who, amongst other things, complained that the marquis Wellesley did no register his papers regularly in the consultation. The chasm could however be no reason for not making a return. If no record could be found, the answer would be easier.

Sir *Hugh Inglis* said, the principal reasons which occasioned the delay of those papers were, first, the voluminous nature of the papers which were ordered with respect to Surat; in the second place, there had no vessel left Bengal since the Medusa, which sailed in November. He had reason, however, to think that the first ship which arrived would supply the chasm that was complained of. He assured the hon. gent., that there was no wish to delay, and that the papers should be laid upon the table as soon as, in the circumstances of the case, they could be got ready.—Upon this explanation, and after a few words from Lord Morpeth, Mr. Paull consented to withdraw his motion. Mr. Paull then gave notice, that he should move, the next day, to rescind an order that had been made in the month of April, for the production of a protest of Mr. Bosanquet, relative to this transaction.

[PROPERTY DUTY BILL.] The House resolved itself into a committee of the whole house upon the Property Duty Bill.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* expressed his disapprobation of making the interest of Exchequer Bills the object of the direct operation of the tax, because these securities, being at present at a premium of only 2*s*. per cent. such a direct operation of the tax would have the effect of reducing them to a discount. Of exchequer bills in general, he should say, that though not an unusual nor an illegal mode of raising money, they were unconstitutional, and an impolitic anticipation of the resources of the country. He thought they amounted to a sacrifice of the commercial to the monied interest, and that a greater part of those now in the market, amounting to 27,000,000*l*. ought to be funded, in which case the monied interest would embark their capital in the funds, or employ it in aid of fair commercial speculations.

Mr. *Francis* did not think that the direct operation of the tax would bring exchequer bills to a discount, because they were payable at par at stated and no distant periods, might be paid into the exchequer for taxes, and were more handy and convenient for business than stock in the funds.

Mr. *Vansittart* did not think that the mischief apprehended by the hon. alderman, would result from deducting the duty at the exchequer. The measure was to be prospective, so that it would not affect the present holders of securities of that description. As to the funding of exchequer bills, that would cause a loss to the public, as they could not at present be funded at a higher rate than 58*l*. per cent. in the three per cents.; and after the war, they perhaps might be funded at 70*l*. per cent.—After a few observations from Mr. Johnstone and lord H. Petty, the clause, on being amended by inserting the words "all securities chargeable with interest out of the public revenue," instead of "exchequer bills," was agreed to.

On the clause for levying the full amount of 10 per cent. on all income derived from funded and landed property, a long and interesting discussion took place.

Sir *C. Price* wished to know, whether it was proposed to levy the tax on all income derived from the public funds, of whatever amount?

Mr. *Vansittart* replied in the affirmative, and that he was not aware of any intention to make any alteration in that provision.

Mr. *Garland* contended, that this clause would produce much injustice and inequality. He put the case of a man having an income of 20*l*. derived from land or the funds, and of another who made 70*l*. a year by manual labour. The former would have to pay 20*s*., while the latter paid nothing at all. He also thought, that the scale reached too low, and that 50*l*. a year should not pay any thing at all. He wished to know the reason why the tax was not increased in proportion to the increase of income, and why the man who had only 50*l*. a year, should pay as much in proportion as he that had 500*l*. One half of 50*l*. per annum would be necessary to purchase bread alone for a moderate family. He wished the former exceptions to be continued. The per centage on small incomes had been brought much lower than it had been by the late chancellor of the exchequer, while it remained the same on the larger incomes.

Lord *H. Petty* informed the hon. member, as he had uniformly stated before, that it was his intention in the formation of the act, that a material distinction should be made between those who were in possession of any permanent property, whether from land, the funds, or any other source, and those who had only a casual income derived from manual labour, or any other source which must necessarily vary, and which was not hardly worth two years' purchase. The reason was, that a mechanic, when he had raised 50, 60, or perhaps 70*l.* a year by his industry, had exhausted all the sources of his subsistence, whilst those who were in possession of landed or funded property could by their industry, or perhaps by a reduction of their capital, be placed in circumstances which would admit of their paying the tax with but very little comparative inconvenience. The hon. member had recommended to him to adopt a mode of raising the taxes of the rich, and exempting the poor. Of all the dangerous doctrines that could possibly be held out in a legislative assembly, there was not one that could possibly be more mischievous in its tendency, than that of equalizing all ranks of society by reducing the higher orders to a level with those of a different class, and depriving them of every comfort which they had a right to expect from their exalted situation.

Mr. *Wilberforce* was afraid, that the severity of this clause would render the tax itself distasteful, to the great body of the people. He considered it as something like a breach of the public faith, to place those in a worse situation who had incomes derived from funded property, than they were who derived their subsistence from labour. But according to this clause it would so happen, that the man who had 60*l.* a year from funded property, would pay 6*l.* out of it, while another who had a salary to the same amount, paid only 10*s.* But it was strange to observe, that when the income was 500*l.* a year, for instance, then the sum contributed was exactly the same, whether derived from funded property or professional industry. On the whole, he wished the noble lord to re-consider the clause, and see whether something could not be devised less liable to the charge of inequality and injustice. He thought the present question of vast magnitude, and not to be decided in so thin a house. It was not too much then to ask a little time.

Sir *Robert Burton* recommended the landed interest to the attention of the committee, as gentlemen of landed property were, as the bill then stood, to be taxed in some cases 13, in others 17½ per cent. on their incomes.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* thought this tax of 10 per cent. on all funded property, would fall peculiarly heavy on many of the lower classes of the people, but particularly servants. He would suppose a faithful servant had saved, after years of service, 100*l.* and he places it in the funds. His master dies, or by any other casualty he became a servant out of place, and has an income of 3*l.* a year; whilst those in other different classes only pay for above 50*l.* a year; there was great hardship and partiality in this. He asked if it was right to apply this new machinery to enable us to carry on the war? He thought not; and he was afraid it would raise a discontent in the country almost equal to disaffection. He questioned whether there were any two members in the house, not only in its then very thin state, but when it was quite full, except the noble lord and his right hon. neighbour (Mr. Vansittart) who understood the bill at all; for his part, he had paid to it all the attention in his power, and he could not make it out.

Mr. *Johnstone* coincided with the noble lord, with regard to the impolicy of increasing the scale of taxation in proportion to the increase of income. But he could not see any reason for taxing those who had funded property, so much more severely than annuitants.

Mr. *Vansittart* observed, that the objections which had been urged by several hon. members, proceeded entirely from a misapprehension of the principle of the bill. They had all along argued as if it went to impose a tax on income, and not on property. The present tax bore a resemblance to the land-tax, which was paid in the same proportion by the man who had ten acres, as by him who had ten thousand. In the same manner, this tax was proposed to be laid on the property of the subject, and did not at all enquire into the amount of that property. The efficacy of the tax would depend on adhering to this principle; and as the income arising from an annuity or from labour was very different from that derived from real property, certain remissions of the tax were proposed to be granted in the former cases. The situation of the man who had an annuity, was very different from that of him who had an income arising from real property. The annuity expired with the life of the annuitant, while the stockholder was always possessed of a real capital. The difference between the two was evidently immense, and the present tax constantly kept in view this essential distinction.

Sir *W. Geary* thought the bill bore too hard on the lower classes of the people. It was said, that every man was, by the bill, taxed according to his means. This was not, however, the case; every man, it was true, having more than 50*l.* a year, was liable to be taxed; but a man who possessed 50*l.* a year with a certain number of children, could not be said to have the same means to pay the tax as the man who had the same property, and no children. He thought, therefore, there ought to be exemptions in that respect, as in the original act.

Mr. *Babington* was of opinion, that enforcing the tax would, on many occasions, produce very great hardship; and thought, from his own experience, that it could not fail to prove a most disagreeable task to the commissioners employed under it. He, therefore, wished to remind the noble lord, that taxes very often took their complexion, in the public opinion, from the occurrence of cases of particular hardship; and thought that some modifications would render it more palateable, and equally productive.

Mr. *Fox* wished to state in a few words his ideas respecting the principle of the tax. The general principle of it seemed to be, that all persons having property, of whatever kind, were bound to contribute. The exception from this principle was, that those were to be exempted from its operation, who could not contribute to the tax without depriving themselves of the necessaries of life, and thus becoming the proper objects of charity. In many cases, it would be impossible to take any thing from the produce of labour, since it might be barely sufficient to procure subsistence. Hence the propriety of those exemptions that were proposed in certain cases. Annuitants also below a certain sum were to be exempted, because they could not be said to be possessed of real property. But this would not apply to income derived from monies in the funds, or from landed property. Suppose a man to be possessed of 6 or 700*l.*, from which he derived an income of 30 pounds a year, by subjecting him to the present tax, you could not be said to deprive him of the necessaries of life, or make him an object of charity; for what title could such a man set up to your charitable asssistance, who was possessed of a capital of 6 or 700*l.*? He therefore was not entitled to be exempted from the general principle; and this would apply equally to the possession of landed and of funded property. According to the extent of a man's income in many different situations, he might have it in his power to make such alteration in his expenditure as that the tax would not entirely crush him: he might be able in some measure to relieve himself: if he lived on the first floor, for instance, he might remove to the second, and so lessen his expences; if he was on the second already, he might mount to the attic story; but, where a man was already found to be in the cellar, where could he be sent to, what resource could he have? With regard to the embarrassments of the commissioners, in carrying the act into execution, they would not take place, at least, in the case of the funded property.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* observed, that it was very common for people in the lower ranks of life to settle on their widows the interest of the small sums they had been able to accumulate, and the tax, operating on such an income, might reduce those who received it to the situation of paupers.

Mr. *Fox* replied, that people of that description evidently belonged to the class of annuitants.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* said, the tax would operate with a severity amounting to cruelty, in those cases, where small farmers left 100*l.* to their widows for their lives, with remainder to their children; it would also fall extremely hard upon those labouring persons, who had, whilst young, provided for old age, by saving a little property, which they vested in government security. In this case it would prove a tax upon the old and infirm, whilst the young and vigorous were exempted.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, he did not see why the difficulty should be greater now, than under lord Sidmouth's administration, to allow, in certain cases, funded property, under 50*l.* a year exemption. Artificers and artisans, he thought, were much better able to bear the tax, than many widows and persons in a state of decrepitude and decay, who had seen better days, and who, by the diminution of their little means, would be particularly oppressed.

Mr. *Francis* remarked, that the noble lord, who brought forward the tax, seemed to be so inveterately addicted to his principle of arithmetical proportion, that he seemed disposed to sacrifice every consideration of benevolence to the plan of squaring the tax, in all cases, to the sum of income, without at all adverting to the infinitely various cases of hardship and difficulty to which poor persons, with small incomes and large families, were exposed. But he would find, upon experience, this rule of proportion would prove a rule of false position. With men whose incomes were far above want, for instance, two or three thousand a year, little or no inconvenience would be felt; but where the means of a family's existence came to be abridged, the hardship would press intolerably.

Mr. *Hudleston* recommended that the bill should be rendered more palateable, in order that it might succeed. His first impression, when it was introduced, and the impression which he was convinced remained upon the public mind, was that no income of any description whatever under 50*l.* a year was to be subject to its operation. He earnestly recommended that the present clause should be abandoned, as likely to produce great distress, and considerable discontent, more especially when compared with the measure of a similar description which proceeded from a late right hon. gent., who had cautiously avoided pressing upon those classes of society which would be peculiarly affected by the present bill as it now stood.

Mr. *W. Smith* expressed his concern to hear his right hon. friend (Mr. Fox) say, that the operation of the tax was only to be arrested when it would occasion a want of the necessaries of life. He felt more for those who, with the most scanty means, were obliged to do what was called "keeping up appearances in life." He alluded to that decent and respectable order of persons, numerous every where throughout this metropolis and the kingdom at large, who had seen better days, and been early used to the comforts of life, but who, with small incomes, were condemned, under the vicissitudes of the times, to struggle with difficulties, in endeavouring to preserve appearances and maintain their claims to decent respect. That order of persons would be more hurt by the necessity of applying for parochial relief, or charitable aid, than those of a lower sphere, by, if possible, more severe necessities; and when their dependence rested solely upon a little funded property, those sufferings were likely to be extensively felt. Manufacturers and traders could increase their profits to answer any additional outgoing; but persons of limited incomes had no means of retrieving the deficit that would be occasioned by the tax.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* begged leave to recall the attention of the committee to the line of distinction he had before drawn, and to repeat that it was by no means the wish of those who brought forward this tax, that it should so far trespass upon the necessaries of life, as to oblige any of the parties from whom it should be exacted to apply for parochial, or even for private relief; and therefore upon this principle, as in the cases of income from labour, the mere annuitant for life in any income from the funds under 50*l.* was exempted by the bill. But any person who was the fee-simple proprietor of 5 or 600*l.* in the stocks, which might entitle the holder to an income of 20 or 30*l.* a year, he could not consider in the light of an object, likely to want the necessaries of life, or to be driven to seek for charitable relief, and therefore an annuity so circumstanced came fairly under the operation of a property tax, like freehold property in land. For the class of persons to whom his hon. friend alluded, and who were struggling with narrow circumstances to preserve appearances, and maintain the respect to which their characters in life justly entitled them, he felt as sincerely as any man; and not merely for those with incomes of 100*l.* or 200*l.*, but even in many cases with 500*l.* a year. No man was more sincerely disposed than he was to afford them alleviation. He begged his hon. friend to be assured, that he was not himself a friend to the tax or any of its principles or operation; that he was sensible the objections to it were just and innumerable; but his majesty's present ministers were reluctantly forced to adopt it, under the pressure of existing circumstances, which they had the consolation to reflect they had no share in producing. But when the alarming pressure of those exigencies were felt on all sides; when their ears were daily and hourly saluted with admonitions of "take care of the dangerous situation of the country, you must have powerful fleets and formidable armies, and you must spare no expence in arming for your defence at all points;" and yet when ministers came to propose the means of raising funds for such preparations, it was not very pleasant to their feelings, when they heard nothing but objections and embarrassments.—The house then divided upon the question, that the clause should stand as it did. Ayes, 58. Noes, 18. Majority 40.—A subsequent discussion took place upon an amendment proposed by Mr. Wilberforce, for exempting from the tax on professional incomes, so much of their amount as shall be paid in life assurances for the provision of wives or children after the death of the party. It was supported by Mr. Babington and Mr. W. Smith, but opposed by Mr. Vansittart, and negatived without a division. Several additional clauses were proposed by Mr. Vansittart, and particularly a clause for subjecting to the tax all exchequer bills, and other unfunded stock, the interest of which is paid out of the revenue, to commence from the 10th of Oct., which, after a suggestion from Alderman Curtis, that the tax should commence on the 5th of July, was settled as for the former day.—The bill being gone through, was ordered to be reported the next day, but the clauses were reserved for further consideration on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, May 16.

[MINUTES.] The house proceeded at 10 to Westminster-hall, and returned about half past 3, when an order was made to proceed further on the trial of lord Melville the next day, and a message was sent to the commons to acquaint them therewith.—The Mutiny bill, the Irish Loan bill, and the Irish Treasury Bills bill, were read a 2d time.—The earl of Suffolk took an opportunity to allude to a petition presented some time since, claiming one of the titles borne by his lordship, which was alledged by it to be in abeyance. He had been indisposed at the time it was presented, and was obliged to leave town soon after; which would shortly, he observed, be the case, on certain pressing domestic occasions: what he had to submit to the house, and in the way of requisition, if such might not be deemed improper or irregular, was, that no proceedings should take place, respecting the business, during his absence, which, when he considered the advanced state of the session, and the great pressure of public business, he thought could be with propriety complied with.—The lord chancellor observed, the noble earl need not be apprehensive of any proceedings obtaining with respect to the petition alluded to, this session; for when their lordships considered the great weight of public business, and the immense quantity of judicial business, on which great property, and interests important to their fellow subjects, depended, they must feel they could spare no time for investigating what peerages were in abeyance.—The earl of Suffolk then made some allusion to the Suffolk-property, the bulk of which was enjoyed by two other noble families, and, in contemplation of his own claims, expressed his wish, that the records or registers were kept and preserved, as they are in Scotland.

[CONDUCT OF JUDGE FOX.] Lord *Grenville*, adverting to the order for Monday, relative to the attendance of witnesses in the case of Mr. Justice Fox, observed that it was evidently impossible for the house to take that business into consideration on so early a day, and therefore he should merely move to discharge the order for Monday, and renew it for the 30th instant; which motion, he was authorised to say, had the consent of the noble marquis (Abercorn) with whom the business originated.

The Duke of *Cumberland* said, he was also authorised by his noble friend to state, that he had no objection to the present motion. He trusted, however, that in postponing the order, it would not be understood that it was to be deferred *sine die.*—After a few words in explanation from lord Grenville, the order was discharged, and fixed for the 30th instant.

[REPEAL OF THE ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.] Lord Grenville moved, that the Additional Force Act Repeal bill should be read a second time on Monday, and the lords be summoned.

Lord *Hawkesbury* expressed a wish that a longer interval might be allowed. It was understood that there were other subjects connected with the repeal of this bill, upon which he wished for information, and respecting which, he thought a further time ought to be allowed for their consideration. His principal reason, however, for rising, was to ask a question of the noble lord. He had heard that it had been proposed in another place, to alter the constitution of the army, by enlisting for a limited time. He wished to know whether there was any intention to that effect on the part of his majesty's ministers?

Lord *Grenville* denied that there was any connection between the present bill and other measures that it was supposed by the noble lord were intended to be brought forward. Whether any other measures were to be proposed or not, he should still consider the repeal of the bill as a measure of sound and wise policy. With respect to the question of the noble lord, it applied to what was irregularly known with respect to something that had been stated in the house of commons. He could only say upon this subject, that the house of commons would decide upon any such propositions, according to their own judgment; and that this house could not be supposed to know any thing that passed in the other house, until it came regularly before them.—The bill was ordered to be read a 2d time on Monday, and the lords to be summoned.

[SLAVE IMPORTATION RESTRICTION BILL.] The order of the day for the third reading of this bill being read,

The Duke of *Clarence* rose, and expressed his intention of moving an amendment to the title of the bill, which he seemed to say would produce the effects intended, with respect to the operation of certain parts of the bill, to which, more than the rest, he strongly objected. He wished that some peer, more competent than himself, had come forward; but he felt the importance of the subject so strongly, that he was induced to offer himself to the attention of their lordships. There were particular parts of the bill, which, more than any other, and in every point of view in which he considered them, his royal highness seemed to think objectionable. He meant chiefly those which went to prevent the exportation of slaves from British islands, or in British vessels, into foreign colonies. When he considered this prohibition, under whatever motive it was professedly urged, he must deem it part of a system for the abolition of the slave trade. Were their lordships duly to consider, or had they an opportunity of considering, that great mass of evidence which was adduced on the subject, they would then be fully aware of, and thoroughly impressed with, the importance of the traffic in question. His royal highness entered upon some calculations to evince this proposition, and stated the capital employed in the trade to exceed two millions sterling. He then adverted to the number of seamen employed, and for whom it proved a nursery; and the extensive drawback upon the slave trade itself which the bill would produce, might be conceived, when it was known, that out of upwards of 38,000 slaves, more than 22,000 were afterwards exported from the British islands to foreign colonies and settlements. When he reflected on the immense capital employed in the trade, the great quantities of British manufactures consumed in consequence of it, and the numbers of seamen employed, how strong must be his reprobation of a measure, which would diminish nearly two-thirds of the whole! His royal highness adverted to the different sentiments entertained upon this subject by the father of the noble lord, now at the head of administration, and who was fully impressed with the importance of these considerations. He referred to the operation of the three past acts; from the first passed in 1766, to the general act of last session; and he expatiated upon the advantageous traffic between the British islands, and the Spanish main, which entirely depended upon the transmission of slaves, and which would prospectively be in greater demand, as it was the present policy of the court of Spain to cultivate the extensive island of Cuba. Added to these considerations, the bill was inefficacious as to its avowed object. No regulations of our legislature could prevent those foreign colonies being supplied by the ships of other states: it was impossible; the coasts of Africa were open to all nations. To pass such a bill would, therefore, be neither consistent with true policy, as it would throw that into other hands which we might ourselves retain; nor with true humanity, as the transmission of slaves would be given to those who would not use them with such tenderness and care. His royal highness then adverted to the share the Americans at present enjoyed of this traffic, and the increased proportion they were likely to have, should the bill pass in its present shape; and he called the attention of their lordships to the circumstance of the cargoes now on their progress to the West Indies, and the calamitous consequences that must ensue, when the farther expectation of these should be stopped. Upon the whole, his view of the measure was such, that he should move, in the way of amendment, to leave out that part of the title of the bill, which went to prevent the exportation of slaves, by any of his majesty's subjects, into any colonies or islands, subject to any foreign state or power.

The Earl of *Suffolk* felt himself bound on principles of humanity, as well as of liberty, to support the bill. He adverted to the practicability of cultivating the West-India islands, by other means than those of the importation of African negroes; and suggested the possibility of introducing seapoys from the east, or some of the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope. He dwelt much on the good effects of a mild and humane treatment of the negroes at present on the soil, which, together with encouraging propagation amongst them, might in a short time preclude the necessity of farther importations for the purposes of cultivation.

The Bishop of *London* said, he could not satisfy his own mind, if he sat silent upon what he must consider as a question of morality. The objections which had been urged against the present bill, did not weigh much with him, for they were the same that had been advanced against the bill for abolishing the slave trade. The continuance of this traffic could not be maintained for an instant upon the score of morality, and here he was glad to find that the objections upon the ground of political consideration, made no less against it. If it contributed to prevent the mortality which was always found to accompany the cultivation and breaking up of new grounds, that would be a great inducement to him to vote in support of it. He had for a whole year constantly attended a committee which sat in that house, to consider of the propriety of abolishing the slave trade, and the result of all he had heard was, that it was possible to keep up the quantity of negroes necessary for cultivating the West Indies, without recurring to importation, or the dreadful practices to which it gave rise. Wherever that unfortunate race of men were treated with common humanity, they increased like other human beings. In Virginia, where the importation of negroes had been prohibited, a census was taken in the year 1786, and it was found that in that province their number had increased upwards of 15,000 in the course of 3 years that the trade was prohibited. He was anxious that his countrymen should be entirely disengaged from all concern in that opprobrious traffic, and therefore he would vote for the bill before their lordships.

The Earl of *Westmorland* considered that part of the bill which it was the object of the illustrious duke to do away, as tending not only to destroy a large proportion of the trade alluded to by the illustrious duke, but also the trade carried on to the Spanish colonies in America, under the cover of exporting slaves, and which created a market for two million sterling of British manufactures. He did not object to that part of the bill which prohibited supplying with slaves, colonies taken during war, as, in the event of their being surrendered, the British capital employed only went to enrich the enemy. With respect to the abolition of the slave trade, the trade had been carried on for a long series of years under the ablest ministers that this country had seen, and who never thought of abolishing it; the idea of the abolition first originated, within a few years past, among atheists, enthusiasts, jacobins, and such descriptions of persons. If they doubted his statements with respect to the amount of the trade carried on, let evidence be called to the bar to prove or disprove them, but at least the house ought to pause before they consented to destroy a trade of such magnitude, particularly at a time when our commerce had so many difficulties to encounter. The argument, that supplying foreign colonies with slaves enabled them to rival us in the market, was one directly in favour of the slave trade.

The Marquis of *Sligo* opposed the bill, as pregnant with infinite danger to the very existence of the West-India islands.

Lord *Holland* said, that it was almost unnecessary for him to trouble their lordships. All the objections to the principle of the bill had been urged over and over, upon every discussion which took place on the bills, which had been almost annually submitted to parliament, for abolishing the slave trade. So far from the planters being alarmed by the present bill, all of them he had conversed with, were decidedly in favour of it. So far from its being prejudicial, they were decidedly of opinion, that it would be advantageous to their interests. Were the traffic to cease to-morrow, he was convinced, that not an article less of British manufacture would find its way into the Spanish colonies. Fortunately, British manufactures were become of absolute necessity to the inhabitants of South America, and they would have them, though the slave importation trade, which, according to the statement of a noble lord, was used as a cover for a more important branch of commerce, were annihilated. He declined going over the arguments which had been so often used respecting the slave trade; but if the present bill tended, as had been stated, to contribute to the abolition of that nefarious traffic, it was in his mind a paramount argument in its favour.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* said, that a noble lord had characterised the bill before their lordships as abolition in disguise. He was no friend to any thing in disguise; but, while he was in that house, he would, by every means in his power, whether fair or foul, whether by open hostility, or secret stratagem, labour to destroy that infamous traffic, which was no less a disgrace to humanity, than it was destructive of the morals of the nation. His lordship urged a variety of arguments against the slave trade, and supported the bill, as the first step towards its abolition.

Lord *Eldon*, after glancing at the conduct he formerly held, with respect to the subject so often adverted to, observed, that with a due regard to himself and his fellow-subjects, and a respect for the interests of those who were concerned, he had now to express to their lordships the doubts he entertained upon the present occasion. His lordship wished, that while the reverend prelates were supporting this measure, they would also indemnify the individuals who must suffer by it. There was no man more inclined to the abolition of the slave trade than himself, yet he had his doubts upon the subject, and greatly apprehended it would destroy a large portion of British shipping, British sailors, and British merchants, and would carry an article of trade into a foreign market. His lordship, therefore, opposed the measure.

Lord *Darnley* supported the bill, on the ground of its being merely a regulation of policy, with regard to the colonies of the enemy, which, though now in our possession, might be restored when a peace took place. He likewise observed, that though British capital might be thrown out of this particular branch of commerce, yet it would easily find some other channel, in which it might be employed in a manner equally beneficial.

The Duke of *Gloucester* made his maiden speech, to the following effect: My lords; on a subject of such importance as this, involving in it the feelings of humanity and the principles of justice, it is impossible for me to give a silent vote. I will not now enter into any discussion on the general subject of the slave trade, but I hope and trust that the time is not far removed when we shall all witness the abolition of that trade, which is a disgrace to the country that encourages it; which violates all the principles of justice, humanity, and religion, and which is directly contrary to the free constitution of this country. I trust, whenever the great question of abolition comes to be considered, and when the measure itself shall be proposed, that the merits of the trade itself, and every thing connected with it, will be fully enquired into; that the interests of the merchants concerned in this trade will be duly weighed and considered, and that nothing may be done to the prejudice of the country. I hope it will be judged how far the system is injurious to our interests; how far it is repugnant to the feelings of the British people, and the freedom of the happy constitution, under which they live. I give my warmest support to the measure now before the house, because I think it will tend to diminish that shocking traffic in human blood which has lasted for so many ages, and which has spread misery and desolation in every place where it has been carried on.

Lord *Grenville* began by answering the arguments of those who objected to the bill on the ground of its injuring our export trade; and said that when the advantages of traffic and commerce were opposed to the horrors of peculation and murder, he had no hesitation in deciding his judgment. His lordship said that this bill had been represented as abolition in disguise. Were this true, he should be glad indeed, not of the disguise, but of the abolition. It would be an event most grateful to his feelings to witness the abolition of a traffic that was an outrage to humanity, and that trampled on the rights of mankind. But he could see no reason for disguise, on such a subject. He had heard of fraud in disguise, of injustice and oppression in disguise; but justice and humanity required no disguise. Those who felt those virtues, would be also proud to acknowledge them. It had been argued, that if we laid down the trade, others were ready to take it up. This, however, was a mode of reasoning that would not stand the test of examination. Were we to act unjustly in order to prevent others from doing so? Let us clear ourselves of the guilt, and if they thought proper to take it up, let the guilt be upon their heads. To the cause of humanity let them be answerable for the consequences. But this reasoning was unjust in another respect. Did not the noble and learned lord (Eldon) see, that if we gave up the trade, it was not possible for any other state, without our permission to take it up? Did we not ride every where unrivalled on the ocean? Could any power pretend to engross this trade, while we commanded from the shores of Africa to the western extremities of the Atlantic? America had been represented as likely to succeed us in the trade; but were not noble lords aware, that there was a majority of the united states decidedly hostile to this traffic? The whole of the states, indeed, were professedly more or less, against the trade, except Carolina, and in such circumstances little vigour was to be expected in a trade so contrary to the principles and feelings of the majority of that people. The noble lord then adverted to the arguments that had been employed, derived from our contraband trade with the Spanish Continent, which was not covered or protected, as had been pretended, by the importation of slaves. Our supply of the enemy's colonies would only enable them the more to rival us in colonial produce. The narrowing of this trade, or even its abolition, would not shut us out of Africa. We might visit there in another shape, and not as robbers and pirates, carrying off the helpless inhabitants. If they were so rude and savage as represented, let us rather endeavour to civilize them, and by a just and equitable traffic form their minds to the pursuits of civilized life. In respect to the clause prohibiting and restricting to neutrals the use of British commodities in the conduct of this trade, he thought it was perfectly fair that what was prevented from being done in British bottoms, should also be prevented in the case of other vessels trading with Great Britain. If the law was not to be evaded by our own subjects, neither should it be permitted to vessels sailing from our ports. Time was asked for enquiry, but that request had been made for these 18 years; and if that was not enough, he was afraid a period would be necessary, no way proportionate to the duration of human life.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, he had never objected to the abolition of the slave trade in any shape in which interest was to be viewed on the one side, and humanity on the other. He had always admitted, that if interest and humanity, really so called, were to be opposed, there could be no difference of opinion. But on this subject there was another question, Who were the persons to be injured, and to what amount? He was prepared to meet any noble lord whenever the question should come regularly before the house on its general merits, but at present it was necessary to confine himself to the objects of the bill. He made some observations on the order of council, and as a means of setting some bounds to the trade and the consumption of capital, he thought it fairly justifiable. Most of the enemy's settlements, he said, were cultivated by British capital, which would defeat, he thought, the object of the bill. Most of the enemy's islands we had taken possession of were in a great measure occupied by British. There was a great deal of British property invested in Cuba. The noble lord explained the causes of these facts, and argued that in this case we should be injuring British property by passing the bill. The capital we now employed in this trade, would be transferred to other places where the trade would be carried on. In point of humanity, he insisted we ought to prevent this necessary consequence of the measure, as it could be no-where carried on with a greater regard to the rights of humanity than under the regulations already established by parliament. The noble lord then adverted to most of the arguments that had been employed in the course of the evening, and concluded by stating, that the doubts he had altogether, respecting the operation of the bill, induced him to give it his opposition.

Lord *Ellenborough* supported the bill in a variety of arguments, and adverting to the speech of a noble and learned lord (Eldon), expressed his astonishment, that any noble lord who had supported and approved of the same measure in the shape of an order of council, should oppose this bill, unless it was that they proceeded from different men.

Lord *Eldon* explained, and was referring particularly to what had fallen from the learned lord who had just spoken; when

Lord *Lauderdale*, on the authority of a standing order of the house, called the learned lord to order.

Lord *Sidmouth* expressed the greatest abhorrence of the infamous and disgraceful traffic, and approved of the bill, as, independently of the policy of the case, it operated as a considerable means of its gradual and progressive abolition.

The Duke of *Sussex* spoke at considerable length against the bill; and, among a variety of other arguments, urged that the more wealthy those islands were which we had conquered from the enemy, they would be the better calculated to become the purchasers of our manufactures. The slaves in the West Indies were well treated in general, and formed to habits of industry.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* assured their lordships, that it appeared manifest to him, that the interest of our West-India colonies would be considerably advanced by this measure.

Lord *Auckland* informed their lordships that he, in conjunction with others, endeavoured, in the year 1788, to bring the different commercial nations to a general agreement to discontinue this trade. The French revolution, however, broke out, and prevented this general extensive regulation or understanding, which appeared to him to be far more beneficial to the cause of justice and humanity than any local prohibition.

Lord *Sheffield* considered the bill before their lordships as another instance of the infatuated disposition to sacrifice the navigation and commerce of the empire; the object of those who looked to abolition of the slave trade would not be in the least degree answered. The measure, however, seems a curious mixture of the sentimental in respect to the trade in slaves, and of a job in favour of our old West-India settlements, for the ruin of our new acquisitions in those parts. He would not then enter into the policy of conquering, retaining, and improving, at a great expence, acquisitions which there was every reason to believe, we must relinquish on a peace; but he must say that it is oppressive, it is faithless, after the terms we had granted, and the advantage of becoming British subjects, that we should now tell the inhabitants they should not have the means of cultivating their soil, nor of carrying on their usual commerce. In addition to the strong objections which had been urged by the noble lords who opposed the bill, he must observe, that we had little or no direct carrying-trade left, except to Africa and the East and West Indies; and surely at the period when Americans or neutrals participate so very largely in the East and West India trade; when we are shut out from so great a proportion of the world, we should not relinquish that trade which holds out the best prospects to us. The trade to Africa is rendered odious by the insinuation of its being merely a slave trade. In the present question, the trade in slaves is perhaps the part of the least consideration; the circuitous trade to Africa, and thence to the West Indies, is that which, of all others, we stand in most need; it is a trade of barter which, in one voyage, gives three or four profits; we acquire in exchange for our manufactures and other commodities, all the valuable and necessary raw materials from South America which we used to receive through Old Spain, paying very heavy duties; most of which, if we could get them at all at this time, must be at exorbitant prices. He said, no human expectation can be more vain than that a simple act of parliament could prevent the introduction of slaves into the numerous creeks of the West Indies, where every inhabitant is in favour of that introduction. But the attempt at prohibition would render the trade extremely severe and cruel in respect to the poor negro; because, instead of a well-regulated trade, as at present, it would become a smuggling trade, subjecting them to the greatest hardships. He said, he must not go farther into the subject at that late hour. The papers on the table prove the extreme mischief that will arise to our carrying-trade and commerce, that we are daily becoming more dependent on the American states for the important article, cotton; and that soon we should not have shipping for our carrying-trade, or for bringing home the produce of our colonies. He said, he had lately stated to their lordships, that there is nearly an end to ship-building, except for the navy, in the several ports of England; that the discouragement is so great, that very few indeed are building for the merchants' service, only two at this time in the river Thames; that the ships we have, are wearing out very fast; that we shall have none to replace them, and consequently shall be obliged to give up the most beneficial and important trade to the British empire, viz. the carrying-trade.—After a short reply from the duke of Clarence, the question was loudly called for, and the house divided; when there appeared, contents 43;—non-contents 18;—majority 25. The bill was then read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 16.

[MINUTES.] A message from the lords announced their lordships' intention of proceeding further the next day with the trial of lord Melville.—Sir J. Newport presented the Irish Malt Duty bill, which was read a first time.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee on the Property Tax Duty bill; which was ordered to be taken into further consideration on Monday.

[BARRACKS.] Mr. *Robson* rose to bring forward his promised motion for the production of certain documents relative to the department of Barracks, with a view to institute an enquiry into certain gross abuses in that department, through the wasteful expenditure of the public money. He said it was now 4 years since he had ventured to obtrude himself upon the attention of the house, by some observations, and a motion, on the very subject which it was now his purpose to offer to their consideration; namely, the scandalous abuses then existing in the Barrack department; and he, on that occasion, warned the house of the enormity of those abuses, upon which he had not the good fortune of being able to institute, at that time, any enquiry; but which now were palpably proved to have existed to the full extent which he then asserted, by the Report of the Military Commissioners now in his hand, and which for some weeks had lain, most unaccountably, unnoticed upon their table; and he now ventured to say, that had his advice been then taken, many millions of the public money would have been saved, and no occasion would have existed for laying such a report before parliament. It was now some years since the house had been in the habit of voting large sums of money for the erection of Barracks in various parts of the kingdom; but those votes had, of late years, increased to an enormous extent. Last year it was 2,300,000*l.* and for the present year it was 1,700,000*l.* Having upon a former occasion, attempted in vain to induce the house to go into some investigation, finding his former opinions justified by the report now before the house, and desirous once more to bring forward the subject to the notice of parliament, it was natural for him to look a little into the cause why this expenditure had so increased, and the more so after he had heard the plea of necessity which the ministers had set up as a reason for the heavy taxes they had recently imposed upon the people. He felt it incumbent upon him, now that the reins of government had passed into the hands of other ministers, who, he sincerely trusted, would offer no impediment to fair enquiry, to ascertain, if possible, what became of those enormous sums so voted. At present it was his intention to move for the production of certain papers relative to the Barrack department, for the purpose of investigating some very recent transactions. Without entering into any detail on the subject in the present instance, he should proceed to name the papers for which he intended to move. They were short, and their production would neither be troublesome nor expensive; the first of which, and he would now move for it, was "a list of the several barns rented by government and used as Barracks, in the division of Sandown Bay, in the Isle of Wight; specifying the time when first taken, and also the weekly or annual rent thereon paid, respectively, from the time of their being so taken up, to the 25th Dec. 1805, inclusive."—Mr. Martin seconded the motion.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, that if the hon. gent. had done him the honour to make the slightest communication to him of his wishes or intentions upon the subject, he believed he should have been able to have satisfied the hon. gent. that his motion for papers and the purpose he had avowed, were rendered unnecessary, by another arrangement which had already taken place. As the hon. gent. had not thought proper so to do, he would beg leave to say now, that although he saw no objection whatever to the production of the papers named in the hon. gent.'s motion, yet, at the same time, as the house had already appointed Commissioners, for the very purpose of the investigation avowed by the hon. member as his object, and had delegated to them its authority to enquire, with the utmost minuteness, concerning every expenditure in the Barrack, as well as other military departments; which commissioners were proceeding with all the expedition in their power, consistently with the nature of the subjects referred to their examination; he would put it to the good sense of the hon. gent. whether it would not be much more orderly and consistent with the regular proceedings of parliament, first, to await the report of those commissioners, or to communicate to them any information that could aid or accelerate their enquiry, before he proceeded to call upon the house to institute another enquiry to proceed at the same time, and upon the very same subject. He would submit to the hon. gent. whether it was a proper, whether it was a discreet procedure, while a parliamentary commission was occupied in this very enquiry, to supersede the authority delegated to them, without any alledged ground of imputation upon their proceedings, and to move for another enquiry upon the same topic. If, indeed, when they should make their report, the hon. member should find any just cause to complain of their negligence, or partiality, or unnecessary delay, it would be competent to him to call upon the house for the enquiry now proposed; but until such an occasion should occur, he hardly could conceive the house would be disposed to comply with the hon. gent.'s wishes for such an enquiry.

Mr. *Robson* rose and said: If, sir, my eyes did not convince me to the contrary, I should have conceived that it was the ghost of the late minister I have just heard. What the noble lord has just said is, word for word, the objection made by the minister four years ago, to a motion which I then made for enquiry upon the same subject, and I have brought down with me the Parliamentary Debates to prove the fact. But, notwithstanding the disappointment I feel at such an answer coming from the noble lord, as one of his majesty's present ministers, I shall persist, aye, inexorably persist, with the leave of the house, in my determination of having this business sifted to the very bottom. It cannot interfere with the military commission. But, am I to be told, that the house of commons has, in any case, abandoned its inquisitorial authority, and delegated it to any board of commissioners, so as to preclude itself from investigation upon any similar subject it may think necessary? The military commissioners have now been sitting almost a year, and what have they produced? Why, only one report; and this report, notwithstanding the enormous, corrupt, and profligate waste of the public money which it has exposed, has now lain nearly six weeks upon your table; and I take shame to myself as a member of this house, that it has laid there so long unnoticed. As a member of parliament, I have a right to enquire, though a commission is sitting. Do not tell me, sir, that a commission of enquiry is sitting! Am I to be told, that the house of commons, apprised as it is of such an enormous profusion of the public money, is to delegate its privilege of enquiry to any commissioners of Barracks, or commissioners of accounts, or commissioners of any sort, military or civil; and then wait a year or two until those commissioners shall think proper to report their opinions? I can admit of no such argument. What do I sit in this house for, but as a guardian of the public purse? What is the duty of the house of commons, but to watch over and controul the public expenditure? Am I then, as a member of parliament, to be denied the right of calling for papers, to inform myself, and the house, upon the subject of public expenditure, in order to institute enquiry, if necessary? I never will listen to such an argument, as that parliament is bound to wait, year after year, the slow progress of a board of commission, before it can proceed to the prompt steps necessary on the discovery of any prominent or enormous instance of profusion or peculation. What appears by this report? Why, that 184 unsettled accounts were then before the commissioners, not yet entered upon. Let not this house be told, then, that this subject is already before commissioners of enquiry, who may sit year after year, before the result of their enquiries are known, while the house is, in the mean time, called upon to vote, year after year, new and enormous supplies, without enquiring how the past has been expended. The house, without the grossest dereliction of its duty, cannot any longer persevere in such a mode of proceeding. How long, I would ask the noble lord, has this account of the Barrack department been bandied about from one office to another for investigation, without effect? First, it was sent to the treasury; from thence it was referred to the auditor of public accounts; then it was sent to the secretary at war; and, at last, the system blew itself up, and corruption and venality have wrought their own reform. But the fact not to be denied, is, as I stated four years ago, that the expenditure in the Barrack department has grown to an enormous amount. Why, I ask, has not parliament done its duty and prevented the progress in time? The purpose I have in view, is to examine the old accounts, in order to prevent similar profusion from occurring in future. I wish also to procure the protection and justice of parliament for many of those persons who have had the misfortune to give credit to a considerable amount to the Barrack department, whose accounts now remain ten years unsettled, and whose families may be driven to ruin and beggary while they are waiting the tardy investigation of the military commissioners. I do not mean to charge any individual with a criminal misapplication of the public money: I am only desirous to do justice, and to ascertain where the fault lies; and I believe the Barrack-master-general will turn out to be a very ill-used man, in the delay of settling his accounts.

Lord *H. Petty* appealed to the house, whether government could be said to have lost any time in proceeding on the suggestions of the Report of the Military Commissioners. He had himself made a distinct statement to the house on the subject of that report. He did not deny the right of a member of parliament to interfere with the enquiry delegated to the commissioners. He only appealed to the hon. gent.'s discretion; an appeal of which, after what he had just heard, he should be inclined to doubt the success.

Mr. *Bastard* recommended to the hon. gent. to substitute the word "buildings" instead of "barns," and to make the motion general.

Mr. *Robson* thanked the hon. gent., but would defer that till another day. The question was then put upon the first motion and agreed to. The hon. gent. then moved, for a "copy of a letter to the late secretary at war, dated 29th Dec. 1805, from the then Barrack-master of Sandown bay division, inclosing proposals on the part of Mr. James Day of Brading, for the building of a Barrack at Brading."

Mr. *Perceval* wished the hon. gent. would explain to the house what was the object of his motion, and the nature of the letter.

Mr. *Robson* observed, that he was prepared to give an answer, but he thought he was entitled to the papers, upon the grounds he had already stated. He observed, that there seemed a disposition to resist him in every step he advanced upon the subject, instead of thanking him for his endeavours to expose to the house a system of delinquency in the public expenditure. His object in moving for this paper, the contents of which he already knew, was to produce what the learned gent. would call legal evidence.

The *Speaker* having looked at the written copy of the motion, wished to know whether the letter alluded to, was a letter *to* or *from* the secretary at war.

Mr. *Robson*. *From*, sir, if you please.

The *Speaker*. The hon. member having in his verbal motion spoken of the letter which is the subject of it, as being a letter from the secretary at war, and the written motion being for a letter to the secretary at war, the object of my question is to know which the hon. gent. meant.

Mr. *Robson*. *To*, sir, if you please; as it is written in the paper now in your hand.—[A laugh.]

Mr. *Paull* said, he was confident that if his hon. friend had not felt himself perfectly acquainted with the business he had undertaken and the objects of the motion he had offered, he would not have moved them. His hon. friend had moved for papers upon a subject of grave and serious importance, no less than a gross and corrupt profusion of the public money, to which it was at all times the duty of that house to attend; and he thought his hon. friend had experienced a levity of treatment ill comporting with the gravity of the house, or the respect due to one of its members.

Lord *H. Petty* was not aware that there was any ground for the charge of levity, when the house had discovered every disposition to grant the information required. He trusted the house would act always with becoming gravity, and that when the papers granted for its information were produced, it would not countenance any proceeding upon them derogatory to the commission it had appointed.

Mr. *Rose* did not think it decent or becoming to charge the house with levity. He was surprised that the hon. gent. who made the motion should refuse to explain to the house what was the object of it. He was entirely of opinion with the noble lord, as to the impropriety of instituting an enquiry in that house at the same time that parliamentary commissioners were employed in the investigation elsewhere, who had power to call for papers and to examine witnesses on oath.

Mr. *W. Smith* was convinced the hon. mover had too much pleasantry and good humour to feel hurt, if a smile was excited in the house by the uncertainty he had evinced on his own motion, as to whether the letter for which he moved, was to or from the secretary at war. He thought it more regular for the commission to go on and do its functions, and afterwards for the hon. gent. to come forward with his motion, if he should then deem it necessary.

Mr. *Robson* explained, that the motion was written in the sense in which he wished to have it put, but the hand-writing not being the most legible, he had inadvertently read one word for the other.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* still pressed for an answer. Could the house, he asked, enter into the enquiry when there was a parliamentary commission actually sitting?

Mr. *Robson* thought he had made out a strong case for enquiry. If the letter he had moved for had been attended to, there would have been an absolute saving of 100*l.* per cent. to the public.

Mr. *Calcraft* thought there never was a case on which a motion for the previous question could so properly be put. Unless suspicions were entertained of the commissioners, he did not see how the house could proceed farther. It had delegated its authority for the present to those commissioners, and till there was some ground to suppose, that they were not doing what was right, he thought it would be improper to interfere with their proceedings, and should therefore move the previous question.

Mr. *Bastard* could not agree with the hon. gent. that enquiry in that house should stop, because enquiry happened to be going on elsewhere. He did not think that parliament, by delegating its power to a commission, did thereby preclude itself from adverting to the subject if it thought proper.

Mr. *Robson* was sorry that the hon. gent. had not been in the house to move the previous question upon his first motion. By moving for the previous question, the house would put itself in the situation of having ordered one paper, which was of no use, unless explained by those which there was now a disposition to refuse. To say, continued the hon. gent., that a commissioner is equal to a member of parliament, is ridiculous. Are there not men in this house as good as any commissioners can be? All I ask for is two or three short letters which a clerk can copy out in half an hour. Give me but these, and I will take upon me to prove that there has been a corrupt and profligate profusion in a branch of our expenditure, which has cost the country 10 or 12 millions, and I pledge my character as a member of parliament to do it. What am I to think, sir, when the treasury bench start up and move the previous question on such an occasion? I am resolved to take the sense of the house day after day, till I see that there is no intention to keep the public accounts private. And this at a time, sir, when the people of England are loaded with new and intolerable burthens, and when every man is called on to shed the last drop of his blood, and to deliver up the last guinea from his bureau for the defence of the country! Surely, upon cool reflection, the hon. gent. (Mr. Calcraft) will withdraw his motion!

Mr. *Calcraft* said, that nobody was more fond of enquiry than he was, and it was because an enquiry was actually going on, that he thought it proper to move the previous question. He advised the hon. gent. to give his papers to the commissioners, who might make a report upon them. Had he been in the house when the first question was put, he should certainly have moved the previous question upon it.

Lord *H. Petty* said, he felt himself justified in supporting the previous question moved by his hon. friend, specifically on the grounds that the hon. gent. had not satisfied the house as to the nature of the papers for which he had moved. In supporting the previous question, however, he desired expressly to disclaim any wish of precluding enquiry, or any denial of the undoubted right of every member of that house to move for any papers he might think necessary. But the question of right was one thing, and the expediency of exercising that right in all cases, quite another: there might be many rights unquestionable in the possession of many men, but there were many cases in which it might be wise and expedient to dispense with the exercise of them. The present he conceived to be one of those cases: but by opposing the hon. member's wishes on this occasion, he by no means meant to preclude him from the fullest information he should feel it necessary to demand upon this subject at a future day, when those commissioners should have finished their enquiry, which, under the authority they possessed of examining evidence upon oath, they were more competent to accomplish than any enquiry that could be carried on by that house.

Mr. *Martin* said, he thought it his duty to stand up in defence of a gent. who, he was convinced, was desirous of doing good to the public, and who ought to be supported in his honest endeavours to do his duty, and was of opinion he had made out his case.

Mr. *Robson* asserted, that there would have been a saving of 100 per cent. on the transaction, if the letter he moved for had been attended to. Surely, sir, said the hon. gent., this case is clear enough! My motion seems to cut upon both parties, the goers-out and the comers-in. The previous question is a thing that I hold cheap. In my motion four years ago respecting the 19*l.* 10*s.* business, when I wanted to see the bill-book, I was met with the previous question. The motion on the 10th report was also attempted to be done away by the previous question; that famous report which has excited the attention of all Europe, nay, I might say of all the world. My motion then did good, and this will also do good; for ever since that time, government acceptances have been regularly paid.—He then moved, for a copy of proposals transmitted by the Barrack-master of the Sandown division to the secretary at war, on the part of Mr. James Day, of Brading, for the building of a Barrack at Brading.

Mr. *Rose* thought it would have been much the better way, if the hon. gent. had stated to the commissioners what had come to his knowledge about this business.

Mr. *S. Bourne* agreed with the last speaker, and observed, that those commissioners had greater powers in this respect than the house itself, as they could examine upon oath.

Mr. *Calcraft* said, that as all the objects could be obtained by the commissioners, he should move the previous question on this motion also.

Mr. *Paull* said, that his hon. friend had given sufficient grounds for his motion, by stating that a clerk could copy out in half an hour what would enable him to prove that gross frauds had been committed.

Mr. *Bastard* said, as the hon. gent. had stated that 100 per cent. might be saved, he thought that a sufficient ground. He wished to know what security we had that the public would not continue to pay this sum, till the commissioners had reported upon it.

Mr. *Huskisson*, as the hon. gent. had stated that the granting a few papers would enable him to prove such gross abuses, thought it would not be right to wait till the commissioners might have leisure to enquire into the business.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that as the hon. gent. had now assigned some reason for his motion, he should consent, with the leave of his hon. friend (Mr. Calcraft), that the previous question should be withdrawn.

Mr. *Huskisson* wished the hon. mover would state the object for which he moved for these papers.

Mr. *Robson* then confessed, that the shameful waste of money he complained of was not only in building the Barracks, but in the rent of the barns, which might have been got for a quarter of the money.

Sir *J. Newport* said, this was quite a different thing: the motion was about building Barracks, while the meaning of the hon. gent. was about renting barns. He thought the hon. member should state what object he had in view, as the house could never get through their business, if every individual member might move for whatever papers he pleased, without assigning any reason, and if the house were to consider themselves always bound to grant papers when moved for.

Mr. *W. Smith* suggested to the hon. mover, that he had better withdraw his motions for the present, and bring them forward in a more distinct form on an early day, suppose on Monday.

Mr. *Robson* refused, and said he should be content if his motion were put upon the journals, as it would then be upon record that he, at least, had done his duty.

Mr. *Vansittart* begged the hon. gent. would give the house some explanation, why he wished for these papers? He might understand his own motions, but certainly he had not succeeded in making him understand them.

Mr. *Robson* said, he had already explained himself sufficiently; he would not submit to be examined and questioned as if he were a witness at the bar: as a member of parliament, he thought it beneath his dignity to wait upon any set of commissioners, standing in a hall, going up one staircase and down another in pursuit of them.

Lord *H. Petty* thought, that if the hon. gent.'s sense of the dignity of a member of parliament would not allow him to answer a question put to him in that house, or to explain why he brought forward motions, the house would probably think it was agreeable to their dignity, as members of parliament, not to give any countenance to such motions. He should therefore again move the previous question.

Mr. *W. Smith* took notice of what fell from the hon. mover, "that he only wished to have his motions on the journals."

This certainly was not a sufficient reason for the house agreeing to them. He thought the best way would be at once to move the previous question upon all the motions.—The previous question was then agreed to upon this question.

Mr. *Robson* then moved for a "copy of the answer (if any) that was given, or communicated to Mr. James Day, in consequence of his making proposals to the secretary at war, for the building of a Barrack at Brading in the Isle of Wight; and, if no answer was given, information to that effect." Also, "a list of the several barns rented by government and used as Barracks in the division of Saudown Bay, in the Isle of Wight, specifying the rent now weekly or annually paid for each barn, and also specifying the precise time when any alteration (if any) in the rent of the said barns took place." Upon these the previous question was also put and carried.

Mr. *Rose* expressed his regret that the business would make its way into the public prints.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.] Sir *A. Wellesley* asked if the hon gent. (Mr. Paull) had fixed on the day on which he meant to bring forward the motion against lord Wellesley, relative to Oude?

Mr. *Paull* mentioned Monday week; but on the suggestion of the Speaker, fixed it for the first day after the holidays; stating that he should lay the charge on the table, and at the same time move for witnesses to be called in, and also for a few papers in support of it. The hon. gent then moved, that the order of a former day, for the production of the protest taken by Mr. Bosanquet, against an approval by the court of directors of lord Wellesley's conduct, be discharged. He stated, that this motion had been made by him under the impression that he had liberty to do so if any of the board of controul should happen to be present. He accordingly had done so, but found next day that he had laboured under a misconception, and would therefore, as he had offered, have immediately moved for rescinding the order, had it been of any immediate consequence. He now moved, that the order be discharged; meaning, on some future occasion, to move that the paper be produced, as well as a dispatch which had formerly been moved for by a noble lord, and then refused, though unquestionably it must ultimately be produced.—After a few words from Mr. Addington and Mr. Creevey, the order was accordingly discharged.

[FIRST REPORT OF THE MILITARY COMMISSION.] Lord *H. Petty* rose, to move that the house should resolve itself into a committee of supply; but before he did so, he would take the opportunity of giving a more specific notice than he had as yet given, respecting an affair which had for some time back engaged the attention of the house and the public: he meant the First Report of the Military Commission now lying on the table. (see vol. 6, p. cliii.) He before stated, that the attention of ministers had been turned to this subject, and that a general system was preparing for the auditing of the public accounts. He now stated, that on Wednesday next he would propose a new Military Commission for investigating abuses committed in the West Indies; but as that only formed a part of the general system, he trusted he would be allowed on that day to enter somewhat at length into the nature of the measures relative to the public accounts which government had in contemplation. He also gave notice, that on Monday next he would, in the committee of ways and means, propose a new tax in lieu of the Iron tax. He concluded by moving, that the house go into a committee of supply.

[MESSRS. CHALMERS AND COWIE'S PETITION.] Mr. *W. Smith* rose, to move that the report of the committee on Messrs. Chalmers and Cowie's petition should be referred to the committee. He trusted he had shewn, that he had never been disposed to give away the public money on any occasion that did not strongly call for it. But though he was now about to propose that a large sum should be voted for certain individuals, he only, in doing so, did justice to those individuals and to the country. He then stated the case in nearly the same terms as he did on a former occasion, when moving for the committee to consider the petition. In the year 1800, when the scarcity was so great, it was suggested to the committee of provisions, that a large supply of herrings might be got for this country and our colonies from Sweden. Messrs. Chalmers and Cowie undertook the business, and a bill was passed to permit the importation free of duty. About a fortnight after the bill passed, in consequence of the dispute with the Northern powers, an embargo was laid on Swedish vessels; and the effect of this was, that the adventure totally failed, for government had not granted protections for importing the herrings, though they had been purchased. An immense loss was incurred; and it was under these circumstances that compensation was required. The loss was proved by sufficient vouchers. But it was said, that the loss might have been incurred though there had been no embargo, and that these merchants had the monopoly of this business, and that the chance of great profit ought to be set off against the loss. He contended, that the loss would not have been incurred, had it not been for the embargo; and that the merchants had not the monopoly of the business, for that the transaction was perfectly known to the public, and any one might have engaged in it. As to the treasury minute that had been drawn up, before the case had been referred to a committee, and as the minister of the day had agreed to refer the matter to a committee, this was a proof that he had formed no decided opinion upon it. These merchants had certainly calculated on a reasonable profit, about 1200*l.* on a capital of 30,000*l.* He only wanted for them, however, the difference between the money laid out of their pockets, and that received into them. To this, even on the principles stated in the treasury minute, they were entitled, as the transaction was such as imposed an implied pledge, that the parties would be indemnified against any loss from such a cause as this. He concluded by moving, "That the report of the committee on the petition, should be referred to the committee of supply, with a view to move there for a sum of 30,000*l.* as an indemnity to Messrs. Chalmers and Cowie."

Mr. *Huskisson*, as he only meant to propose a less sum, would not oppose the speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. *Long* asked the hon. gent., whether it would be proper to go on when the house was so thin; for, as there were differences of opinion, he might find himself in a minority.

Mr. *Smith* complained that this question, if it was to be asked at all, had not been asked before he had made his statement.

Lord *H. Petty* expressed his wish, that the business should be deferred.

Mr. *Rose* said, that something ought to be granted; but 30,000*l.* was by far too much.—After a few words from Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Long, and Mr. W. Smith, the motion was withdrawn, and a notice given, for bringing forward the affair on Monday.—The Speaker having left the chair, the house went into a committee of supply; and on the consideration of his majesty's message, it was resolved, that a grant of 10,000*l.* should be made for the establishment of the present earl Nelson; 90,000*l.* to be vested in trustees, for the purchase of a house and estate for the said earl and his heirs; and 20,000*l.* to be vested in trustees for the use of the two sisters of the late viscount Nelson. The house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received on Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, May 17.

[MINUTES.] The house proceeded as usual to Westminster-hall, and returned about half past three. Strangers were not admitted for some time afterwards, during which it was understood their lordships appointed Wednesday se'nnight to take into consideration the evidence adduced on the trial of lord Melville.—The Mutiny bill, the Irish Loan bill, and the Irish Treasury Bills bill, passed through committees, and were reported.

[IMPEACHMENT OF LORD MELVILLE.] Earl *Stanhope* suggesting that doubts seemed to be entertained respecting the time of publication of the trial of lord Melville, with reference to the order previously made by the house upon that subject; and an idea appearing to be conceived, that, the trial being over, publications of the proceedings might now freely take place; he thought, therefore, the sense of the house should be known to he public on that head.

The *Lord Chancellor* agreed with the noble earl, that the sense of the house, on an affair of this kind, should be publicly known and clearly expressed. Such an idea as his noble friend alluded to, had been entertained, as appeared from a paper put into his hand by one of the reporters. It appeared to him, however, to be contrary to the sense and intention of the house in framing the order; and his opinion was, which he thought should be generally known, that all publications of the trial were strictly prohibited, until after the house should deliver its final judgment.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* entirely concurred in the sentiment expressed by his noble friend on the woolsack, and farther, he thought, an express order should be made upon the occasion, in order that all doubts upon the point might be set at rest. His lordship then wrote an order at the table, which he moved forthwith, for the adoption of the house; and which, being read from the woolsack, ran nearly as follows: Ordered, "that no person whatever shall presume to publish any account of the proceedings, &c. laid before this house, touching the impeachment of Henry lord viscount Melville, until after this house shall have delivered its final judgment upon the said impeachment."—The question being put, it was ordered accordingly, and read a second time by the clerk at the table.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Saturday, May 17.

[MINUTES.] A message from the lords informed the house that their lordships had agreed to the Slave Trade Importation bill.—Bills to regulate the offices of the Receivers-General of Excise and of the Post-Office were brought in, read a first, and ordered to be read a 2d time on Monday, and printed.—Several accounts from the chief secretary of Ireland, relative to the Revenue department, were presented, and ordered to be printed.—The Franking bill was read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, May 19.

[MINUTES.] Earl Spencer stated that it would be inconvenient for a noble friend of his (lord Grenville) to attend the discussion of the bill for repealing the Additional-Force act, the second reading of which was fixed for that day; and therefore he would, with the permission of their lordships, move that the order be discharged, and that it be read a 2d time the next day. Ordered. — Lord Auckland moved, that the report of the proceedings of the House in giving judgment in cases of impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanours made in the case of Warren Hastings, esq. which he then held in his hand, should be printed for the use of their lordships. Ordered. — The Mutiny, Irish Exchequer, and Loan bills, were read a third time and passed.—Lord Stanhope moved that the second reading of the bill for the Discovery of Truth be postponed until Friday se'nnight.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, May 19.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Hutchinson, from the bank, presented an account of all notes of the bank of England, including bank post bills, in circulation from Feb. 1, 1805, to Feb. 1, 1806, distinguishing each quarter.—On the motion of sir J. Newport, the report on the Irish butter bill, was taken into further consideration, and the bill was ordered to be engrossed.—Mr. Francis rose, in contemplation of the debate likely to come on to-morrow, on the Nabob of Arcot's Creditor's bill, to recommend to the attention of gentlemen the correspondence of a Mr. Darke, contained in the second volume of Carnatic papers, as containing much information on the subject.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, the Excise-Office Regulation bill, and the Post-Office Regulation bill, were read a 2d time, and ordered to a committee of the whole house on Friday se'nnight. — Mr. Vansittart moved, that there be laid before the house an Account of the quantity of Malt charged with duty in England, for the last two years, ending in 1806; and a similar account for Scotland: also, an Account of the quantity of Strong Beer brewed in England, from 1799, to 1805, and the same for Scotland: also, an Account of the number of barrels of Strong Beer and Table Beer, brewed within the district of the excise-office for the last ten years. The accounts were then ordered, and immediately brought up by Mr. Vansittart, and laid on the table.—A message from the lords acquainted the house that the lords had agreed to the Mutiny Continuation bill, the Irish Treasury Bills bill, and Irish Loan bill, without any amendment. — Mr. Bankes said, that in the two last sessions of parliament, the house had exercised a very becoming liberality towards that national institution, the British Museum. In consequence of this, considerable additions had been made to the buildings of the Museum, and to the antiquities deposited there. He therefore moved that a committee be appointed to examine the state of the buildings erected for the reception of Egyptian and other antiquities, and to report to the house on the same. Agreed to.

[AMERICAN INTERCOURSE BILL.] Lord *Temple* stated, that this bill for regulating the intercourse of our West-India colonies with America, had been sent down from the lords in such a shape as to prevent its being entertained by the house. He should therefore now propose, that it be read a first time, *pro formâ*, with the design of bringing in another bill in its room, not liable to the same objections.—The bill was then read a first time, and, on the motion of lord Temple; ordered to be read a second time on that day three months. The noble lord then moved for leave to bring in a bill for similar purposes, and also that this motion be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house.

Mr. *Rose* said, that he considered the proposed bill as of the highest importance with regard to its effects on the commerce and navigation of the country. He looked upon it as neither more nor less than a repeal of the navigation act. It was a matter highly interesting to the mercantile interest; and he trusted that sufficient time would be allowed them to consider it, and oppose it, if they should think proper. He implored ministers not to adopt such a measure without proper enquiry.

Lord *Temple* replied, that he had no objection to any delay being allowed that might seem reasonable; and after a few words from lord H. Petty, the motion for leave to bring in a new bill on the subject was ordered to be referred to a committee of the whole house the next day.

[TORTOLA FREE-PORT BILL.] The report on the Tortola Free-Port bill was then taken into farther consideration.

Lord *Temple* observed, that the difficulty attending this bill lay in ascertaining the precise quantity of sugar which should be allowed to be imported from Tortola into this country. He had considered the objections of the right hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Rose) on this head, and had endeavoured to remove them by several amendments, which he should propose. He then moved that the bill be now recommitted.—The house then resolved itself into a committee; when

Mr. *Rose* repeated his former objections, and added, he could see no reason for the bill; but the noble lord had made a blunder, and did not like to give up the bill, lest it should be discovered. If the noble lord would give a single good reason for the bill, he would no more open his lips about it.

Lord *Temple* said, the right hon. gent. was mistaken; he had made no blunder, and as to his motive, he could have but one, the carrying into effect a measure which justice and equity required. The ground on which he proposed the bill was, to make British merchants vest their capital in Tortola, which they now do in the neutral island of St. Thomas.

Mr. *Rose* said, this bill, or a similar one, had been in force for 3 years, and the merchants knew it produced no effect at all. The noble lord had certainly mistaken the object of his own bill.

Lord *Temple* said, the bill had been repealed early in the third year, and taking the time before it operated, it had been in operation no more than one year.

Mr. *Rose* insisted it had been in force three complete seasons, and if now passed into a law, might have the effect of bringing into this country an incalculable quantity of foreign sugars.—After a few observations from Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Perceval, the clause was agreed to, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

[IRISH REVENUES COLLECTION BILL.] Sir *J. Newport* moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the revenue of customs and excise in Ireland. To shew the necessity of this measure, he stated that the customs and excise were still under the management of the same number of commissioners that had been appointed in 1704, when they produced only 284,000*l.*, while their present produce might be estimated at 3,500,000*l.* The different boards had been found insufficient to transact the necessary business with the same accuracy as in this country, and their various departments were not sufficiently subdivided. This had arisen from the multiplicity of the business, compared with the smallness of their number. It was also proposed to commit the trial of revenue causes to the commissioners, which would still further increase their labours. It was, therefore, intended that some addition to their number should be made. The motion was then agreed to.

[IRISH ADDITIONAL FORCE REPEAL BILL.] Sir *J. Newport* moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Irish Additional Force act. He observed that the act, as far as it respected this country, having been repealed, after a very full discussion, it would not be necessary for him to say much on the subject; but it might be asserted with truth, that all the objections to the act, as applicable to this country, applied with additional weight to the case of Ireland. There, parochial aid could not be generally had recourse to, as in many parishes there were no parish officers whatever. Accordingly the practice of raising men by bounties, which the act was designed to prevent, was almost universally followed. In some parts of the country, the quota of men were raised by individuals employed for the purpose, who received a premium at so much per head.

Very great difficulties also had arisen in raising the penalties under the act; and, upon the whole, the general objections to the act applied to Ireland even more strongly than they did to this country.—Leave was then granted accordingly.

[TAX ON PRIVATE BREWERS.] Lord *H. Petty* moved the order of the day for the house to resolve into a committee of ways and means. The noble lord then rose, for the purpose of bringing forward the tax he meant to propose in lieu of the duty which had been abandoned on Pig-Iron. He said it would be in the recollection of the house, that not many days since he had proposed to defer the further proceedings in the committee of ways and means, for the purpose of devising some tax less objectionable to the house, and to the great body of the country, than that upon Pig-Iron, which he had been induced, in compliance with the prevailing sentiment, to decline. He now, therefore, rose to propose, in lieu of that tax, a substitute, which he hoped would prove more acceptable. He considered it properly as a substitute, because it would fall principally upon one article, and one to which he thought the least objection was likely to arise, in providing for the pressing exigencies of the country. Notwithstanding the popular error, that the luxuries of the wealthy were the fittest objects of taxation under such exigency, yet it was a fact incontrovertible, that the produce of taxes upon such luxuries would be so very small, as to prove rather harassing than lucrative, and therefore it became his duty to look to one more connected with general consumption, and, of course, more likely to be efficient. On giving an attentive consideration to those objects, which promised to be productive, and were likely to fall the lightest upon those who were to be immediately subject to the impost, he considered Private Brewing as one of the fairest that presented themselves for adoption. The private brewer, notwithstanding that he paid the duty on malt, had still considerable advantage over the public brewer, and all the consumers of the liquor he produced. Private brewing was carried on to such an extent, and produced so great a saving to the individuals who adopted it, for the supply of their families, that it greatly lessened the consumption of other beverage, the duties on which would add considerably to the public revenue; he therefore conceived the country, under its present circumstances, had a right to look to the private brewer as a fair subject of taxation, and to bear his part in the public burthens: but at the same time, the tax he proposed to lay would be so moderate as still to leave the object of it in possession of considerable advantages over the public brewer. With regard to the produce to be computed from this tax, it was difficult to obtain any precise *data* upon which to calculate with exactness: but taking the best he could find, namely, the whole quantity of malt charged with the malt duties, and deducting from that the quantity which appeared from an average of returns to be consumed by the common brewer and distiller, the remainder would afford a tolerable criterion of what the private brewers consumed. The whole quantity of malt, then, charged with the duties upon an average of the last few years, was about three millions of quarters annually, of which it appeared that the public brewers did not consume more than two millions: of the remaining million it was extremely difficult to ascertain what proportion was consumed by the distilleries. It appeared, however, from enquiries made during the last scarcity, that the average consumption of the distillers was about 250,000 quarters; so that the remaining 750,000 quarters appeared to be the consumption of the private brewer, which, rated in the scale he was about to propose, would produce about 500,000*l.*, a sum adequate to that at which he had estimated the tax upon pig-iron. The scale of taxation was estimated from the most reasonable calculation upon the probable consumption of each family, and their respective rank and abilities in life; but, undoubtedly, as it was the farthest wish from his mind to expose the private brewer to any obtrusion of the excise officer into his family, he would shape the tax in such a way as to enable every man, by paying a fair and reasonable commutation, to avoid a necessity so obnoxious. The tax would be assessed upon a scale of proportion with the other assessed taxes: upon the higher orders according to the number of carriages and servants; and upon the lower in proportion to their rank in life, and the number of individuals who composed their families, upon the following scale, viz. 1. Every family paying the duty on a four-wheeled carriage, and one male servant, to pay a commutation for every male in such family, 1*l.* 1*s.* 2. For every female, 10*s.* 6*d.* 3. Families, not paying for a four-wheeled carriage, but assessed for one male servant, to pay for each male, 15*s.*; every female, 7*s.* 6*d.* 3. Families not assessed for a male servant, but paying the assessed taxes; for every male, 10*s.*; every female, 5*s.* 4. Persons only paying the lowest order of assessed taxes, and charged with the window tax; males, 5*s.*; females, 2*s.* 6*d.*; all children under ten years old excepted, and also all the lower orders of the labouring poor, and all persons not paying assessed taxes, and who may choose to brew for themselves, to be exempt; for no person but the private brewer would have any part of the charge to bear. The whole produce he estimated to amount to a net revenue of 500,000*l.* Having thus briefly stated the tax he had to propose, he begged leave to observe, that, as nothing was more repugnant to his wish, than that it should become necessary to collect the tax in the way of excise, he hoped that all persons who were averse to the exciseman's visits, would avail themselves of the modification he proposed, and by delivering in their lists, according to the foregoing scale, enable the collector to ascertain their respective proportions without farther trouble to themselves. He begged leave to repeat that, notwithstanding what might be considered a fair impost upon the private brewer, he would still have many advantages over the public one, and possess a great degree of comfort in the means of supplying his family with a wholesome and cheering beverage, considerably cheaper than he could purchase of the public brewer or retailer. The noble lord felt still more happy that the class of labouring poor would be altogether exempt from the tax; and concluded by moving, that there be laid upon every barrel of ale or strong beer brewed by private families, above the value of 16*s.*, an excise duty of 10*s.* to be paid by the person so brewing, except such person as should pay a commutation licence-duty upon the scale before-mentioned.

Mr *Rose* said, he did not rise to make any opposition to this tax, which originated in the suggestion of his right hon. friend, now no more, (Mr. Pitt,) who, however, intended to make an exemption in favour of farmers, who were in general under the necessity of brewing a considerable quantity of beer, in harvest time only. He wished to know if any such exemption was now in contemplation?

Sir *R. Buxton* objected to the principle of the tax, as, if the precedent was adopted of obliging people to take out a licence for brewing, it might afterwards be extended to baking, boiling, and roasting. It would be a hardship on the landed interest, as country gentlemen were under the necessity of brewing their own beer, being out of the reach of the common brewer. The effect of the tax would be, to bid adieu to old English hospitality in the country. It was, in fact, another malt tax.

Mr. *Long* could not agree with the hon. baronet who spoke last, but he did not see the use of giving this option of compounding with the commissioners.

Sir *W. Geary* was in favour of the composition, for the sake of keeping the exciseman out of private houses.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, that as those who made a return with the assessed taxes, would not be subjected to the excise, this would be a powerful inducement to them to come forward and compound in the first instance.

Mr. *Huskisson* wished to know what deduction had been allowed in the calculation for those who paid no assessed taxes, and therefore were not liable to this tax? He adverted to the cases of persons who resided a great part of the year in town, and were supplied by the public brewer, but, after returning to the country, were obliged to brew their own beer. As the matter now stood, these must, in many instances, pay at the highest rate of composition for the whole year, or be subject to the excise.

Mr. *Patteson* could not believe that the hon. baronet was in earnest when he spoke of the hardship which this tax would bring on the landed gentlemen. In the present state of the country, it was not to be expected that they should be allowed to have their beer at a rate so much lower than that of the labourer, who was forced to apply to the public brewer, and at present paid one penny a quart more than they did. There ought not to be such an inequality between the rich and the poor, in our present circumstances. This was not a new thing, for there was a tax of much the same nature in the time of lord North, when a deduction was allowed to the public brewer; so that this was only a new application of an old principle. As to the difficulties attending the collection of the tax, they might be done away. It might be laid on the malt, and then every one might do as he pleased; but, as to the excise, it was, he knew, attended with no inconvenience on the public breweries, where all was fair and open. He highly approved of the tax, and would give every assistance in his power in its preparation and execution.

Mr. *Long* wished the noble lord would consider whether the excise might not be put out of the question, by imposing penalties, as in the case of the assessed taxes. He wished to know the grounds of the calculation respecting the amount to be deducted for the cottagers who did not pay.

Lord *H. Petty* said he had already stated the difficulty of finding correct *data* in this case. He had taken the duty on malt, however; and as to the beer brewed by the cottagers, it would be so weak that a great quantity of malt need not be here calculated upon. He thought there could be no harm in allowing the option, as the mode of the assessed taxes would naturally be preferred. But, in a few instances, the excise would be an accommodation, such as in the cases of those who resided but a short time in the country, and might not, therefore, choose to compound. As to the suggestion of the hon. baronet respecting some domestic comforts, we were already come to a state when that ought to be no ground of objection. What were all the assessed taxes, but interferences with domestic comforts? What were the taxes on servants? And even as far back as the reign of George II., a tax was imposed for the privilege of making candles by private families for their own use. Those who compounded might make any use of their licence which they pleased, without any farther trouble.

Mr. *Huskisson* thought the noble lord had calculated the product of the tax greatly beyond its reality; for, even admitting his own scale of the consumption of malt by the breweries and distilleries to be correct, still, of the remaining 750,000 quarters, a very great proportion must be consumed by poor families, whom it was the avowed purpose of the noble lord to exempt from the tax altogether.

Mr. *Rose* still thought that the excise ought to be avoided. He objected, however, to have the tax laid on the malt, and stated that frauds might be committed by persons brewing in one year, what might serve them for two or three.

Dr. *Laurence* reprobated the disposition manifested by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose), and those who supported him, for the conduct they uniformly manifested towards the noble lord and his colleagues, to whom they had boasted of having resigned "a bed of roses;" but to whom, in fact, they had left nothing but embarrassment and almost insurmountable difficulty. Every measure which the present ministers proposed for extricating the country from its difficulties, met with nothing but captious objections, and vexatious opposition, from their predecessors. As to the proposition now before the house, he hoped the noble lord would see it better to limit it entirely to a licence, than to put it at all under the excise. One objection he had to the bill, in so far as it was a tax on the apparent wealth of the person consuming, and not on the consumption of the article.

Mr. *Rose* said, he did not think he deserved the rebuke of the learned doctor, who had, in fact, found more fault with the new duty than he did. He accused the present minister of making up a great part of his budget from the objectionable taxes which his predecessor rejected, having many more eligible taxes in reserve.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he only alluded to what had fallen from the hon. gent. on the present occasion, as affording a specimen of the pleasantness of that "bed of roses," to which his right hon. friends had succeeded, and that the duty they had to go through was perfectly easy!

Mr. *Giles* remarked, that the duty might easily be collected under the assessed taxes, without at all coming under the excise. An hon. bart. (sir R. Buxton) had said the tax would fall peculiarly heavy on the country gentlemen. If so, they had, for many years, had an advantage over the persons residing in great towns, and this would only be restoring things to their proper balance. He hoped, too, the noble lord would turn his attention to the cyder counties, and not allow them to escape. He thought the tax, in effect, would operate as a tax on female servants; but since a tax on the home-made beverage of private families was to be laid, he thought the inhabitants of the cyder counties, who substituted that beverage, almost totally to the exclusion of malt-liquor, should be subjected to a licence also.

Mr. *Huskisson* thought the advantage of the private over the common brewer, to be over-rated, as the latter went more cheaply to work, on account of superior machinery.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that as to the suggestion regarding cyder, he assured the house he did not refrain from a tax on that article from any peculiar favour to the cyder counties. On the contrary, he saw no objection to a small duty on it by way of licence. He agreed in the hardship which it might be to make those farmers who only brewed in time of harvest, take out a licence to the same amount as if they brewed their beer all the year round. This might be remedied by limiting the sum so to be paid by them to a composition during the autumn months.

Sir C. *Pole* objected to the tax on the cyder counties, and also to that sort of criterion of gentlemen's circumstances that was to be drawn from their keeping a carriage, which, to many men of small incomes, was frequently more a matter of mere convenience than of luxury. He considered this to be a tax on female servants. He suggested, as a better succedaneum of revenue than the beverage of poor families, the race of strapping six-feet men-milliners, who crowded the shops of the metropolis.

Lord *H. Petty* replied, that females were no more taxed by this measure, than for the beer they drank; and if it was any pleasure to him, the hon. bart. might be assured that the strapping six-feet men-milliners were as much subject to this tax as any other persons.

Mr. *S. Stanhope* saw no reason why cyder should escape. He hoped, however, that the malt which grew in Scotland, a part of the country which was increasing in prosperity more than any other, would undergo a more regular rate of taxation. He maintained, that from the hospitality shewn in the country more than prevailed in London, the tax would operate with double severity on those who resided there. In one instance, however, he hoped it would be attended with good consequences—in repressing contested elections.

Lord *H. Petty* replied, that if the hon. gent. was disposed to be so very hospitable, he had only to take out the licence, and then he might be as hospitable as he pleased.

Mr. *T. Jones* thought the tax would, to all intents and purposes, be a tax on female servants, to which he was decidedly averse; better, infinitely, to tax those worthless animals, called men-milliners, to whom the hon. bart. had so properly alluded.

Lord *H. Petty* replied, that this was no more to be called a tax on female servants, than a tax on gloves would be.

Mr. *Manning* said, that, fond as he was of home-made beer, sooner than be subject to the excise, he would give up his brewery. He should prefer, instead of the option, to have a direct licence, in the same manner as for killing game.

Mr. *W. Smith* supported the measure, observing, that this was not a compulsory introduction of the excise, and if a man preferred it, he had no hardship to complain of. He also wished the tax not to be upon the malt in the first intance, as that would exempt the poor from the operation of it.

Mr. *Fuller* approved of the tax, which, he said he had himself suggested to the treasury last year. He preferred a licence, without an alternative, and thought the cyder counties should pay their proportion to the duty.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, he had not the slightest objection to the tax proposed by the noble lord, so far as it affected himself, and should cheerfully submit to it—[a laugh]. But he would not go quite so far on the behalf of his constituents at Stafford, many of whom were poor, but honest, industrious men, who were in the habit of brewing a little ale for their own families: they certainly brewed a very good sort, and he must do them the justice to say, that they did ample justice to their own brewing. He therefore could have wished the noble lord had commenced his scale of this tax a little higher in society. With respect to what had been said of females who might be affected by this tax, he heartily concurred in opinion with those gentlemen who had spoken on the subject. He would go even farther, and recommend, that not only men milliners, but all men who held situations in shops, which females could occupy, should be taxed. He then adverted to what had been stated by a right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose), that the budget was made up of the rejected taxes of the late minister, whom he represented as having a number of faultless and unobjectionable taxes in reserve, and thought it would shew a much greater zeal for the public service, if, instead of coming to the house with objections to every measure proposed, under exigencies, which they themselves had created, that right hon. gent. and his friends would disclose to the house, and his majesty's present servants, some of those unobjectionable and eligible taxes, which they so well knew the late minister to have in reserve.

Mr. *Baker* wished, that the time for carrying the tax into effect, might be carried beyond the harvest time. He only threw this out for the consideration of the noble lord, knowing that it would be a very great advantage to farmers, and, in fact, what they were entitled to.

Sir *W. Geary* disapproved of the measure. He did not like the excise hanging over us *in terrorem* as to what we were doing in our private houses. Might not compositions be carried such a length as to make it a doubtful thing whether they or the exicse itself were preferable?

Mr. *Vansittart* argued, that the principle of the measure had been recognised in the very best of times. During the reign of queen Anne, the making of malt for private use, was allowed to be compounded; and during the reign of George II. a similar rule was allowed as to candles. These were now done away, but the principle was the same as that now proposed.—The different resolutions were then put and agreed to, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

[NELSON'S ANNUITY BILL.] Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the bill for making a further provision for the family of lord Nelson. On the report being read,

Mr. *Fuller* observed, that the country had, by its liberality to the family of the deceased hero, evinced the respect and gratitude, which were justly due to his memory. He trusted, therefore, that neither the magnanimity of that illustrious man, nor the generosity of the empire, would be forgotten by those who were to receive profits and honours on account of the service which the immortal Nelson had performed. He would not then particularise any thing, though his object must occur to many members in the house; he hoped the representative of that family would also shew some degree of generosity, and comply with the wish expressed by the illustrious founder of the family in his last moments.—The resolutions were then read and agreed to.

[PROPERTY DUTY BILL.] Lord H. Petty moved the order of the day for taking into further consideration the report of the Property Duty bill. On the reading of the amendments,

Mr. *Vansittart* proposed a new clause, for the relief of persons insuring their lives, or the lives of their wives, and providing that, in all such cases, where the income of the party shall be less than 150*l.* per annum, the amount of the annual premium paid on the insurance shall be deducted from the amount of income to be assessed.

Mr. *Wilberforce* expressed his satisfaction to find his suggestions at all attended to, but thought that the abatement had been limited to so low a rate of income, as would render it almost nugatory. Persons whose incomes were less than 150*l.* a year, were least likely to effect an insurance on their lives, and according to the clause which he had himself prepared to propose, the scale of abatement would extend to persons enjoying 1000*l.* per annum.—Mr. Vansittart and lord H. Petty said, that the allowance was intended only to relieve those who, having small salaries, effected insurances on their lives, as the only means of providing for their families in case of their death. Persons of more considerable incomes could not need the abatement.—After a few observations from Mr. Fuller, Mr. Spencer Stanhope, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Ellison, and Mr. Babington, the clause was agreed to.

Mr. *Wilberforce* then introduced a clause for granting allowances to persons having children, and moved, that "for every child, born in wedlock, of the persons whose annual income or profits shall be under 400*l.*, a deduction of 5*l.* per cent. shall be allowed for every such child; and where the income of the person shall amount to 400*l.* and not exceed 1000*l.*, a deduction of 4*l.* per cent. for every child."

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* perfectly agreed with the hon. gent. in the necessity of the clause, and thought that it even did not go far enough. The father of a large family paid taxes in numberless ways that others were exempted from. He wore several pair of shoes a-day, whilst the nobleman, who had no children, only wore one pair, and therefore some indulgence was certainly due.

Mr. *Hudleston* rose and said: I am sorry the noble lord and the right hon. gent. have left it to my hon. friend to introduce a clause of this nature, as I really think their inflexibility on the point must have a direct tendency to bring into hazard the general success of the measure: that it should succeed, must be equally the wish of all; for the object of the bill is neither more nor less than the furnishing the means of protecting the country against the most serious dangers it ever had to encounter. The public are aware of these dangers, and that great efforts, and of course great expences, must be necessary to meet them. I really believe, too, that they feel an assurance that whatever can be accomplished by great talents, and equal heart and firmness, will be done to extricate us from our present difficulties, and accelerate the event which can alone relieve us from the additional burthens now so indispensably necessary. I have no doubt, therefore, that the public will cheerfully bear even this heavy addition to the Property, or Income tax, provided only they see in the distribution of it the just, fundamental principle preserved of making it, as far as practicable, fall upon every man in proportion to his ability to bear it. It is therefore with the greater concern that I observe in the present bill so manifest a departure from that principle, as the withdrawing of all abatements on account of children, which excludes from indulgence the very persons who, of all others in the community, have the most irresistible claim to it; namely, persons of small, or very moderate incomes and large families, whose contribution is raised at once to 10 per cent., and who are at the same time deprived of all the abatements which it had been thought just to allow them, even when the contribution was only 6¼ per cent. Is it possible that the noble lord and the right hon. gent. can have adverted to the serious change which these two alterations, combined with the extension of the contribution of 10 per cent. to incomes of 130*l.* per annum, will produce in the situations of the persons I have described? that those who have moderate families will pay twice as much; that many will pay 3 times, and some 4 or 5 times as much as they did under the former bill. In a word, sir, that this bill will operate with the greater rigour in proportion to their respective claims to indulgence. Sir, on the first discussion of this subject, some nice reasoning was employed to discriminate between feeling and justice; but in my opinion the withdrawing the abatements in question, whether it be examined on one of those principles or on the other, must be equally condemned. To me, sir, it seems that men's feelings will revolt at it, because of its injustice. I submit it to the house, as an incontrovertible position, that the man who has a wife and a large family of children, and an income of 100, or from 100 to 4 or 500*l.* per annum, is less able to pay this tax than a bachelor who has half that income: if this is a correct position, is it just that he should be called upon to pay twice as much? that, obliged to share that income with 10 or 12 persons, he should be placed on the same footing with him who has only himself to maintain? If the justice of such an operation of the bill can be contended for, then the principle which I set out with, namely, that this heavy additional burthen should be laid on every one in proportion to his ability to bear it, falls to the ground. Now, sir, the argument of the noble lord for refusing to admit any abatements on account of children, was to my mind by no means satisfactory: it amounted I think to this, that if, instead of a property tax, the same sum was to be raised by taxing consumption, or by the ordinary mode of taxation, it would fall as heavy on the persons in question—that no abatement would be operated for children. I wonder it should have escaped the noble lord's observation, that this argument would equally apply against the abatements which he has allowed to persons whose incomes are under 150*l.*, and the entire exemption where the income is under 50*l.* per annum. It seems to me, too, that this argument overlooks two serious facts: 1st, that there must be limits to that principle or mode of taxation, beyond which we cannot go, nor wisely attempt to go; and 2dly, that we had arrived at those limits, or were rapidly approaching them, before a tax on income was resorted to; but this argument appears to me to proceed on a mistake in another view of it, and not to be borne out by fact. For, supposing no Income bill, the taxes you might impose instead of it, except in so far as they were laid on the actual necessaries of life, would not of necessity attach to the persons in question. A parent, by submitting, as thousands would, to privations for the sake of his children, might entirely avoid them. For example, the man of 150 or 200*l.* per annum, and 8 or 10 children, what taxes could you impose that would draw from him 15 or 20*l.*? If you tax wine, he can resort to beer; if malt, to water; if further taxes on horses, or on men-servants, he can part with his horse and his man-servant; so for every other article he can create an abatement for his children, by contracting or resigning his other enjoyments. But, if you take 15 or 20*l.* from his income, you leave to him no option. You neither allow him an abatement for his children, nor leave it in his power to provide one by pinching himself. But, it is admitted, that the tax should not operate upon any one so deeply as to trench upon or abridge him, or of course his children, of the necessaries of life; but in very many cases it will be both a difficult and delicate and ungracious task to define with precision the necessaries of life. That which to one person is a necessary of life, or become a comfort absolutely necessary, is to another a superfluity. But, taking the words in their strictest or most literal sense, I think the noble lord cannot be prepared to say, that he who has a wife and 8 or 10 children to maintain on 150*l.*, can pay 15 out of it, besides all the other taxes, without trenching on the necessaries of life. An hon. bart. whom I heard with much satisfaction the other evening on this subject, pointed out the hardship the withdrawing these abatements would operate on persons of small estates in land; but how much greater will be the hardship on persons of small life incomes; and how much greater yet where the income is not only small, but is derived solely from the owner's industry or genius, and its continuance depends on the continuance of his bodily strength or mental faculties? The contrast between the latter, and the man of landed estate, under the operation of the principle of this bill, must unavoidably be very strong; but if you take away the abatements for children, you make it intolerable. The man whose estate or capital is in land, if he finds himself unable to pay the tax this year, can raise as much as he wants on the income of future years; but he whose income is earned by the sweat of his brow, who knows not that he shall have health or eye-sight to earn a farthing next year, what is he to do? If he should be straitened for the means of supplying the wants of a numerous family, who will advance, or lend him on his capital of industry or genius? Even the person who has an income for life, or an annuity for a term, and 10 or 12 children, may pay, as the bill now stands, twice as much to this tax as a person of twice his fortune or capital, and who has no child. I do not say it would be practicable to equalise the tax in this view of it, and make it strictly a tax on property, but I contend that such a case as I have just stated, ought not to be possible; and it can only be rendered possible in all its extent by withdrawing the abatements on account of children: you cannot entirely remove the inequality, but you are bound to reduce it as far as practicable.—Sir, it seems to me that there is one single consideration which should be sufficient to prevent the withdrawing the abatements for children, at least of persons whose incomes are only for life, or derived from industry; namely, that from many this tax will in consequence take the 15 or 20*l.* that was before applied to the ensuring their families from want, after they shall have been taken from them, and oblige them to apply it to preserve them from the same fate in their life-time. One of the noble lord's arguments against allowing any abatements for children was, that it would operate as a tax on bachelors. Now, sir, admitting the fact to be so, the considerations of justice and feeling remain the same; but I fear this argument will not be understood: what is more obvious, and will be more felt is, that it will operate as a premium for celibacy, and as a penalty almost amounting to a prohibition against marriage. Now, sir, the only reasons I have heard for withdrawing these abatements, are, 1st, the difficulty of ascertaining and adjusting them; and, 2dly, the inconsiderable number of persons who have claimed and received these abatements. To the last, I answer, that it is a reason that should operate against withdrawing these abatements; for, does it not tend to shew, that the few who have claimed them, have done so from absolute necessity, and are persons who will not now be able to pay the tax? What, then, will be gained by taking these abatements from all indiscriminately, and making the man who has a dozen children, pay 10*l.* from his 100*l.* equally with him who has only himself to maintain? And, as to the difficulty of ascertaining or obtaining the abatements, if justice and reason require that they should be allowed, is it possible that such a plea can be admitted for a single moment? Such a method of getting rid of a difficulty, is indeed the shortest that could be devised, but it is one that would rather be expected, where there is less ability to meet difficulties, than is possessed by the noble lord. But will it meet the difficulties on the other side—the odium and discontents which the withdrawing these abatements must excite, and the disadvantageous comparisons between the noble lord's plan and that of his predecessor? I am so strongly of the opposite opinion, that I can assure the noble lord that, if I were unfriendly to the bill, and wished it not to succeed, I should think the readiest way to accomplish that object, would be to let it go out with this imperfection on its head.

Mr. *Vansittart* expressed his disapprobation of the proposed exemption, on the ground of general policy. For three years, exemptions had been tried under the former acts, and were uniformly found to defeat themselves and the operation of the tax. In some districts, the duty for 1803 was not even yet collected, nor were the assessments made; and the answer to enquiries into the cause of this delay was, that the commissioners had so many appeals to hear, so many claims of exemption to investigate, and experienced such difficulty to understand the clauses, that it was impossible to proceed faster. How extremely desirable it was, then, to simplify, by broad and general enactments, the operation of the act, would be obvious to the house. A man of 200*l.* a year, with 2 children, would, by the exemption proposed, be entitled to a drawback of 10*l.*, and thus the produce of the tax would be totally defeated.

Sir *H. Mildmay* argued in favour of the exemption.

Mr. *W. Smith* also ably supported the clause. The 10*l.* which would be saved by it to the man of 200*l.* a year, with a family, were almost ten drops of his heart's blood. To a person without a family, it was comparatively no object. If, as was often the case, a man married, possessing what he saw would be just means enough on which to support a family, would the house, by taking any thing from him like what this tax would go to deprive him of, at once mar his calculations, and ruin his hopes? There were some improvements in the present bill, as far as it was less inquisitorial than the Income tax, which had preceded it, in not obtaining a disclosure of the whole circumstances of the subject, except in case of exemptions; but the curtailment of the allowances, particularly as far as regarded children, he thought extremely oppressive. We ought not to give up all considerations of justice and humanity, merely for the sake of making a new tax simple or productive. The hon. mover came forward as the advocate of a meritorious part of the community; but in opposing it, he considered himself the advocate of the community itself. The hon. gent. then contended, that though in theory this exemption seemed desireable, yet, as in practice not one-half of those persons entitled claimed before the commissioners, it was not of such general service as was imagined.

Mr. *Bankes* supported the clause. He was sorry to hear the hon. gent. contend that the interest of the many should be set against the interest of the few. His opinion was, that they were to consider what was the most equitable mode, and that was to make the burthen press as equally as possible on all.—The house then divided. For the clause 26; Against it 73; Majority 47.

Mr. *T. Jones* then made a few remarks on the frequency of surcharges, which he considered as a very great grievance; and concluded, by bringing up a clause imposing a penalty, and allowing costs to be awarded by the commissioners for vexatious surcharges.

Lord *H. Petty* approved of what the hon. gent. had proposed, but begged leave to call his attention to a clause in the bill, which he read, and which made the collectors subject to a penalty, not greater than 50*l.* for every surcharge, on conviction in one of the courts above.

Sir *H. Mildmay* supported the clause, as it was absurd, he said, to suppose that a day-labourer could have redress, if he was obliged to seek it in one of the courts at Westminster.—After a conversation between Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. Ellison, who supported the clause; and Mr. Rose, Mr. Fellowes, capt. Harvey, and Dr. Laurence, who opposed it; Mr. Jones declared, that he would not press it, and the clause was negatived without a division. The bill was then ordered to be read a 3d time on Wednesday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, May 20.

[REPEAL OF THE ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.] The order of the day being read, for the second reading of the Additional Force Repeal bill,

Earl *Spencer* rose and observed, that if there were no other ground upon which to justify a call upon their lordships to pass the present bill, than the experience of 22 months, during which the country had had sufficient proof of the utter inefficiency of that measure, for the repeal of which the present bill was introduced, that alone would have been a sufficient reason in his mind, why the house should, without further discussion, agree to the 2d reading, which he now rose to move. After the usual mode of recruiting had been carried on with the utmost exertion, for increasing our army to its necessary strength, it was still found requisite to suggest some other modes than those already employed for that purpose, and with this view the Army of Reserve bill was adopted. But after that had been tried to its utmost extent, without being productive in the degree expected, the measure of the Additional Force bill was then propounded, as one which was to obviate all the inconveniencies arising from the Army of Reserve bill and all the other modes of recruiting then in operation, and to supply all these defects by immediately procuring the number of men necessary. This was the object avowed by those who brought forward the Additional Force act; but, as he had at the time predicted, it had utterly failed, and turned out to be a measure, not for raising men but money; and he would appeal to the papers on the table, whether or not his apprehensions had been well founded. He claimed no merit for peculiar discernment upon this ground, for many of their lordships entertained originally the same apprehensions; but, however unwilling he was now to trespass on their lordships' time, he felt it necessary to dilate a little in the examination of the measure itself, and its real operation, comparatively with the objects to effect which it was proposed, and to shew whether it had tended most to impede or promote the recruiting service. The original object, as he had already stated, was to supply all the deficiencies arising from any other mode of recruiting for the time; to aid which purpose permanently, it was proposed gradually to diminish the militia to its original amount of 40,000 men. At the time this bill passed, the whole number of men deficient from the proposed force of the country, was about 26.000, who were to be almost immediately made good by the bill. But from the beginning of Oct. 1804, when it came into operation, until the 24th of the same month in the following year, the number of men raised was but 1834, leaving a deficit of 24,900, and an amount of penalties incurred by the parishes, no less than 481,800*l*. It might be said the bill was not then in full operation, and, indeed, it must be remembered, that for a considerable time it was almost forgotten; but, notwithstanding the subsequent exertions that were made to render it productive; the circular letter addressed by a noble lord (Hawkesbury) to the lords lieutenant of counties on the subject; the mission of inspecting-officers, and recruiting-officers, to instruct parish-officers, to teach them how to understand the bill, and tutor them in the trade of recruiting; still was its operation found so utterly defective, even up to the 18th of April last, that there were then deficient of the number of men proposed to be raised, no less than 21,458; and a sum of penalties incurred by the parishes throughout England and Wales, to the amount of 442,320*l*.; besides a sum already enforced, to the amount of 39,420*l*. In those estimates which included England and Wales only, he feared he was not quite correct; but certainly rather under than over the full amount; and if he included Ireland, then the total deficiency in the force of both countries, which the measure proposed to supply, would be 41,455 men. In support of these statements, the noble lord went into a minute detail of extracts from the documents on the table, and shewed the progressive deficiency of men, and growth of penalties, in successive periods of 6 months; he also compared the number of recruits raised for the line by the ordinary modes of recruiting in use before the passing of the bill, with the progress of recruiting under its pretended aid; from which he argued that, from the 1st month the bill came into operation, the general recruiting service, instead of advancing, had considerably and rapidly diminished; that, in fact, instead of being a measure of aid to that service, it was a ruinous impediment; that it imposed a duty upon a set of men, the parish-officers throughout the country, totally inconsistent with their habits, and which, in the first instance, it rendered utterly impossible for them to perform; for it expressly limited them to three-fourths of the bounty offered within their districts by recruiting-officers for the line. The parishes too were punished by a penalty of 20*l*. per man, for those deficiencies which the bill rendered unavoidable; and thus threw an enormous and partial burthen upon the landed property. Having, in fact, completely failed of effect under its natural operation, when it did become, under recent and extraordinary exertions, in any degree productive, it was rendered only so by a violation of its own principles; namely, by the employing of crimps, by recruiting out of the limited districts, and by offering (and that upon the suggestion of high authority) bounties considerably higher than the regimental recruiting-officers, and thereby not only creating a rivalry in bounties with the regular service, but impeding the business of recruiting. He trusted it would not be thought too much for him to ask, that this obnoxious and unproductive measure might be removed out of the way of the recruiting service, to which it had been an impediment. His lordship concluded by moving, "that the bill for the repeal of the Additional Force act, be now read a 2d time."

Earl *Camden* said, that as he was the person who had originally proposed for their lordships' adoption the bill which it was now proposed to repeal, he felt it his duty, thus early, to rise in the defence of that measure: though he was ready to admit the bill had not been so productive as was originally expected, yet it certainly had been, in a very great degree, much more so upon a comparative scale than his noble friend had seemed disposed to admit. He was not, however, so wedded to the bill, as to insist upon retaining it at all events; but still he thought it would behove their lordships to pause before they consented to repeal a bill which had been productive of considerable advantage, until at least they saw some measure proposed as a substitute for it. Much as had been said against what was termed the oppressive principle of this measure, he begged to call to their lordships' recollection, that previously to the original adoption of this bill, such was the military state of the realm, and so inadequate the produce of recruiting by ordinary means, that the government and legislature found it absolutely necessary not only to retain, but to extend the compulsory system, which had been originally adopted in the militia, and which was afterwards followed up in the Army of Reserve act; a measure he highly approved. He believed it would not be expected of any minister to ensure the success of any untried measure proposed by way of experiment. The most that the wisdom of man could do was to suggest a plan the most likely to be successful in practice; and he believed it would be admitted, there never was any plan which, in theory, promised to be attended with more certain and rapid effect. However, he would acknowledge, that the result had certainly not been equal to the expectations formed of its success, owing in a great measure to the inexperience, misunderstanding, or negligence of those entrusted with its execution. Had the powers of government continued a little longer in the hands of his majesty's late ministers, it was their intention to have suggested some amendments in the bill, such as enlarging the districts for recruiting, and the time for making returns by the parish officers, which, with some other minor alterations, and the experience these officers would have acquired, would have considerably facilitated the operation of the bill. The noble lord then went into a short series of comparative calculations, to shew that the bill, even under all the objections made to it, had not been so unproductive as had been represented. He wished to give his majesty's ministers time to prepare such a measure as was fit to be substituted in its place; and he concluded by moving an amendment, that, instead of the word "now" in the motion of his noble friend for the 2d reading of the repeal bill, the words "this day three weeks" be inserted.

Lord *St. John* thought the best substitute for the act would be to repeal it, and to leave the recruiting service to act freely, and without impediment. He contended that the act had, in its operation, been found totally inefficient, and that it was absurd to suppose that parish officers could be converted into recruiting officers with any beneficial effect. It was true, that inspecting officers had been sent round the country to teach them their new duty, but, the parish officer only holding his situation for a year, no sooner was he taught in this new military school how to act in his new character, than he went out of office, and another succeeded, equally ignorant, who had to go through the same course of instruction. The act, he contended, had been invariably found either nugatory or oppressive in its operation, without producing any benefit whatever to the army, but, on the contrary, impeding and embarrassing the recruiting service; and therefore he should support its repeal.

The Earl of *Westmorland* said, he objected to the repeal of the Additional Force bill on the strongest grounds which at such a dangerous crisis could be stated; he meant that it would be a prelude to the entire dissolution of our military establishment. Unhappily for this country, when the war commenced, we were in an unprovided state—[a cry of 'hear, hear,' from the ministerial side]. Since the assertion attracted so much notice, he would repeat it, "Unhappily for the country, we were in an unprovided state." And to what was it to be attributed? To the reduction of the military force under the administration of the noble lord (lord Sidmouth) whose particular attention the observation seemed to have excited. The bill now opposed was not only designed to raise a competent army during war, but it was to perpetuate the same means of security, so that, whether in a belligerent or a tranquil state, we were to be prepared for all the exigencies of our situation. This bill was a most beneficial expedient, and worthy of that great statesman who framed it; and he would confidently assert, that neither could the crown repose in safety on the head that sustained it, nor could the liberty of the people be secure, if the greatest caution was not employed in the new projects of military arrangement. It was said, that the bill had injured the recruiting service: it had done so, but this was the most satisfactory proof of its success. No doubt a contrivance by which 15,000 were annually obtained for the army must take out of the recruiting market no inconsiderable supply. But what was to be substituted for this advantageous scheme? We were to have limited service, or a periodical disorganization of the military force.

Earl *Spencer* spoke to order. Nothing had been said about the limited service, and it formed no part of the question before the house.

Lord *Mulgrave* thought his noble friend was perfectly in order. It was a military measure, and he was correct in examining the immediate consequences of the repeal, which must be the adoption of some other device.

Lord *Holland* admitted he was, if the plan of limited service were the necessary effect of the repeal: but the one had no such influence on the other; they were considerations intirely distinct.

Lord *Hawkesbury* was inclined to think the allusion of his noble friend was not an improper reference to what had been said in another place; it was adverting to a matter of notoriety all over the kingdom. But should it be thought by noble lords not strictly parliamentary, a single monosyllable, a qualifying *if*, would remove every reasonable objection.

The Earl of *Westmorland* proceeded. He was afraid, he said, that in stating such wild speculations it would not be believed that they had actually any existence. He deprecated the consequences of enlisting men for limited time and discharging them in time of war. Under such a practice, after the end of the first term of service, 15,000 men at the least would be discharged annually; this, added to the average annual number of 15,000 men, to supply casualties and deficiencies, would make 30,000 men; a number which it would be impossible to supply by all our means of recruiting. He contended that the act was a great measure, and that time ought to be given to allow of its full operation. He denied that any improper means had been used to carry the act into effect; if any means had been used not exactly within the letter of the act, those who used them acted loyally illegal, and with the view of assisting his majesty's service. He called upon a noble lord opposite, who had formerly opposed the repeal of this act, on the ground that it ought to have a fair trial, now also to oppose it on the same ground, as the act had not yet been sufficiently tried: it had now begun to be efficient, and this was the period chosen to propose the repeal of it, without proposing any substitute.

Lord *Sidmouth* said, that, for reasons which some of their lordships would think sufficient, he was disposed to have been silent on the present question, but the noble lord who had just sat down had left him no alternative; he had adverted to him in a way that it was impossible not to notice, and he hoped he should reply in a manner consistent with the respect due to their lordships. He was desirous not only to reply to what had devolved within the purview of the subject, but to what more immediately and personally affected himself. The noble lord asserted that the country, at the commencement of the war, was in an unprovided state, and he rather more than insinuated, that the culpability for its weakness was attributable to him (lord Sidmouth). It was true that, at the beginning of hostilities, the militia had been disbanded; but their lordships would recollect, that this was not in consequence of any act of his majesty's ministers, but by the operation of the law. He said, by the operation of law, not because there was any positive regulation on the subject, but the men were released from their regiments, because the statute was so loosely worded, that, construed in the popular sense, it was so understood. In such a case, the government did what he hoped every future administration would do: instead of availing themselves of the strict letter of the law, they admitted the more liberal construction to prevail. It was also true, there was some reduction of the army on the cessation of the war; but on this subject there was but one opinion, so that it was with some surprise he heard an objection at this time urged to that diminution of the force, and especially from his noble friend. But to what extent was it carried? No part of the infantry was withdrawn, excepting from the guards, to produce a nearer approach in the height of that regiment. A full and complete answer to every charge of want of precaution in the administration referred to was this: that at the time of the renewal of the war, there was double the number of men on the establishment than at any former period of tranquillity. He might be permitted to go one step further. By the papers on the table their lordships had seen, that in 1801 the numbers were 77,574; before six months were expired, they were increased to 88,765, shewing an augmentation of more than 11,000 men, in that short interval. Could the reflection be justly applied to the administration of that day under these circumstances? There was another point to which he would solicit their lordships' attention. It had been said that the extent of desertion was in proportion to the number of men raised for the service. This was not found to be particularly correct. The number raised in the last year did not ascend to 20,000 men, yet the desertions at home only amounted to 5954. In 1803, when the men raised were greatly more numerous, the deserters were fewer by 2000. The fact was that the desertion was not in proportion to the number raised, but to the mode of acquiring men. It was inaccurately observed, that no particular exertion was made in 1803, to enhance the public force; but by referring to No. 1, on the table, their lordships would see that 85,519 men were raised, and of the army of reserve 40,000, forming a total of 125,519 men.

Earl *Camden* explained the qualification with which he had made the remark.

Lord *Sidmouth* resumed, that when the bill was under their deliberation before, he entertained the same opinion of it he did at that moment: he knew that it must be inefficient. Last year, from the conviction that the experiment had totally failed, a motion was made for its repeal, and it was then justly affirmed that it had been unsuccessful in its primary object, which was the raising of a given number of men for the service of the country. It had been said that those who disapproved of one measure should recommend what was preferable to it. Although he was not always disposed to protect himself beneath any negative defence, yet this was not the time to consider the efficacy of other expedients; it was enough to shew that this had miscarried, and he called upon the noble lord not to defend a project which was discovered by experience to be wholly inadequate to the object proposed. If he formerly supported it, consistency did not require that he should persevere in the same opinions when its futility was ascertained; at least there was a consistency of a higher kind affecting his parliamentary character, which his lordship knew well how to respect. In stating his sentiments, he should not examine at all the arithmetical computations; he would rather consider the general scope and design of the bill. The intention undoubtedly was to add to the domestic force, and to procure a supply for the army, without interfering with the recruiting service; and in this it had not succeeded. Before Oct. 1805, 41,415 men were to have been obtained; and of these, 20,000 were to be in the ranks of the regulars. Instead of producing this number, it had only raised 7,540; and of these 5,000 only were procured under the provisions of the bill. Their lordships were aware, that he now alluded to the encouragement given to parochial officers to disregard the established law, in order to acquire the men; so that he was entitled to say the success was not real, but nominal, even to that limited extent. A noble lord wrote a letter on September 16, 1805, on the discovery of the insufficiency of the bill; yet with all the united exertions of friends, and lieutenants of the counties, it was incompetent; and another letter was written in the month of December following, to substitute inspecting-officers for the regular, legitimate, constitutional authority of the lieutenants; and thus the whole agency of the bill was changed; but, whatever alterations it underwent, it still preserved the same character of inefficiency. It however succeeded much better when parish officers had no concern in it; and accordingly an augmentation was found on the 29th of April last, which was the latest period of the return. This circumstance led to a suggestion for the employment of agents in various parts of the kingdom, and the policy of this was recommended from the superior success in Scotland and Ireland, where, there being no parish officers, persons of another description performed this duty. In Ireland, 1078 men were raised, and by regimental officers only 272. This variation in the plan was the true cause of the improvement. The question then was not merely if the means employed were legitimate: into that he would not enquire; but if, on the whole, taking the bill in its general effect, it were operative to increase considerably the military force. On this part of the subject, the statement of his noble friend was incontrovertible: he had distinctly proved, that in proportion as the effect of the bill was augmented, the recruiting of the army was diminished. Let them make a comparison between any corresponding periods of six or twelve months, and the pressure of the argument would be evident, and the reduction would be seen to be so great, as to produce annually a considerable loss to the army. The comparison to which he had referred, applied to those who had volunteered, and the number raised by recruiting; and, in this view, he contended there was a detriment, to the number of 3000 men. Besides all this, there was a monstrous injustice in the effect; whatever might be the benefit, in other respects, with which it might be attended. As it was, penalties would exceed 400,000*l.*, even when the regular army was declining. When such facts were stated and not disproved, were those discharging what they owed to their country, who endeavoured to uphold such a bill in the teeth of all this evidence? It had been said, that if it succeeded in one country, it would in another. This view was not correct; the population of the kingdom was irregular, according to the exuberance of the produce, and the state of the manufactures, and this must essentially vary the operation of such a bill. No less than twenty-two counties were incapable of carrying it into execution, and they were to submit to the species of legislative extortion to which he had referred. It was a gross violation of those humane and equitable principles by which all laws ought to be administered. In short, the objections to the bill were so numerous, that he should detain their lordships much too long, if he were to discuss them in detail. A noble friend of his had spoken of the increase of the public force since July 1804. He never would enter into any invidious camparisons; all he wished for was, that the resources of the country should be advantageously employed, by whomsoever the government was administered, and he was happy to commend a measure adopted last year, for the incorporation of a single portion of the militia with the regular army. Whatever might be the success of some of the plans adopted, when he was before in the councils of his majesty, he took no credit to himself and his colleagues; they were encouraged and supported by the country, without which the most discreet measures which political wisdom could have devised, would have been insufficient. He was anxious, at least, to stand so far well, as not to have it supposed that he had shrunk from his duty, which would have been, indeed, most criminal, at a time when the people were united in one great and common cause, and were ready to submit to any privations for the welfare of the state. On the grounds he had stated, he should oppose the motion for the amendment.

Lord *Mulgrave* supported the amendment. He disclaimed every wish to oppose ministers, except in such cases as he thought their measures of a mischievous tendency. Could he be persuaded that some safe measures would be substituted in room of the bill proposed to be repealed, he would immediately abandon his objections, however unanswerable he might think them; but the silence of ministers on this subject, after they had so long a period for deliberation, was in the highest degree unaccountable. Another strong argument also, notwithstanding his attachment to the bill, would have great influence with him, could he be convinced that any other salutary measure would be adopted, to abandon his opposition; which was, his conviction that no measure, however good in itself, could be attended with its full success in the hands of persons who were hostile to it. Till he was assured, however, that some measure was to be adopted, he felt himself obliged to give the repeal his negative in the strongest terms. As a compulsory measure, his lordship thought the present the least oppressive. If it had not succeeded so well till the beginning of this year, as had been stated, the circumstance must be attributed to the bill not being understood sufficiently till that period. The moment it was understood, it had had all the success its most sanguine supporters could have wished. He was afraid the present ministers, in repealing this bill, would apply to the army the remedies of doctor Sangrado, by bleeding it, and giving it warm water at the same time. This was not a likely means of improving the strength and vigour of the patient.

The Earl of *Derby* contended, that the act was impracticable; that it operated as a tax upon the different parishes. He explained and justified the conduct of the lieutenancy of the county of Lancashire, where every effort was made, but in vain, to give effect to it. He maintained that the increase that had latterly taken place, was not owing to the bill being better understood, but to the means the late government had taken by their missionaries, sent to the different districts, to direct men to be raised by any means, and that thus, in the very raising of those men, the law had been grossly violated, and the practice of crimping encouraged.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* argued against the measure, and maintained the necessity of repealing the act on account of its inefficiency, even if nothing was brought forward in its place. It had in his opinion, nothing of compulsion in it, but vexatious expence and inconvenience.

The Duke of *Montrose* wished that ministers, instead of acting upon the defensive, had come boldly forward and supported the whole of their intended plan; but there seemed a reluctance in his majesty's ministers in that house to uphold the wild and visionary theories of his majesty's ministers out of the house. The consequence of the repeal of that act would be that the Army of Reserve act, a measure he would acknowledge of much energy, and which did great honour to the talents of the noble viscount who was at the head of his majesty's councils, would be repealed also.

Lord *Sidmouth* observed, that, from a conviction of the inadequacy of the Army of Reserve act, one of the measures of the last administration, of which he formed a part, was to bring in a bill for its suspension.

The Earl of *Darnley* gave the bill his most hearty support. He congratulated their lordships on this measure being brought before them. He had opposed the additional force act, on its introduction as a bill into that house; so well was he convinced of its inefficacy as to the raising of men, and also of the vexatious tendency of its provisions. If no other plan were to be substituted in its place, he should still feel himself bound to give his vote for the abolition of a system at once so nugatory and unjust.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, that if there was any thing in the bill before their lordships, which particularly called for his opposition, it was the abandonment of the principle of the act it proposed to repeal. If it was an insulated measure, he possibly might be induced to relinquish his objections; but when it was notorious that it was brought forward as part of a system, he could not, until the whole of that system was before the house, be induced to give his vote in favour of it. Why did not the noble lords, who were so anxious now to disconnect it with any other measures, and discuss it on its own merits, bring it forward 3 months ago, when they first came into office? His lordship next adverted to the different parts of that system, as embracing the volunteer force, the militia, and the army, and deprecated any change in the practice of ballot, or in the usual terms of military enlistment. He earnestly entreated ministers to pause before they gave sanction to an experiment, which in its developement might effect the complete destruction of the present army. He trusted that if they did persevere in it, it would be so modified as to remove the great and manifold dangers which would inevitably result from it. The military establishment, he contended, was greater by 25,000 men than at any period of our history; and at no period, had such efforts been made for increasing the regular force, as during that administration of which he formed a part, and of which a noble viscount was at the head, when no less than a disposable force of 50,000 men had been created, in the course of a few months.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* said he thought, that the Additional Force bill contained the greatest mass of absurdities he had ever known. It had not produced any men but by means of the illegal mode of putting it into execution. He therefore should support the second reading of the bill before the house.

Earl *Spencer* replied, and observed that, allowing every possible merit and efficiency to the army of reserve act, he could not approve of its revival, as it would be attended with the former grievance of a revival of the high bounties.

The Earl of *Radnor* stated, that his chief reason for voting against the additional force act was its extreme injustice. Had it produced twenty times the number of men it did, his objections to it on that ground would still exist.

Earl *Grosvenor* would vote against the act, conceiving it to be unequal, and inefficient; but would not pledge himself to support the rest of the intended military plan.—The house then divided on the motion that the bill be now read a second time.

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Non-contents 30;—Proxies 10 40
Majority - - - —57

The bill was then read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, May 20.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Baker presented a petition from the maltsters of Hertfordshire, against certain provisions in the act of the 43d of the King.—Ordered, on the motion of lord Morpeth, that there be laid before the house, an Account of the Estimate of the probable amount of the revenues and charges of India for the year 1805-6, so far as the same can be made out; together with the interest of the debt, and the expences of the government of St. Helena and the Prince of Wales's Island.—Sir J. Newport brought up the bill for regulating the collection of the Irish revenues, and for appointing additional commissioners of the revenue in Ireland; also a bill for the repeal of the Irish Additional Force bill; which were read severally a first time.—Mr. Vansittart presented an account of the amount of arrears and balances in the hands of the receivers of the revenues of the crown lands, and of the collectors of the land tax.—A message from the lords informed the house that their lordships had agreed to the Scoth Judges' Salary bill, without any amendment.—Sir W. Geary presented a petition from certain maltsters in the county of Kent, against certain regulations of the act of the 43d of the king respecting the wetting of malt.—Mr. Huskisson having given notice of a motion for the production of a document, which would shew the grounds upon which the board of Treasury were induced to relieve lord Melville from the interest on the balance of his first treasurership, begged leave to defer that motion till the final decision of the lords should be declared. He had hoped that he might be able to move for this document without in any degree interfering either with the evidence produced by the managers at the trial, or with any evidence called by the counsel for the noble defendant. On consideration, however, he thought it would be more proper to defer his motion till after their lordships' final decision upon the case.

[DEBTS OF THE NABOBS OF ARCOT.] Mr. Hobhouse moved the second reading of the nabobs of Arcot's creditors bill. On the question that the bill be now read a second time,

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* rose to call the attention of the house to this subject, to which it had hitherto paid little attention, though it had drawn millions out of the exchequer of England. By the statute for renewing the Company's charter, the public became a partner in this firm, and was to participate to a certain amount in the profits. Every gentleman, at that time, did expect, and the public had a right to expect, that the time of participating would have arrived before this. This charter was a sort of deed of partnership between the country and the company; but, although the country had hitherto acted the part of a sleeping partner, yet it most clearly possessed the right of examining into the affairs of the concern, and of investigating the causes which had prevented it from receiving that participation to which it naturally appeared to be entitled. When an object of that nature came before the house, it was necessary to look very narrowly into the causes which prevented this participation. In this point of view, he hoped the chancellor of the exchequer would bestow his attention to this subject, as, in the present difficulties of the country, it was a serious loss, in a financial point of view, to be kept from that participation in the revenues of India, to which the country appeared entitled. All those who had turned their attention to India accounts, must know, that for these thirty or forty years past, claims had been continually rising up, and sometimes suddenly bursting out, upon the revenues of these princes. These claims, after deliberate enquiry, had been rejected by the India government abroad, but, nevertheless, did not cease to be pressed upon the court of directors here. That court consequently gave orders that security should be given for the payment of five lacks of pagodas due to the company in 1794, but the board of controul afterwards postponed that claim, and gave a preference to the other creditors. It had since, however, been explained, that these last debts arose out of the violation of public orders, and had increased from small to very large sums, from the extravagant interest that was charged upon them. From the illegal manner in which these creditors acted, they could not be said to have any just title to recover. In proof of this, he read an extract from the publications, forbidding any of the company's servants to lend money to the native princes, at a higher interest than 12*l.* per cent. and making void all obligations bearing a higher rate of interest. In confirmation of this statement, he was fortified by the opinion of an hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) who had paid great and laudable attention to all India subjects; who had passed, encompassed with the greatest difficulties, many years of his life in India; and, after having made a moderate fortune by the most irreproachable means, returned to this country with a character unsullied and uncontaminated by the vices and abuses which he left behind him.—He then dwelt upon the various obligations and letters of attorney granted by the princes of Arcot, to Germans, English, Greeks, Armenians, &c. which, after being rejected by the government in India, stood, for a time, at a discount of 99*l.* per cent. After all, however, by these proceedings, upwards of five millions were actually taken out of the pockets of the several nabobs. He believed, that of the debts now claimed, amounting to 5,600,000*l.* there was not more than 500,000*l.* honestly contracted. That being the case, he trusted the house would not think their time misemployed in attending to this subject. He did not impute any improper motives or conduct to the commissioners. The gentleman (Mr. Hobhouse), who had brought the measure forward, had for a series of years, on the opposition side of the house, manifested a laudable jealousy of all the measures of government, particularly on subjects of finance, and he was sure he would apply the same jealousy to the present case. Another of the commissioners had passed 25 years in India, and done considerable service to his country without bringing forward any claim on the native powers. The third was a gentleman, who was capable of contributing very essentially to the public service, as he had on other occasions, by his powerful talents, though his application of them in the share that gentleman (Mr. Fordyce) had in this business, did not appear to him in the same favourable light. Letters of attorney had been executed to him by eleven different persons of different nations, Armenians, Persians, Germans, from which considerable advantages would be derived. It was proposed to appropriate 136,000*l.* a year to satisfy their claims, upon which there would be a profit to the individual and his heirs, of 6,800*l.* per annum, until the whole should be liquidated. He came next to the most painful part of his duty. There appeared in the list of the Nabob's creditors the names of several persons who had held high official stations in the company's service. Mr. Benfield had received 500,000*l.*, and appeared a creditor now to the same amount. Another, sir John M'Pherson, he was sorry to find in the same list a creditor to the amount of 102,000*l.* (The hon. member here proposed to have a report made by a select committee in 1785, on the transactions of the Carnatic read, with a view to shew the grounds upon which such claims rested.) The clerk had proceeded a considerable way in reading the report, which commented with some severity on certain transactions relative to the Carnatic, in which the gentleman referred to was concerned, when

Mr. *W. Dundas* submitted, whether it would be desirable to have the time of the house occupied with hearing long reports read on every individual creditor on the list?

Mr. *W. Keene* apologized for occupying the attention of the house to so long a statement, but he thought it necessary to state the probable origin of the great debt which sir John M'Pherson now claimed. The above, he said, was the first report that threw any great light on all the transactions in India; and he read himself a few pages more, in which it was stated, that sir John M'Pherson undertook to get an act of parliament passed, to accommodate the interests of the nabob; and for that purpose came over to England, and offered a present of great value to the duke of Grafton, the then prime minister. This present having been rejected by the duke, sir John M'Pherson thought it might be more effectually bestowed on the subordinate ministers; and stated to them, that what he had then to offer, made only a part of a much larger sum, which would be subsequently given. In fact, bribery was so much the custom of the East, that he could not persuade the Nabob that the great men in England were favourable to his cause, if they refused his presents. He then offered to bribe the government, or the public itself, for he offered, in the name of the Nabob, a loan of 700,000*l.* either to the treasury or to the nation, at an interest of 2*l.* per cent., where there was nothing to prevent him from receiving what was then the current interest. It was fortunate for the country, that the revolution of 1688 took place; for had such offers been made in the time of Charles II., the Nabob of Arcot could not only have bought the Carnatic, but Bengal too. It was services like this, which probably entitled sir John M'Pherson to be a creditor for more than 100,000*l.* The hon. member then proceeded to state several instances which appeared to him to prove conclusively that these debts were all of them contracted in pursuing measures which were hostile to the interests of the company. He concluded by dwelling strongly upon the case of sir Richard Sullivan appearing as a creditor for a large amount, who was confidential secretary to the government at Madras, and who, being also in correspondence with the Nabob, revealed to him all the secrets which he had heard in his public capacity, in the course of half an hour after he had them. He hoped all these debts would undergo a rigorous examination.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that he had not originally intended to speak upon the question, but could not sit silent when he heard the character of a most respectable friend of his, and to whom he owed many obligations, aspersed in this manner. He thought it was extraordinary that the hon. gent. should have chosen to go nearly 40 years back for transactions, with which to charge sir John Macpherson. As to the reports on which he grounded his accusation, there were some reports, and that which had been read was one, which deserved no more credit than the reveries of Robinson Crusoe. The sense that was entertained by the country, of the conduct and services of that gentleman, was directly opposite to the statement in that report. Long subsequent to those transactions, he had been made governor of Bengal, and had introduced savings, or reductions, to the amount of 1,200,000*l.* He wished all other governors of Bengal had done as much good. His majesty had shewn his sense of his services, by creating him a baronet. As to what had been done 40 years ago, it was a little hard to go so far back. If, at that time, he was perfectly unemployed by the company, he had a right to accept employment from the nabob. There was another gent., however, who was attacked, he could not say in a disorderly manner, for the Speaker would have stopped any thing that had been disorderly. He must say, however, that it appeared contrary to the usual courtesy between man and man, to attack the character of a member of that house so violently, in his absence, as the hon. gent. had done, with respect to sir R. Sullivan. How could the hon. member presume to say, that sir R. Sullivan had betrayed the trust that was reposed in him by the British government? How could he presume to say that, while in the service of the company, he had betrayed their secrets to a foreign prince? He was not particularly acquainted with sir R. Sullivan, but he could not bear to hear the characters of hon. men treated in such a manner. As to Mr. Fordyce, whose name had also been mentioned by the hon. member, he must say, that he had no concern in the original arrangement for the payment of these debts.

Mr. *W. Keene*, in explanation, said, he had made no attack on any man, but only read transactions from the records of the house, which threw a light on the present question.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, this was a letter from lord Macartney, who had been prejudiced against sir R. Sullivan.

Dr. *Laurence* expressed his surprise and regret, that any gent. should suppose this subject had become obsolete, or ever would become so. It was necessary that that enormous mass of corruption that had been carried on in India, should be sifted and exposed. As to the distance of time, it was nothing; the present debts were the modest remains of claims, which those who made them now, dared not bring forward at the period alluded to. He thought, therefore, the house and the country were much indebted to the hon. gent. (Mr. Keene) for what he had done; and though sir John M'Pherson had since that period been made governor-general of India, he thought it necessary the house should enquire, why a bond for 100,000*l.*, dated in 1796, and given to him by the nabob of Arcot, should not have been brought forward sooner? If it should turn out to be for presents, contrary to law, it would become a question, whether it ought to be allowed. What had been the history of all those debts? It was, he said, utterly impossible that any man could read the proceedings of that period, and recollect he was an Englishman, without feeling the mixed emotions of disgust, contempt, indignation, and horror, that such proceedings should be allowed, and that 140,000*l.* a year should be set apart to liquidate debts, contracted under such shameful and profligate circumstances. He wished a parliamentary commission to be appointed for the purpose of enquiry into those debts, and thought that the house should not be called upon to sanction a measure that would permit the introduction of many fraudulent and unjust claims.

Lord *Castlereagh* was of opinion, that a good deal of extraneous matter had been introduced into the discussion of the present question. The house were not now called upon to sanction the agreement entered into between the East-India company and the creditors of the nabob. That agreement had already been concluded, and commissioners had been appointed under it, who were employed in carrying it into execution. This agreement had also been entered into by the parties who were competent to form it; by the creditors of the nabob on the one side, and by the East-India company, under the sanction of the board of controul, on the other. He could not see, therefore, how it was competent for parliament to interfere with this agreement. The only question before the house was, whether they should lend their authority to the better execution of the agreement, by enabling the commissioners to administer oaths, for the purpose of rendering their enquiries more complete and satisfactory? He admitted that there was a very considerable mixture of fraudulent claims with others that were well founded. But the commissioners were appointed for the very purpose of separating the fraudulent from those that were just; and the present bill was intended to enable them more effectually to accomplish this purpose. He admitted that the public were interested in the claims made on the East-India company, and might indeed be considered as parties in the agreement. But he could not think that they had the sole right of appointing a commission for adjudicating the claims of the creditors, without the express consent and approbation of the company, and the creditors themselves. He considered also, that the interests of the public were protected by the board of controul, whose sanction was necessary to the appointment of the present commissioners. It was certainly just in itself, that some fund should be appropriated for liquidating the debts of the nabob, since the East-India company, by acquiring his revenues and possessions, were placed in his room, and became liable for his public debts. Accordingly, a sum of 260,000*l.* per annum, had been set apart for this purpose; and, as the nabob was indebted to the East-India company, in 1798, in the sum of 2,800,000*l.*, a division of the original sum had been made, and only 136,000*l.* a year had been appropriated to the payment of the private creditors. It had appeared, that the company were possessed of assets derived from the nabob, fully sufficient to provide for this annual sum of 136,000*l.* The simple question, therefore, before the house was, whether the original agreement should be carried into full effect, and the commissioners be enabled to carry on their investigations, on the oaths of the parties. Thinking this to be the proper state of the question; and believing also, that the commissioners were possessed of every qualification necessary to conduct their enquiries to an honourable and successful termination, he felt it his duty to support the bill.

Mr. *Francis* said, that the noble lord appeared to him to have delivered some very new and extraordinary doctrines, to which he wished to call the attention of the house. But he thought, from the present thinness of the house, that the discussion could not now take place in a very satisfactory manner, and he therefore wished the debate to be adjourned to some future day. He therefore moved, that the farther consideration of the bill be deferred to this day fortnight.

Mr. *Hobhouse* observed, that if the ground of the hon. gent.'s motion was the thinness of the house, he feared that this ground would not be removed by a fuller attendance on a future occasion. But, if it was the general wish of the house, that the discussion should be postponed, he should not object to the motion, though he could see no reason for so long a delay as a fortnight.

Dr. *Laurence* said, that there were several subjects of great importance demanding the attention of the house, besides the interval of the recess. He therefore thought that Friday se'nnight was the earliest day on which this subject could again come before the house.—The debate was therefore adjourned to Friday se'nnight.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, May 21.

[MINUTES.] The Irish Debenture bill, and the Franking bill, were read a 2d time.—The Additional Force Repeal bill, passed through a committee, and was reported without amendment.—On the order of the day being read, for taking into consideration the petitions of the respondents in the appeal relative to the guardianship of Miss Seymour, the lord chancellor, after observing that cases respecting the right of guardianship peculiarly demanded an early hearing and decision, moved, that the appeal should be heard on Tuesday, the 3d of June. The duke of Norfolk suggested, that the business connected with the trial in Westminster-hall, would not probably be terminated soon enough to allow of fixing so early a day. The lord chancellor then proposed, that the appeal should be heard on Tuesday, the 10th of June; which was agreed to.—The marquis of Sligo moved for copies of certain proclamations issued in the West Indies, respecting the conquered islands. Lord Holland and lord Auckland objected to the motion, on the ground that the bill, to the object of which these papers referred, having passed the house, the papers moved for by the noble marquis could be of no use. The marquis of Sligo agreed to withdraw his motion, giving notice that he should move for the production of these documents in the next session of parliament.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 21.

[MINUTES.] On the motion of Mr. Graham, a new writ was ordered to be issued for a member for Westmoreland, in the room of sir M. Le Fleming, deceased.—The inspector-general of imports and exports, presented an account of sugars imported from the Virgin islands.—The Irish butter, and Irish Distillery bills, were read a 3d time and passed.—The Irish Revenue Collection bill, was read a 2d time, and ordered to be committed the next day.—Sir J. Newport moved the commitment of the Irish Customs bill, but postponed it till the next day, at the request of Mr. Foster.—Mr. Matthews moved the 2d reading of the General Turnpike bill. Mr. Giles made a few observations on the mode of recovering the penalties. Mr. Matthews said, that persons were so harassed in sueing for the penalties in the courts above, that many of them were put to an expence of 4 times the penalty, without the cause even being brought to trial; by which means the farmer was terrified to compound with the informer. He therefore thought it preferable to submit the information to two magistrates, with power of appeal to the quarter sessions.—The house divided; For the 2d reading 22; Against it 27; Majority against the bill 5.

[POOR LAWS.] Mr. *Whitbread* rose to give notice, that early in the next session of parliament, he should have the honour of proposing some regulations for the amelioration of the poor laws of this country. He hoped to be indulged in a few words of explanation of his intentions, beyond what was usual upon giving notices in this way. The poor laws of this country, had grown into a system so complicated and embarrassing, and were become such a heavy and increasing expence upon the country, that some revision of them was absolutely necessary. He had had a plan of this nature in contemplation for some years past, which had occupied much of his attention, but he found it extremely difficult to reduce to a shape, in which to offer it for the consideration of parliament. One of two things seemed necessary in this case, either to simplify the present poor laws, by some short, clear, and comprehensive plan, or to suggest some new regulations for remedying their defects, and checking the abuses which continued to obtain under them as they now stood. To neither of these modes would he at this moment specifically pledge himself; but he should, however, early in the next session, propose to the house some plan upon the subject.

Mr. *Rose* said, that he too had had in contemplation, for a considerable time, a proposition of a similar nature, and that an intimation of his purpose had been given to the house above two years since, which, however, from a variety of other indispensable avocations and impediments, he had hitherto been prevented from urging before the house. He was extremely glad of the intention, now avowed by the hon. member, and should be happy to render to that purpose every aid in his power. One part of the proposition, which he (Mr. Rose) had in view, was to provide employment for the poor, and thereby to render their own industry as effective as possible towards their maintenance.

Mr. *Whitbread* answered, that certainly a purpose so very important had not escaped his attention, but would form a leading feature of his plan.

[BARRACK ABUSES.] Lord *H. Petty* rose, and observed, that before he proceeded to the statement of the business, of which he had given notice, he trusted the house would indulge him with their attention for a few moments, while he said something respecting what had lately passed in the house concerning the barrack department. It would be in the recollection of the house that, when the hon. gent. behind him (Mr. Robson) brought forward some motions on that subject, one of them had been agreed to, while the previous question had been moved and carried with respect to the others. This, the house would recollect, had been done in the absence of all explanation, as to the object which the hon. gent. had in view, that was intelligible to him, or he believed, that could be intelligible to any person in the house. He had moved the previous question, with a view to induce the hon. gent. to come forward with the necessary information, and also with the intention, in case he should still refuse, to examine into the business himself, and find it out either with or without his assistance. He now flattered himself, that he had discovered the object of these motions. He found that they related to transactions, which took place in 1805, respecting the barns, hired as barracks, in the division of Sandown Bay, in the Isle of Wight, which were paid for at a very extravagant rate, when a building for barracks was offered at a much more reasonable expence. He would, therefore, under these circumstances, propose all the motions of the hon. gent., respecting which, the previous question had been before carried, and also add a new motion, which would relate to the barrack-master, who, it appeared, had hired these barns at an extravagant rent, and made an improper report, with regard to the building offered as a barrack. It was right that he should be called upon to explain his conduct, with respect to this transaction. He concluded, by moving for Copies of the letters from Mr. Day, of Brading, in the Isle of Wight, to the barrack-master of the Sandown Bay division, and to the secretary at war, respecting the building of a barrack at Brading, with the answers to them, if any; and a list of the barns, hired as barracks. In addition to these which had been previously called for, he moved for, a Copy of the report that had been made by major Davis, the barrack-master, relative to the proposals of Mr. Day, for building a barrack at Brading.

Mr. *Robson* rose to second the motion, and at the same time to express some astonishment at the conduct of the noble lord throughout the whole of this business. Feeling it to be his privilege and right, as a member of parliament, to call for certain documents, respecting the extravagant expenditure of public money, he had given 4 days notice of his intention to move for those documents, that there might be no intention imputed to him of wishing to take the house by surprise. He accordingly made his motion, which he prefaced by such observations as he thought could leave no doubt upon the mind of any gent. who heard him, as to the object of his motion, and the intention with which he meant to follow it up. The noble lord thought proper to resist his motion, and to vote for the previous question; but now, when the extravagance of the barrack department, and the extraordinary opposition of the noble lord to his motion for papers to prove that extravagance, were in the mouth of every man who walked the public streets, the noble lord himself moved for a list of those very documents, which he verily believed was a copy of the identical motions which had been refused upon a former night. Really he thought it but reasonable to expect, that the noble lord's motion this day would have been accompanied by some apology for a conduct so unaccountable.

Lord *Henry Petty* answered, that for the house he should certainly offer no apology for refusing, on such grounds as it thought fit, to comply with the motion alluded to; and for himself he thought it sufficient to state, that he was not, on the former night, made acquainted with the hon. gent.'s object, so as to justify him in assenting to his motion. He now was acquainted with the purposes of his motion, and therefore moved to produce the papers in question.

Mr. *Robson* rose to explain, but was proceeding to a length which occasioned a general cry of chair! chair! upon which, the speaker reminded the hon. member of the order of the house, and he sat down.—The motions were then agreed to.

[WEST-INDIA ACCOUNTS BILL.] Lord *Henry Petty*, pursuant to his notice given upon a former day, of a motion for instituting a new commission of enquiry into the system of military expenditure in the West-India islands, rose now for the purpose of bringing it forward. He said, that although the immediate object of the motion he intended that night to propose, was the repeal of the act now in existence for instituting commissioners for enquiring into the system of military expenditure in the West-India Islands, he hoped it would not be thought obtrusive by the house, nor altogether irrelevant to the great topic of general enquiry into the expenditure of the state for some years past, that he should take that opportunity of stating the outlines of the measure now in the contemplation of his majesty's government to bring forward, for a purpose so important and desirable; and, if, in so doing, he should find it necessary to trespass at some length upon the attention of the house, he should feel too high a respect for the justice and character of parliament, to suppose that any apology was necessary on his part for calling the attention of a British house of commons to one of its most sacred, important, and indispensable duties, namely, that of examining into the expenditure of the public money. In calling, then, the attention of the house to this subject, he should feel it necessary to advert to the modes by which the public accounts were heretofore examined and controlled. Previous to the establishment of the board of commissioners for this purpose, instituted under the auspices of a late right hon. gent. whom he had succeeded, the important office of examining and auditing the public accounts of the receipt and expenditure of the nation was vested in two officers of the crown, and so continued down to the year 1785. But those officers, like many others, were charged with duties so far beyond the reach of their exertions, and vested with powers so inadequate, that although their services were not to be deemed as entirely useless, they were certainly very inefficient. The noble persons who had then, for some time, held those official situations (lord Bute and lord Sondes), although they remembered tolerably well that there were salaries to be received, yet, in process of time, forgot that there were also duties to be performed; and though they never omitted regularly to receive the salaries attached to their situations, their official lassitude sunk at least into a total neglect of those duties. The consequence was, that, the business being now much in arrear, the accounts, which accumulated during the progress of the American war, became so complicated, and expanded to such an extent, as to impress strongly upon the minds of the legislature and the public, the necessity of some more efficient plan of investigation. Foremost to participate in this feeling, the late right hon. gent., then at the head of the finances, formed the project of instituting commissioners to enquire into the public accounts. The defect which had so long prevailed on this point was too obvious to escape the observation of his luminous mind. He saw that the auditors, whose duty it was to examine, had no authority to demand the production of accounts in any department. The parties concerned came forward, or held back, entirely at their own option; and the fees of the officer were not in proportion to the vigilance he exerted in the investigation, but to the number of accounts he dispatched; consequently the officer who could most speedily get through the greatest number of accounts, had the greatest share of credit with the applicant, and of course the greatest share of emolument, as that, in a great measure, consisted of a poundage upon the amount of the bills. Every account that came to them was dispatched without any other examination than the total of the marginal figures. The right hon. gent. therefore, felt it indispensably necessary to rescue the accounts of the country from such a state of confusion, and the public expenditure from the endless liability to fraud and peculation, to which it was exposed; and he therefore brought in this bill to suppress the offices of joint auditors held by the two noble persons before alluded to, and to institute a new board of commissioners of accounts. But notwithstanding the Herculean labours encountered by the gentlemen who composed that board, and notwithstanding the immense mass of public accounts through which they waded, yet under the various vicissitudes in which the country had been since involved, such an arrear of unexamined expenditure had accumulated, as to render it absolutely necessary that some system of examination should be instituted, to draw the national accounts out of the confusion in which they now stood, and, if possible, to bring up the arrear which had been so long growing, and had at length arrived at a magnitude scarcely credible. Besides the five commissioners of accounts who were appointed under the bill to which he alluded, two other commissioners, totally distinct, were appointed to investigate the military accounts; but here again accumulation had so completely outstripped research and industry, that the principal share of the arrears had accrued under that head. For that system of controul over military expenditure, (and it was much to be lamented it had ever fallen into disuse,) this country was indebted to lord Godolphin. Of the system established by that wise minister, so highly important and useful to the country at that day, he should make no apology for reading a short outline. The commissioners then, or, as they were more properly called, the comptrollers of military expenditure, took cognizance of all monies issued from the treasury for military purposes, and also of the expenditure in every way. They were made parties to all contracts formed for military purposes, and they were bound to report to the treasury the state of the expenditure from time to time, all frauds which they should discover, and audit and countersign all military accounts, the same as all other comptrollers. When those offices were constituted, it was thought a hard measure to make the same men auditors of accounts, in cases of expenditure carried on under their own control and direction; nevertheless it was deemed an useful one, as it rendered the bond of responsibility still stronger. But, though it appeared, that, under the plan instituted by a late right hon. gent., an endeavour was made to establish a controul over the army expenditure, under the authority of persons appointed for that purpose, yet the effect of that authority had, in a great degree, ceased; the persons entrusted with the duty, very seldom reported the abuses which had accrued; and at length their authority fell so much into lassitude and negligence, that large issues of public money had been made for the service of the army, from time to time, which ought to have been submitted to them, according to the original rules of their institution, but of which they had no cognizance whatever. He alluded to sums issued for hospital stores and field works, which always form a very extensive branch of the military disbursements, and for which, during six successive years in the late war, a sum of not less than 700,000*l.* annually was paid to a Mr. Trotter; and such was the zeal and industry of that ingenious gentleman, and such the variety of avocations in which he was desirous of distinguishing himself for the service of the public, that he was, at one and the same time, the manufacturer of some of the articles of stores, the purveyor of other articles, the contractor for others, the comptroller of the expenditure, and finally the auditor of his own accounts; besides, generously feeling that after so much zeal and industry exerted for the accommodation of the country in his own person, he was entitled to some remuneration beyond the ordinary class of contractors, he charged 10 per cent. upon the whole expenditure, over and above all other profits upon the articles so furnished! Another head of account was that of Barracks, in itself an immense field of expenditure, and on which no less than nine millions had been expended in the course of the late war, no part of which had been submitted to the cognizance of comptrollers; and though the military commissioners had it in charge to investigate this department, yet so embarrassed were they in their proceedings, by the complicated mass of other accounts through which they had to struggle, that no part of the proceedings of the barrack department had yet been looked into. It was found also, that by the principal persons in several departments, many large sums had been issued to clerks and inferior persons in office for minor disbursements, of the expenditure of which no account had been passed for years, nor any regular communication made to the chief officer. Such a state of accumulation in the unchecked accounts called loudly for the immediate adoption of some remedy; and the more so, as already, at two different times, thirty-five assistant clerks had been added to the establishment of the commissioners of accounts, without attaining the end so much desired, and therefore partial remedies must now give place to a system more extensive and efficient. Not only in the expenditure at home and in Europe had these arrears accumulated, but in the West

Indies also, where the abuses were so glaring, that in 1800 it was found necessary to send commissioners thither, for the purpose of investigation; but even then, nothing effectual had been done, though the most enormous abuses were found to have prevailed. Last year, an attempt was made to remedy the evil, by the appointment of new commissioners, by whom, though certainly much had been done, still not enough was done; for though much had escaped the enquiry of the old board, yet instead of fetching up the arrears, the new commissioners were plunged still deeper in accumulation, and most enormous sums remained still uninvestigated. What idea must the house feel of the state of accounts, under the head of pay to the army, when they should be informed, that the very last account of army pay, examined by the board of accounts, was for 1782, and that no account of that nature had been since audited: being a period of 24 years from the close of the American war. The navy accounts were also very greatly in arrear, and the store accounts lay over since the period just mentioned, without any examination; all the expences of the last war were in the same predicament. The account of the expeditions to the Helder and to Egypt, and all the charges connected with them, as well as all subsidiary accounts with continental powers, were totally untouched to this hour. One of the great objections made against the principals in the department of expenditure, was their employment of supernumerary accountants, whom they entrusted with large sums of money for disbursement, and the progress towards examining those subordinate accounts was so tedious, that many persons had not accounted for the sums they had received until ten years afterwards, while a very large portion of them were unexamined, even to the present hour; nor had the existing board of treasury been able, with all their endeavours for three months past, to obtain a return even of the heads of such accounts to be examined. There were, besides, accounts under the examination of the old commissioners, to the amount of 167 millions, not nearly gone through; and also a sum of 58 millions, of which the account had not yet been explained. Add to this a sum of 150 millions, under the head of army pay, still untouched, as well as 80 millions of navy expenditure, and there would appear an aggregate sum of no less than 455 millions sterling, still unaccounted for, within the last 20 years, a sum almost as great as the whole national debt. These considerations, important and impressive as they were, had already called for the most serious investigation of his majesty's present ministers, and irresistibly argued the pressing necessity of a full investigation. He felt it scarcely necessary to represent to the house that danger to the credit and stability of the public resources, which must arise from such a circumstance as an accumulation of the public accounts for twenty years, and those the most productive in finance, and the most profuse in expenditure, that had ever occurred in any similar period of our annals; which accounts remaining wholly uninvestigated, with the utter impossibility that must arise, from the deaths of so many individuals concerned in those expenditures, of detecting the numberless frauds, or recovering the innumerable debts that must be due to the government through defaults or peculations; a speedy and efficient enquiry became necessary, not only for the sake of the public, but for the sake of the honest class of accountants themselves, whose situation, from their being liable to suspicion with the defaulter and the peculator, must be peculiarly distressing. It was a fact too notorious, that this enormous accumulation of unaudited accounts had long served as a shroud and a veil, behind which the most flagitious malversations had been screened from detection and punishment, while it hung, like a gloomy cloud, over the heads of honest and conscientious men, who were rendered unable, in the lapse of half their lives, to obtain a settlement of their accounts, and a final exculpation of their conduct. Among the many instances of this lamentable deficiency, was the late lord Macartney, a man whose character, for honour and integrity, would ever stand justly high in the annals of his country. While he was governor of Grenada, during the American war, a sum of 70,000*l.* stood charged as an expenditure under his administration; and though he survived to a very advanced age, he was never able to have his accounts passed; a great number of persons, from similar causes, and impediments thereby created, in obtaining balances due to them, had been prevented from making good their titles to estates purchased for them, and were thereby subjected to the most ruinous and embarrassing losses. Having gone through these statements, the noble lord next proceeded to submit the outline of his remedy for these glaring evils: In the first place, he said it was proposed to repeal both the acts under which the present commissioners of accounts were constituted, and to appoint, under another act, ten commissioners, for the purpose of auditing and controlling the army accounts; and the better to enable them to direct their investigations with effect, it was proposed to arm them with the authority, which the present commissioners had not, of compelling all persons, connected with the disbursements of public money, to furnish their accounts; these to be distinct from the West-India commissioners; and also of another distinct board of comptrollers of military expenditure, constituted upon a plan similar to that established under lord Godolphin, whose duty it would be to examine, in the first instance, all army estimates and accounts; to watch over the expenditure of military funds; to act as the confidential advisers of the board of treasury, in all applications of money for military purposes; to report such frauds as they should be able to discover; to have the power of calling before them all persons in any degree connected with the military expenditure, and of examining them upon oath. With respect to the ten commissioners of accounts, none of whom were to be members of parliament, it was proposed to separate them into three distinct boards, the one consisting of four members, and the other two, of three members each; those boards to have communication with each other, as they might find necessary for the general advantage of the examinations referred to them; but by no means to mix the objects respectively committed to them. The whole body of accounts in arrear were to be separated into three distinct periods. One of these boards to commence with the public accounts from the first of December last, and to bring them up clear to the latest period. The next board, to take up the investigation of the 167 millions now under enquiry; and the third, to take up the examination of all that body of other accounts that have never yet been called for. By this means, he trusted that the whole of that immense mass would be gone through with the utmost possible expedition, and the affairs of the country, in these respects, placed upon some regular and satisfactory footing. To the chief of each board, a responsibility would be attached for the correctness of each account audited; for the want of which responsibility in the members of other boards, considerable disadvantages had arisen to the country. Distinctly from these, the accounts of general De Lancey would be brought up by two persons specially appointed for the purpose. In addition to this, he had to state, that the expence of these commissioners was not meant to be permanent, nor, in fact, to continue longer than the exigencies of the occasion required; and so soon as the dispatch of their respective tasks would admit, it was intended to reduce the number gradually to six, in which the members remaining of two boards would merge into the third, and aid them in expediting the completion of their enquiry. In case any member should die, government was not to have the privilege of a new appointment, without coming to parliament, and shewing that such appointment was necessary. Having now stated the measure which it was the intention of his majesty's government to adopt, with regard to the general accounts of the country, the noble lord proceeded to make some observations upon the state of expenditure in the West Indies, the further investigation of which was the object of the motion of which he had given notice as for that day. In that quarter of the empire, notwithstanding all the exertions which had been made by the two successive boards of commissioners already appointed to examine and check the progress of profusion and fraud, still the system had continued to be carried on by the delinquents, under every species of crime that could be subservient to their purpose. Forgery, perjury, bribery, and every stratagem which fraud could devise, had been resorted to; and not content with false charges, false returns, and flagitious embezzlements, they had gone so far as to bribe the officers of his majesty's customs to sign false certificates, fraudulent invoices, and other such documents, in aid of their purposes; proofs of which had been detected, in one instance, to the amount of no less a sum than 80,000*l.*, and, in another, to the amount of 30,000*l.* actually applied in bribery, to conceal frauds of an enormous extent. Recurring again to the subject of the home commissioners, he said, it was also intended to oblige them to report annually their progress; and to compel the auditors to pass every account referred to them within eighteen months;

and, by every possible means, to render the audit of public accounts as prompt and efficient as possible. If the measure proposed should not be found amply sufficient for the purpose, then it would be felt the duty of his majesty's ministers to come to parliament year after year, for further aid and advice, until the end should be completely attained. The noble lord concluded, by moving for "leave to bring in a bill to provide for the more effectual examination of the expenditure of the public money in the West Indies, and for the better discovery of frauds and abuses therein."

Mr. *Rose* said, he did not mean to oppose the motion; but he thought it necessary to offer a few observations, in elucidation of some particular points. When the business of the public accounts was so much accumulated in the American war, as to throw the audit greatly into arrear, commissioners were appointed to examine, and report what measures should be taken to expedite the examination. That commission was entrusted to men of great abilities, who exerted themselves with becoming diligence; but it did not appear that any alteration in the mode of auditing the accounts was thought necessary, till the administration of his late right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt), to whom the credit of that improvement was wholly due. As soon as the money was issued to the public accountants, it was from that time set down against them. There was, besides, a power to call for their accounts and vouchers, and to examine both with a strict attention. The fact was, the duty was suffered too much to devolve on the deputies; but that, too, was remedied by the bill of his right hon. friend. The comptrollers of the army accounts had been always in the habit of examining all the issues to the army; it was therefore fit and proper to make them parties to a final audit, with the objects of which they were, in many instances, so particularly conversant. It was not the noble lord who had first discovered, that the expenditure for hospital stores was not sufficiently attended to. He himself had mentioned it long since, and at the same time that there was an expence of 11 millions in the secretary at war's accounts unexamined and unenquired into. Thus, it was not Mr. Trotter alone that was in the situation of being his own comptroller, but the secretary at war. He was in the hearing of gentlemen, in whose presence he had mentioned this to his late right hon. friend; and traces of it would be found in the Pay-office. The noble lord had stated, that there were 500 or 600 millions of the public money not perfectly accounted for. He did not blame any individual; but the fact was, that the delay of the examination of the regimental accounts by the secretary at war was the cause of half this arrear. With 40 clerks in this department of the War-office, he thought it strange that these accounts were not made up. He would not say what these clerks were attending to, but he was sure they were not attending to that. The paymaster was placed in a most unpleasant situation by this deficiency; being called upon to issue money, when he was not sufficiently warranted, and whose loss and discredit might eventually fall on him. The other part of the expenditures, such as the navy, ordnance, and victualling departments, did not belong to the commissioners for auditing. Thus, then, the ostentatious statement of 500 or 600 millions in arrear, was reduced very considerably. The noble lord proposed three additional commissioners. He should be glad to appoint three and twenty, if that would expedite the audit. It had never been doubted, that the barrack accounts were subject to the audit. When general De Lancey had asked him whether they were, he answered positively, yes. Gen. De Lancey pleaded the king's warrant; he answered, that could not supersede an act of parliament. He had no objection to allow further powers to the auditors. If the auditors permitted their clerks to take fees, it was a great dereliction of duty. The commission of enquiry into abuses in the West Indies had been issued, because it was impossible these abuses could be investigated elsewhere. The commissioners had made their report, and it had been put into the hands of the then legal advisers of the crown. Every thing that could have been done was done. Whatever merit belonged to the newly-instituted measures, it belonged exclusively to his late right hon. friend. Till the accounts of the secretary at war were gone through, the pay-master could not possibly bring up his. One half of the arrear arose from the delay in the War-office. The auditors should have the same powers to call for and examine these accounts, that they had to call for and examine others. The responsibility of the secretary at war extended to all the money issued for the service of the army; and it was a most awful responsibility in the present state of the accounts.

Lord *H. Petty*, in explanation, said, that he had stated it as one of the objects of the alteration, to compel the public accountants to bring in their accounts to be audited. It was not from the three new commissioners, or even from twenty-three, that he would expect much benefit, if there were not an alteration of the principle and of the system.

Mr. *Fox*, in answer to some allusion made by a right hon. gentleman, to his having supported the original auditors, lord Bute and lord Sondes, said, that he considered it not very fair to quote against any member of the house the speeches which newspapers might have put into his mouth about twenty years ago.

Mr. *Yorke* said, that he conceived the cause of the delay in examining the public accounts was, that the concerns of the country had grown too great for those arrangements which might have done twenty years ago. About 20 years ago, as he was informed, ten or twelve clerks were all that were kept in the War-office; whereas, at present, there were fifty or sixty, and that number was found unequal to the business. Regimental accounts were things which required very minute and accurate examination; and there were now near 10,000 regimental accounts which were either totally unexamined, or examined in a very cursory manner. He did not, however, think that any blame was imputable to any body. If he were disposed to criticise the speech of the noble lord, he would say, that it appeared rather to have been made with a view *ad captandum vulgus.* It appeared like catching at popularity, by suggesting blame when none was imputable.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* stated the manner in which accounts were examined in the War-office, and in which Mr. Trotter's accounts had been examined. At the War-office, they only compared the account sent in with the vouchers, and only saw that the order was issued, and the articles furnished. This mode of examining accounts was very far short of what was now proposed by the noble lord.

Mr. *Bathurst* thought he should be wanting in the duty he owed to those who had been employed in the War-office, when he was at the head of that department, if he were to hear it said, unanswered, that there were 30 or 40 clerks at the War-office, whose duty it was to examine those accounts, but how they employed themselves the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) could not tell. He had witnessed the great zeal and activity of the persons employed in the War-office, and was convinced, that if the arrear increased, it was merely because it was impossible for them to get through all the business that came before them.

Mr. *Rose*, in explanation, said, that he did not mean to say, generally, that the persons in the War-office neglected their duty; but only that this part of their duty, the examining of accounts, had not been performed.

Mr. *W. Dundas* vindicated the conduct of the persons employed in the War-office, who, as he conceived, strained every nerve in the execution of their duty; but the great increase of business was such, that the existing establishments were not equal to it.

The *Secretary at War* confirmed this statement, and said, that the difference between the business 20 years ago, when he had held the same situation, bore no more proportion to the business now, than that of the most inferior tradesman to the first-rate merchant.

Lord *Castlereagh* thought that the remarks of his right hon. friend (Mr. Rose) had been taken up in a manner which they did not warrant. What his right hon. friend complained of was, that the business had been arrested in the offices to which he had referred, which complaint had not been controverted; and therefore he thought the suggestion of his right hon. friend should be attended to.

Lord *H. Petty* observed, that the suggestion of the right hon. gentleman had been anticipated by the plan which he had just proposed.

Mr. *Rose* said, that would not answer his purpose; what he wished was to establish a complete audit.

Mr. *Robson* rose to express his most hearty and sincere thanks to the noble lord, for having explained so ably the atrocious corruption which had been carried on for the last twenty years, in the expenditure of the public money. He hoped and trusted the noble lord would appoint a fourth commission, to enquire into and return the names of those members of the different administrations which had, for the last 20 years, suffered such monstrous abuses and corruption to exist. He hoped, however, that since the noble lord had taken it up, he would endeavour to prevent the like from happening again. There must be great blame somewhere, and he hoped the chancellor of the exchequer would take care to trace it to those who had incurred that blame.—The question was then put, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

[ARMY ESTIMATES.] The house resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which were referred the papers presented on the 15th by the secretary at war.

The *Secretary at War* then rose to move his resolutions grounded on those estimates. The right hon. gent., in many parts of his speech, spoke in so low a tone, that it was impossible to hear him distinctly. The estimates of the present year differed, he said, but little in their amount from those of the preceding year. He could not withhold his tribute of praise from the illustrious Commander in Chief, under whose auspices the army had been raised to its present excellent state; and which it was the object of his majesty's government to preserve, and, if possible, to augment. In preparing the estimates for the present year, they had turned their attention to what all men, conversant in military affairs, knew to be one of the great leading principles of economy, and that was to make the disproportion between the real effective army, and the number voted, as small as possible. If it did not appear in the present estimates that there was a considerable diminution of expence, it was because many augmentations had taken place in the course of the last year, particularly in the cavalry, the ordnance, and the waggon-train, a considerable diminution in the expence of which was now proposed. In the cavalry, the regiments were to be reduced from 1000 to 800. The foot-guards were to be reduced from 140 men a company to 130, and the waggon-train was to undergo a diminution of 1728 men. The difference which this would make in the estimates of the present year would be as follows: saving, by reductions in cavalry, 255,000*l.*; ditto, foot-guards, 18,000*l.*; ditto, waggon-train, 90,000*l.*; total saving by reductions, 363,000*l.* In the whole of the estimates (including the volunteers), there would be a diminution of 934,192*l.*; from which, if the diminution with respect to the expence of volunteers was subtracted, which amounted to 472,000*l.*, there would remain 462,192*l.* as the total diminution of expences, in consequence of the reductions to be made.

General *Tarleton* requested the right hon. gent. to state the items which made up this total sum. He could understand how the 363,000*l.* might be saved by the reductions in the cavalry, the foot-guards, and the waggon-train; but he could not see what was to swell this sum to 934,192*l.*

The *Secretary at War* continued, and said that he hoped, in the course of his statement, to satisfy the hon. general. He should first proceed to state the total amount of our effective force at home and abroad, including the troops serving in India, and the second battalions. He should take their number at the following periods: 1st of January 1806, 240,953; 1st of May 1806, 250,994; making an increase of 10,041 men. It appeared, therefore, that while our army was increased by above 10,000 men, the expence of it would be diminished by near half a million. His majesty's government might therefore take credit for having provided an army on much cheaper terms than their predecessors. After the head of guards and garrisons, the next head which presented itself was, that of the regiments serving in India; but, as the East-India company paid the whole expence, he should not state them in the estimates. Next came the recruiting establishment, for the regiments which came under the same observations. The next head was, the recruiting staff contingencies for the supply of the army. This had been estimated last year at 50,000*l.* recruiting establishment, 50,000*l.* contingencies, and 25,000*l.* for the recruiting establishment in Ireland. The same sum would be sufficient for the present year, although a somewhat greater proportion should be allowed for the recruiting establishment in Ireland. In the next head the hon. general (Tarleton) would find some of those reductions which he had been looking for, and that was in the general staff of the army. The estimated reduction was 54,553*l.*, but the real reduction would be considerably more, and would, as he supposed, amount to 90,000*l.* This difference would proceed in a great measure from the discontinuance of the Brigadier-Generals to inspect the volunteer corps, who were in future to be inspected by more subordinate officers. There would be also a reduction in the expence of the militia, on account of the number who entered from the militia into the regular army. The next estimate he had to state, with great pleasure, was respecting the volunteers

He hoped this statement would do away the unfounded alarm which had prevailed very generally about the supposed intention of government towards the volunteers. It would shew that as ample a provision was made for keeping up that body as was consistent with the rules of economy. The chief difference was with respect to the volunteer officers. It was intended that for the future they should not in any case have the command of field officers of the line. When he recollected how zealously and meritoriously those gentlemen had come forward in the defence of the country, he could hardly believe there was a single volunteer officer who would be dissatisfied at not being allowed the command over officers who had been regularly bred. The estimates for the volunteers were as follow: for the last year, 1,600,000*l.*; for the present, 1,028,000*l.*; total of saving, 572,000*l.* This sum included 132,000*l.* for clothing, which would fall in after the present year. The right hon. secretary then read the different items which formed the total sum at which he reckoned the saving in the expences for volunteers: among the principal items was 298,000*l.* to be saved by discontinuing the permanent duty; 50,000*l.* by discontinuing the ten days' exercise when permanent duty was not required; and for discontinuing the marching guinea, 198,000*l.* He also stated other reductions that would take place from reducing the pay of the drill serjeants from 1*s.* 6*d.* a day to 2*s.* 6*d.* per week; as also in the expence of the field-officers. After a few general observations, he moved his first resolution, which was, "That 121,529 men should be voted for the regular army of the united kingdom, from the 25th of June till the 24th of December, both inclusive."

General *Tarleton* commented upon several parts of the statement of the right. hon. secretary. It was intended, it seemed, very much to reduce the cavalry. This measure he highly disapproved of. The late government had added two troops to each regiment of cavalry, and in so doing he thought they had acted most wisely. British cavalry enjoyed a high and deserved reputation. They would be found most useful either in defence of our own country in case of invasion, or in any foreign expedition that might be determined upon; and he therefore characterised their reduction as a very extraordinary proceeding. The mode by which the right hon. secretary had calculated the expence of the army, if the late ministers had continued, was unfair. With regard to the diminution of the waggon-train, the propriety of this was, under any circumstances, questionable; and, until the establishment of some large central depôt, he thought such a diminution highly inexpedient. Above four months had elapsed since the 21st of January, when the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Windham) had come down to the house, and declared, that such was the dangerous situation of the country, that four days ought not to be allowed to pass without the interposition of some effective measure, tending to increase our military strength, and to put our regular army on a better footing. What had the present ministers done after this declaration? They had lived like drones, on the collected stores of their predecessors. To the able arrangements of the late administration, the country owed every advantage that it had derived since the present administration came into power. To that administration was to be attributed the glorious victory at St. Domingo. To that administration was to be attributed the capture of the Cape of Good Hope. And here he would observe, that notwithstanding the brave and successful exertions of the officers who commanded in that expedition, notwithstanding they had effected a landing in the face of a superior force, and had beaten that force, yet the thanks of the house had not been voted to them, simply, he was convinced, because the plan on which they had acted originated with the late administration. The present Board of Admiralty had not chosen to reward sir Home Popham for his services on that occasion, because that gallant officer was not a favourite with certain persons out of the house. To the measures adopted by the late administration, was likewise to be attributed the recent capture of the Marengo and the Belle Poule. In fact, although he trusted that the country would yet derive some advantage from the exertions of his majesty's present government, still nothing was more certain than that hitherto nothing had resulted from them. He had been accused of entertaining unreasonable expectations. Those expectations were grounded on the speeches of the right hon. secretary for the war department, when he was on the opposition side of the house;—speeches which naturally induced the country to look for a new military era, as soon as that right hon. gent. came into power, to expect from him another harvest of Cadmus. Four months however had elapsed since that event, and nothing had been done. It was above two months since the right hon. gent. made his long military speech in the house; what had ensued? Let any one candidly examine the conduct of the present ministry in military affairs, and he would find no great cause of satisfaction or confidence. In the first place, on the motion of a noble lord, a very unconstitutional grant of 18 millions and a half had been voted for the army in that house, before the distinct appropriation which was intended to be made of that sum, had been explained. Then the army estimates were brought forward for two months, and then they were brought forward for another month. The mutiny bill too was first passed for two months, and again passed for one month. All these acts were no very striking indications of the talents and foresight of his majesty's present ministers. All that the right hon. gent. had done was to destroy the Additional Force act, and by so doing he had "thrown away a pearl richer than all his tribe." He would not touch at present upon the gigantic subject of the regular army; but would merely make a few observations on the volunteer system. The right hon. secretary at war had complained, that great misrepresentation had taken place of what his right hon. friend, the secretary for the war department, had said of his intentions with regard to the volunteers. He did not know where this misrepresentation originated. The gentlemen who reported the proceedings of the house for the newspapers, were generally better inclined to a new administration than to a new opposition, and were much more likely to give the speech of the right hon. secretary with correctness, than the speeches of the gentlemen who sat on the same bench with himself; and he believed that the sentiments and observations of the right hon. gent. had been very fairly stated to the public. He could not but notice that a considerable change had taken place in the tone of that right hon. gent. since he had attended the great civic feast at Guildhall, when the toast of "The volunteers of England" was given, proving the truth of the old saying, "*In vino veritas.*" From that moment, the tone of the right hon. gent. had been much lowered on this subject. The effect had subsequently been increased by certain popular resolutions; and if, after all this, his former spirit should revive, a message might perhaps occasion his dismission from his majesty's service. The hon. general commented with great severity on the speech which the right hon. gent. had made in support of the bill for the repeal of the Additional Force act. That speech contained infinite wit, humour, and vivacity, and from any indifferent member would have been very proper, and very entertaining; but, coming on such an important subject from the secretary of state for the war department, he could not but consider the levity with which it abounded, as in the highest degree indecorous. With regard to the proposed abolition of the general inspecting officers, for the purpose of substituting the lords lieutenants of counties, he considered such a change as very injudicious; and on this subject he was sure that he might safely appeal to the opinion of all who had any connection with volunteer corps. Emulation was excited in the present mode, which would, by the proposed plan, become diminished, if not extinct. Nor was he a greater friend to the proposed abandonment of permanent duty. As an officer, he declared that he thought permanent duty most essential to the volunteer system. In the district he commanded, volunteers were put on permanent duty, under proper inspection, for 15 days; and so great was the influence of example, that although they appeared somewhat awkward when they first entered the field, before the time was expired they were fitted for military duty. What were the returns on the table? 200,000 volunteers were reported as fit for duty in England only; of which, 100,000 were represented as in a sufficient state of discipline to act with troops of the line. After all the lavish promises, nothing had been performed; the right hon. gent. must leave his airy schemes and metaphysical eccentricity, for wise projects, and sound sense, or the country would be left defenceless.

Mr. *Whitbread* observed, that the hon. general had talked of every thing but the army estimates. He had even introduced naval subjects, and had gone out of his way to cast a particular blame on his noble friend at the head of the admiralty, and a general blame on the whole of his majesty's ministers, whom he had chosen to term drones. He would ask whether the noble lord (H. Petty), from whom the house had just heard such a display of talents, had shewn himself a drone? Was his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Fox) a drone? Was the right hon. secretary of state for the war department a drone, because, duly considering the magnitude and importance of the subject, he had not proceeded so rapidly with his military plans as the impatience of the hon. general prompted him to expect? Adverting to the hon. general's supposition, that his right hon. friend's tone with regard to the volunteers had been considerably lowered, since his visit to the city; he declared, that he should think him very unworthy the situation which he held in his majesty's councils, if he allowed a toast given by a worthy alderman to bias his determination on the great military system which he had in contemplation. But did he so? was his tone altered? On the contrary, all the statements made to-night by the right hon. secretary at war, of the cessation of the June allowances, of the reduction of the expences of drill serjeants, and of the abolition of permanent duty, were so many strong proofs that the tone of his right hon. friend remained unchanged. With regard to the observations made by the hon. general on this last proposition, namely, the abolition of permanent duty, great as was his faith in the military skill of that hon. general, he could easily suppose, that his right hon. friend had consulted officers who were as competent to decide on questions of this nature. The fact was, that several volunteer corps which had never been on permanent duty, had been returned by the inspecting field officers as fit to act with the line, which evinced that permanent duty was not indispensable to the attainment of discipline. The hon. general had misunderstood one part of the right hon. secretary's statement. He had not said, that lords lieutenants were to be substituted for the present inspecting field officers of volunteers; but he had expressly said, that three major-generals were to be appointed to that service; and thus a great part of the useless machinery attached to the inspection of the volunteers, would be got rid of. He repeated his former sentiments on the rank of volunteer officers, and declared, that in his opinion, no rational man who now commanded a volunteer corps, but must be rejoiced at being relieved from the responsibility which his having a command over regular officers above the rank of captain, had hitherto imposed on him.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he did not intend to enter generally into any discussion on the military policy of the country: he rose principally to propose a few questions deserving some reply, at a time when the country was in so peculiar a situation, with the eyes of all Europe directed to it, after the extravagant pretentions of his majesty's ministers, on the scheme of military improvement. He perfectly agreed with his hon. friend, that the house was at present placed in a very peculiar situation, as well in its own view as in that of the country and of Europe, after all that had already taken place. When his majesty's present ministers had come into office, it was the general impression in the country that some fundamental change would be immediately made in the military system of the country, and he left the house to judge how far such a fundamental change was consistent with the efficient state of the army, as represented in the statements of the secretary at war. So full, however, had the house and the country been of the expectation that some such fundamental change was to be brought forward, that he and his friends had suggested, with a view to afford the right hon. gent. an opportunity of maturing the measure, the expediency of passing a mutiny bill for two months. The suggestion had been acted upon, and he begged the house now to recollect in what a situation it was placed. These were the fourth military estimates which had been voted this year, and in order to give effect to these estimates, a fourth mutiny bill was to be passed. He asked whether any government had ever exhibited such an extraordinary instance of inefficiency? One might have expected that these fourth estimates should contain some new matter, some indication of the measures which the right hon. gent. meant to produce. Yet, stange as it was, and must appear to every gentleman in the house, the estimates now proposed to be voted, differed in nothing from those that had been voted in March, except in the amount of saving from the reduction of the cavalry. He agreed with his hon. friend (general Tarleton), that it was desirable to keep the cavalry on a respectable footing; but, from the difficulty that had been felt in maintaining that body on the full establishment, he asserted that it was the intention of the late government to reduce them, according to the plan now proposed, to 800 rank and file each regiment. After all the parade, or rather farce of such frequent delays in the production of the promised measures, the present proceeding would have the effect of shewing to Europe, that there existed an extreme jealousy between the parliament and the government, when such short mutiny bills were passed. The present measure was not calculated to give the parliament or the country any idea of what the principles or prominent features of the proposed measures were. And here he begged to ask the secretary at war for information respecting the subject of the volunteers, with regard to whom, considerable apprehensions had been excited by the speech of the right hon. gent., and notwithstanding the efforts, that had since been made to explain away the impression produced on the public by that speech, the statements made that night were not calculated to remove them: but on this subject he should take another opportunity of speaking more at large, and in consenting to vote the estimates in this instance, he begged not to vote them otherwise than as matter of account, and not to preclude himself from reverting to the subject on a future occasion. The economy under the head of volunteer expenditure he considered as a contemptible consideration. The object of the right hon. gent. seemed to be to break down that respectable body, and to get rid of them as an effective part of the military defence of the country. When the right hon. gent., in the present instance, affirmed that they had no designs upon the volunteer system, but rather wished to support it, they were only defending themselves against the indignant feelings of the public. But, as the right hon. gent. had intimated to the house, on the day when the noble lord near him (lord Howick) had brought forward his propositions for an increase of pay to the navy, from the admiral down to the seaman, his intention to advise his majesty to recommend a similar augmentation of pay to the army, some estimate of the amount of such augmentation ought to have been submitted to the house, and, if any substantive object, beyond the unnecessary parade of such an intimation was intended, the noble lord would have to provide for it by a supplemental budget. If this were to have been matter of separate consideration, the estimates now proposed might as well have been submitted to a final decision in March last. The expence of the projected training, which he looked upon as the most burthensome part of the plan, ought to have been included in the estimates. Was the house ever to be informed of the mode of proceeding of the right hon. gent.? On the first day of the session, at a critical period, the consideration of an important question could not be deferred beyond the day fixed; and yet four months had now elapsed since the gentlemen had come into office, and the only thing they had done, the only symptom of life that had appeared during their ministerial existence, was to bring forward the repeal of the Additional Force acts, by a bill, containing the detestable clause relative to the re-payment of the penalties. The Irish chancellor of the exchequer, had also brought in a bill for allowing the Irish militia to volunteer their services to this country; and as that was a measure which he had himself supported, the hon. baronet had his thanks for it; though from every thing the right hon. gent. had said on the subject formerly, it did not appear to have met his approbation. If government could make up their minds on the subject, and he thought they were at present trembling between the difficulties of the country and the projects into which they had rashly precipitated themselves, he implored ministers, and particularly the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), to inform the house what proceedings he meant to adopt, and not to bring forward their measures one after another, whereby the attention of the house might be exhausted. He asked of his majesty's ministers also to state, when they meant to bring their measures forward, and to allow sufficient time between their introduction and their final decision. He wished them to give the house time to consider a subject, which had taken them two months to make up their minds upon, after the disgrace and ignominy of coming so often with estimates to parliament. He did not think it fair for ministers to take credit for economy at the expence of the late government. The reduction in the cavalry they would have carried into effect, but the reduction of the waggon train he disclaimed. The statements were founded on a false principle of economy. He called on the right hon. gent. to state in what parliamentary shape he meant to bring forward his plan for limited service, which was to alter the whole system of the army, whether in a separate act, or in the mutiny bill; and if in the latter shape, he trusted he would bring it forward in a manly manner in the face of the bill, and not attempt to introduce it sculking into the bill at a late stage of its progress. He could not see what ministers had done since they had been in office, except explain away the impressions produced by the speech of the right hon. gent.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* said, the noble lord had railed in a very good style; his terms were strong, and well selected for his purpose. Had there been as much sound argument as there was coarse abuse, it would have been one of the most powerful harangues that ever was delivered in parliament. At the same time he could not help saying, that the points in his speech, to which it was necessary to make any reply, were but few in number, and required but little exertion of mind to answer. It was curious to notice the manner in which the noble lord, and the hon. general beside him, happened to support each other in opposition. The noble lord concurred with the hon. general, in condemning what he called a false economy with respect to the arrangement of the cavalry; and yet he claimed credit for the contemplation of a similar arrangement on the part of the late ministry. Now it was impossible that the noble lord's argument upon this subject should cut both ways; the door must be either shut or open. As to the noble lord's allusion to the sentiments uttered by him (Mr. W.) on a former day respecting the volunteers, he had only to state, that the sentiments ascribed to him by the noble lord and others were materially different from those which he had really expressed. Any opinion the house had heard from him on the occasion referred to, still remained completely unchanged, and the misrepresentations of his opinions which had gone abroad should not disturb him. They must pass away with the common calumnies of the day. If asked what he meant to do with the volunteers, he would answer—to leave them precisely where they were, with some exceptions which could not be injurious to their efficiency, their character, or their feelings, while they must tend to the public benefit. The volunteers were not to be deprived of their adjutants, their serjeant-majors, or their drill-serjeants, who were material to their discipline. If it were proposed to impose any burthen, or offer any offence to the volunteers, then the clamour raised upon the subject might be excuseable. Instead, however, of calling upon them to be more frequent in their attendance on parade, or perform an increased duty, it was proposed to remit their attendance, and call upon them to do duty much less frequently than heretofore. How then could the clamour against the proposed arrangements be at all justified? With regard to the noble lord's assertion, that the whole of the plan he had the honour of submitting to the house should be taken into consideration altogether; he protested against the justice of that assertion. For, although he had thought proper to open the plan altogether, it did not follow that the several parts of that plan might not be separately considered. Indeed, it was in fact right and necessary that these parts should be carried into execution *seriatim.* To the question put by the noble lord, as to the course of proceeding meant to be followed upon the measures under consideration, he was ready to answer, that the point of enlisting for a limited term would be first submitted to the house. Of this project, one part of it was intended to be introduced in the shape of a clause in the mutiny bill, and the other would be proposed in a separate act relative to the arrangements for Chelsea Hospital. In the first part it would be obvious to the house, that the purpose was to leave as much as possible to the direction of future governments, in order that they might be at liberty to form any new engagements with the soldiery which might be deemed advisable. But the latter part respecting Chelsea, it was proposed to make a permanent regulation. The other part of his project, relative to the training of the people for the militia (with respect to which he only meant to prolong the suspension of ballot already existing) and the volunteers, would naturally follow the consideration of the project he referred to. It was his intention to bring forward the first and most material part of the system he had described before the holidays, in order that there should be a full opportunity of examining it during the recess, and at an early day after he would propose to bring forward the discussion.

Mr. *Perceval* contended, that he had not misrepresented the right hon. gent., whose subsequent explanations had, however, materially softened the sentiments he had originally expressed. He insisted that the right hon. gent. had declared himself an enemy to the ballot, insomuch that when he found himself under the necessity of resorting to it, to enforce his training system, to avoid the odious word, he had preferred to use the word "lot," leaving out the syllable "bal." When it was recollected that the right hon. gent. had compared the volunteers to painted cherries which none but simple birds would take for real fruit, and that he had compared those who had encouraged the volunteers to children planting sticks and then supposing they had planted trees, it would not be deemed uncharitable in them to conclude that he was not friendly to the volunteers. The right hon. gent. had said he had used the word "relax" for "remit," with respect to the discipline of the volunteers, but it mattered not which he used, as either would be ruinous to the system. It would be an injury to the right hon. gent. to suppose that he had been misrepresented with respect to the volunteers; because, if his object were to destroy their institution, his measures were rational; whereas, if he was inclined to encourage and support them, his measures were irrational, they being calculated to produce their destruction.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* rose just to say a few words on what had fallen from the learned gent. who had just sat down. It was not necessary to review what had taken place in a former debate respecting the misrepresentations of the sentiments of his right hon. friend. There was no great grammatical difference, he admitted, between "relax" and "remit," but they might be used so as to have a far different import. It was rather extraordinary that the use of the word "relax" by his right hon. friend, should still be adverted to, especially as on the very day when he had so expressed himself, he had explained what he had intended to say. It reminded him of an old saying, "that there was sometimes no better way of uttering a falsehood than in the words of truth." In the long parliamentary experience he had had, he had never known any speech so misrepresented, and so industriously circulated, as that of his right hon. friend. The misrepresentation had been circulated over the whole country. He had had correspondence on the subject from various quarters. Amongst others he had a letter from a respectable gentleman, which would throw some light on the question. The letter adverted to Mr. secretary Windham's plan, and a supposed prevalent opinion that the volunteers were of no use whatever; which the writer denied, asserting, that only three things were wanting to make them a valuable, serviceable, and efficient force,—to take away permanent duty, the June allowances, and the inspecting field-officers. Do all this, it was added, and you will improve the volunteers. Now, it happened that these were precisely the measures proposed by his right hon. friend, who had been represented as decidedly hostile to the volunteer system. The grand object of his right hon. friend had been to establish a regular military force, equal to the demands of the country; and if the volunteers could ever become such a force, then all the military bills which the house had, from time to time, passed, were in themselves unnecessary, and fraught with tyranny and oppression. But, in his opinion, a regular army, equal to the demands of the country, in the present situation of Europe, could never be formed without such means. The volunteers could only be considered as a subsidiary force; and it was certainly his wish that they should remain embodied, to assist in the protection of the country, notwithstanding the alterations that were proposed to be made in their system. No man had a higher respect for the volunteers than he had; and he should be extremely sorry were the proposed measures to have the effect of depriving the country of their services in that capacity; though he must continue to think that the proposed savings in that part of our military system were of great importance, and at the same time not calculated to do it any injury. With regard to his right hon. friend, he must say that, in his opinion, he was the best qualified for the office which he now held, of any man in the country; and he had no doubt, that not many years would elapse before the country in general entertained the same opinion. With respect to the levy-en-masse, it had been said that some estimate of the probable expence attending it should have been laid before the house. But calculations could not be accurately made respecting a measure which was perfectly new, and which it was also uncertain whether parliament would adopt. With regard to the time when the discussion of the plans of his right hon. friend should come on, he suggested that the report of the committee might be received the next day, and the mutiny bill might then be brought up and read a first time, and a second time on Friday next. On the first day after the recess, the bill might be discussed in a committee of the whole house, and particularly that clause of it which respected the limitation of service. Or, if this should be thought too early a day, he trusted that Friday se'nnight would not be objected to. On the whole, he considered the new system proposed, as not so much productive of immediate advantage, as calculated to promote the future good of the army, and to place it on a better footing; and he trusted that the present administration would, at no distant period, be acknowledged to have performed a great service to the country, if they should be so fortunate as to carry it into execution.

Mr. *Canning* entered at some length into a defence of what had fallen from his hon. and learned friend, and contended that he was not chargeable with those misrepresentations ascribed to him. With regard to the panegyric which the right hon. secretary had pronounced on his friend, it was rather curious to remark, that after he had delivered a similar encomium on an hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) intimately versant in the affairs of India, that hon. gent. had left the treasury bench, and seated himself on the opposite side of the house. He thought that the military plans were introduced too tardily, and now proposed to be discussed with too much precipitation. After the long delay which had taken place since their first proposal, people were now asking whether they would take place at all or not; and to fix on Wednesday next as the day for their discussion, would be taking the house by surprise, since many members would not have returned after the holidays, on that day. He wished also that it should be understood, when the discussion took place, that the whole system proposed should be brought under review. He suggested that the first Monday after the recess was the very earliest day on which the discussion could with any propriety come on. He entertained doubts whether a call of the house might not be expedient, preparatory to a decision on one of the most important measures that ever came before parliament, and in that case it could not come on in less than a fortnight. The protraction of the discussion which had already taken place, should not now be remedied by precipitation. He thought it would also have been but fair, that some estimate should have been laid before the house by the right hon. secretary, of the expence likely to be incurred by the additional pay to the army, and by the levy-en-masse. Were a statement of this expence to be laid before the house, he believed that those savings, for which ministers took so much credit to themselves, would be nearly done away. It would appear that what was retained by the one hand was given away by the other. He ridiculed the idea of substituting three itinerant major-generals for inspecting the volunteers, in the room of those inspectors at present employed; and concluded with observing, that whenever the discussion on the clause in the mutiny bill should come on, he would take that opportunity of delivering his sentiments on the whole combined system.

Mr. Secretary *Fox*, in explanation, said, that he would certainly take the sense of the house, whether the Mutiny bill should proceed to a committee on Friday se'nnight, if any opposition was made to that proposal. It was perfectly in the right hon. gentleman's option to debate the clause in what manner he pleased; but he must not be angry if he and his hon. friends should decline replying to any speech which he might deliver, that appeared to involve topics extraneous to that immediately before the house. Since the union with Ireland, no call of the house had taken place; and he could not see that it was called for by the present measure, in preference to others of equal importance that had been discussed in the house during the last session.

Mr. *Yorke* was anxious that more time should be granted: for he was not aware of what clauses might be proposed in the Mutiny bill; or what was the ultimate decision of the right hon. gent. respecting the leading features of his plan. What was the term and limit of service that was to be proposed to men when enlisting? Were they to have the powers of claiming their discharge in time of war? Was it equally to affect the cavalry and artillery with the rest of the army? Was it to extend to the army now existing? Surely these were important and complicated questions, to the discussion of which gentlemen could not be expected to come prepared so soon as Friday se'nnight.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* fully admitted the right of the right hon. gent. to put such questions, and replied, that the limitation of service was meant to apply to the corps of artillery, and the cavalry, as well as the infantry of the regular army. With regard to the period of war, and when on foreign service, he had proposed that an addition of six months to the stipulated term should take place; and it might, perhaps, be proper to give a still farther extension of perhaps two or three years to this period in time of war. But he wished to have it always distinctly understood, that there was a period beyond which, even in war, the service of the soldier should not be extended. With regard to the inspection of the volunteers, he had at first stated, that they should be under the superintendance of the county-lieutenants, but he had not meant to exclude the inspection of military officers. Respecting additional pay to officers of the army, he thought it would be most proper to state his idea on that subject on a future occasion. It was one in which the house must be guided, not merely by its liberality, but also with a view to the great numbers, and the consequent great increase of expence; and, therefore, it would not be right to encourage too sanguine hopes.

Mr. *Yorke* wished for a clearer understanding of the right hon. secretary's views. At present he understood him that his plan of limited service extended to the cavalry and artillery, and was for seven years.

Mr. *Windham* observed, that the term of seven years did not apply to those branches.

Mr. *Yorke* observed, that he understood the extension in time of war was to take place for two or three years.

Mr. *Windham* saw no reason to think the original time stated by him would be altered, but that an extension in the power of the crown, in time of war, might be made without prejudice to the general effects of the measure. The time he had stated for the artillery was twelve years.

Sir *James Pulteney* was of opinion that the volunteers would lose more by the decay of their discipline, than the country could gain by any savings proposed. He conceived that permanent duty was highly necessary to the improvemet of their discipline, and that some kind of military inspection was also indispensible. As to the ballot, he was glad to find that it was not to be absolutely abolished, but he feared that even its temporary suspension would render it more difficult to resort to it again. As to the allowance for clothing to the volunteers, 30*s*. was too little, and 20*s*. wholly inadequate.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* observed, that the allowance was only 20*s*. from government, and that government could not have committed itself on that subject, though three years afterwards, if the situation of the country remained the same, the same allowance might be requisite. He could not understand how gentlemen could talk of the house being taken by surprise upon a ten days' notice, particularly when he recollected the same gentlemen proceeding last year on a twenty-four hours' notice, to the rescinding of the resolutions of the house.

General *Tarleton* wished to know what was intended respecting the West-India regiments?

Mr. *Rose* stated that allowances much larger than 20*s*. had been made to volunteers.

Mr. *H. Addington* said, that 20*s*. was the whole of the August allowance.

Mr. *Windham* said that 30*s*. was the allowance in June, and 20*s*. in August; there was therefore no reduction.

Mr. *Matthews* said, that unless the allowances to the volunteers were kept up, nay increased, it was impossible the establishment could be kept up. At first, subscriptions were liberal, and the general zeal came in aid of the funds necessary for the support of the corps; but it could not be expected that the subscriptions would continue, or that gentlemen would again be at the very great expence they had incurred for the volunteers with which they were connected. How then was the difference to be made good, and how could the establishment last without provision for its maintenance?

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* confirmed the observations of the hon. member, and said, that unless something was done to defray the expence, the volunteers must disband of themselves, though nothing else were done.

Mr. *Rose* said, it was impossible that corps should be supported in the manner they first were raised, and provided with funds. Twenty shillings in no case could clothe a man. He knew so by having tried in the cheapest manner; and coat, waistcoat, and breeches, independent of other articles, cost 24*s*. It was strange, therefore, to hear of confining the allowances, when the corps must be obliged to be disbanded for want of funds. And to this was added the discouragement held out by the plan proposed. Their feelings and their circumstances must operate to the overthrow of the system; and if the volunteers had not complained, it was because their officers had used their utmost efforts to induce them to wait, in the hope that some alterations would take place in the plan that had been opened to the house.

Mr. *Windham* said, every body knew how the volunteers were raised and supported; but was it proposed that government should make up all the expence which would be required in consequence of the failure of other funds? Clear it was, from what had been said, that if the volunteers disbanded, it was by the force of circumstances, and not from any thing government had proposed.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* had not meant to contend, that government should maintain the whole volunteers when their subscriptions failed; but it would be dangerous to let the whole disband themselves; and therefore an additional allowance, at least to some of them, was necessary. At the breaking out of any new war, our reliance must be on the volunteers, and therefore the spirit should be cherished and the system maintained.

Dr. *Laurence* said, it now clearly appeared, that those who had been so long extolling the volunteers, and charging others with undervaluing them, now admitted that the system would be at an end of itself, without large public aid: so it was not what government did, or proposed, that caused the volunteers to disband. It was expressly stated that they must disband, if they did not obtain support from the public purse.

Mr. *Fox* could not but observe, that this was giving a new and important turn to the debate. It was no longer the plan and speech of his right hon. friend that had discouraged and disgusted the volunteers; but it would now appear, that if they are to receive only the same allowance that was granted them by the former administration, they must go right about and disband themselves. Was it then the plan of the right hon. gent. now no more, to have increased that allowance, and that under a conviction, that without such an increase the volunteers would not continue their services. Indeed, the former administration felt this difficulty; and Mr. Pitt, like every man of sense, must have foreseen what it would ultimately come to; but did the late administration come forward and propose such increase? He might, therefore congratulate himself, and his right hon. friend, that, after all the hue and cry that had so industriously been raised against his measures, as tending to discourage and disband the volunteers, it now was confessed by those who reprobated them as so destructive of the volunteer system, that this system was likely to dissolve, not because any such measures had been proposed by his right hon. friend, but because an increase of allowance was not to be made them; which increase had never been proposed or held out to them at any former period.

Lord *De Blaquiere* observed, that though the want of means might tend to reduce the volunteer establishment, he did not think it could be denied, that certain of the regulations of the new plan (some of which he approved) would operate as discouragements to the volunteers, and to the subscriptions too, which otherwise might have come to their aid.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* restated his former argument, that farther allowances must be made to the volunteer corps, if the system was to be kept up. And what was to be allowed, should be so apportioned as to keep, at least, part of the volunteers together. He gave an instance of the alacrity of his own corps in the West Riding of York, which, on a false alarm, mustered, and partly marched 15 miles within fifteen hours, and out of 600 men only 9 were absent. He said, that permanent duty was more agreeable to the volunteers than duty at home.

Mr. *Matthews* repeated, that it was necessary something should be done for the support of the volunteer corps, if they were to be kept up. He complained of a certain report from an inspecting officer, respecting the corps which he commanded, and which was printed and on the table. He said that it had been altered, and things put in, which were not in the original he had seen.

General *Tarleton* stated, that it was an error that had crept in, and he had taken care to have it corrected and announced in the district.

The *Secretary at War* remarked, that the report alluded to had been printed from the originals sent to the adjutant-general's office, and if there was an error, it must be an error of the press.

Mr. *Shaw Lefevre* said a few words about the reports of inspecting officers, some of which were offensive to the feelings of the volunteer corps.

Mr. *Ryder* knew the question of farther issue for clothing the volunteers had been under the consideration of the late government; but nothing was decided. It could not be doubted, however, that Mr. Pitt, who was so convinced of the utility of the volunteer establishment, would have taken measures to support it, if he had seen them necessary. At any rate, he would have done nothing to discourage them, or to injure their discipline, which the measure proposed unquestionably did. As to the expence, it would be found that the proposed train-bands would cost more than all the saving on the volunteers, without being so efficient.

Mr. *Fox* replied, that he knew not what Mr. Pitt would have done; but he complained of the disingenuous mode of debating the business that was practised by gentlemen on the opposite side. If the plan proposed tended to destroy the volunteers, it was but fair to state that as an objection; but it was unfair to object to that as a fault of ministers which they had nothing as yet to do with, and was part of Mr. Pitt's system.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, in the place where he lived, it had long since been notorious, that if the volunteers did not get assistance, they must disband for want of funds.

Mr. *Ellison* declared, that the plans of the right hon. gentleman had caused the utmost disgust throughout the country and among the volunteers.

Mr. *Windham* replied, that if that effect had been produced, it must have been by misrepresentation.

Mr. *Ellison* asserted, it was from what he had heard in the house, and what was circulated in the newspapers, and not by any misrepresentations.—The resolutions were then read and agreed to; and the house being resumed, the other orders of the day were disposed of.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, May 22.

[MINUTES.] The Bishop of Killala took the oaths and his seat.—The Irish Spirits warehousing bill was read a second time, and committed for the next day.—The Irish Debenture bill passed through a committee, and was reported.—The committee on Sir John Gordon's Divorce bill was postponed till that day three weeks.—The Lord Chancellor stated, that the cause of Graham of Gartmore, against Isabella, Countess of Glencairn, stood appointed for hearing; and that, as the respondent was his sister, he desired their lordships' permission to absent himself from the house during the discussion. His lordship then withdrew, and Lord Ellenborough called in the counsel, and heard Mr. Alexander for the appellant. The further consideration was then postponed till the next day.—The lord chancellor having resumed the woolsack, the Irish Butter bill was read a second time, and committed for the next day.—The Franking bill passed through a committee, and was reported.

[REPEAL OF THE ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL.] On the motion for the third reading of this bill,

Lord *Eldon* rose and apologized for troubling their lordships; but, having been a member of the two administrations in which the bills were passed, which were now proposed to be repealed, he thought it his duty to state shortly his reasons for voting on the former night against this measure. The Additional Force bill, he observed, had been resorted to in consequence of the enormous price which at length came to be given for substitutes under the Army of Reserve act, and, compared with the latter act, with respect to penalties, it was lenity itself. He could not, however, conceive the reason why the penalties under the Additional Force act were to be given up, and the money already paid into the Exchequer to be returned, whilst, at the same time, the fines remaining under the Army of Reserve act were to be enforced; which latter act was also repealed by the present bill, though scarcely a word had been said about it. He would not advert to measures which were not before the house, or to places which had not been mentioned in that house; but if the army was to be left for its supply to ordinary recruiting, such a measure was directly in the teeth of the experience of several years past, and, he was convinced, would be insufficient for the intended purpose. He could not help also remarking, that notwithstanding the charges against the administration of which he was a member, of weakness and inefficiency, yet those who had succeeded them had proposed the repeal of a measure for recruiting the army, without being prepared to bring forward any substitute in its place.

The Earl of *Roslyn* thought the noble and learned lord had misconceived the provision in the bill, relative to the fines under the Army of Reserve act, which, in his opinion, only applied to the fines imposed upon the parishes, for the non-appearance of men after they had been balloted, and not to any other description of penalties.

Lord *Eldon* was still of opinion, that the provision applied to penalties imposed on the parishes for not providing the men.

Earl *Spencer* expressed his surprise, that the noble and learned lord should make an objection to a particular clause in the bill on the 3d reading, after suffering it to pass through the committee *sub silentio*. With respect to nothing being said about the Army of Reserve act, it was an omission of his own on the former night; but he could not conceive it possible, that any man in the kingdom, much less any noble lord in that house, could entertain an opinion, that the Army of Reserve act ought now to be enforced. When that act came up to the house, he was one of those that opposed, thinking it was pregnant with dangerous consequences. He was willing to admit, however, that it subsequently proved efficacious, although extremely oppressive. That act was, however, completely *functus officio*; and it was in order to prevent its being in force after the repeal of the Additional Force act, that words were introduced to repeal it; and that it ought to be repealed, was, he thought, a point perfectly and clearly established, as to be carried into effect now, it must be nugatory and oppressive. To give up the penalties, and refund the money already received on account of them, he considered barely an act of justice, as it would be gross injustice to levy penalties for not doing that which it was impossible to do. He repeated, that the most desirable object was, to remove the impediment which the Additional Force act threw in the way of the recruiting service.

The Earl of *Hardwicke* objected to that part of the bill which went to give up the penalties under the Additional Force act, as it might, at a future period, be deemed necessary by parliament, to enact some compulsory measure for the purpose of recruiting the army, and then this provision would operate to encourage persons in neglecting to carry such an act into execution, and to prevent any zeal or exertion from being displayed. He voted against the repeal of the Additional Force act, finding that, as a necessary consequence of it, a bill was now in the House of Commons to repeal the Additional Force act for Ireland. With respect to this latter bill, he suggested that the parishes in Ireland were not charged, as they were in England, with the maintenance of the families of militia-men whilst on service, that being done at the charge of the public revenue, and therefore, that the penalties, instead of being given up, ought to be appropriated to the revenue.

Lord *Holland* thought the noble earl had given a curious reason for voting against the repeal of the English Additional Force act. With respect to the penalties, he contended, that those who had contrived to raise men under the act, had done it by evading its provisions. Such conduct might be loyal, as was said on a former night; but it was contrary to the provisions of the act; and it was therefore highly unjust, that those who had endeavoured to raise men by complying with the provisions of the act, and had from necessity failed, should be on that account subjected to the penalties.

Earl *Spencer* expressed a willingness to pay every attention to the suggestion of the noble earl (Hardwicke) when the bill, to which he had alluded, came before the house.—The bill was then read a third time and passed, and a message ordered to be sent to the House of Commons to acquaint them therewith.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, May 22.

[MINUTES.] Lord John Townsend presented, by command, an account of the extraordinary services of the army, from December 1805, with a duplicate thereof. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Alderman Combe brought up the bill for the better regulating of skins and hides in London. Read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time.—Mr. Foster moved, that the house should, the next day, go into a committee to consider the Irish mail coach acts.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Irish malt-duty bill; which was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time the next day.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of ways and means, relative to certain Stamp Duties in Ireland, which was agreed to; and an instruction was ordered to be given to the committee appointed to prepare the Irish stamp-duty bill, to make provisions agreeable to said resolutions.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee of supply the preceding day, relative to the Army Estimates; and the various resolutions were agreed to, and bills ordered accordingly.—The bill for repealing the Irish Additional Defence act was read a second time.

[IRISH CUSTOMS DUTY BILL.] Sir John

Newport moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee on this bill. The house having resolved itself accordingly, on the resolution being read, that there be granted a duty of 28*s.* a ton on iron,

Mr. *Foster* said, he had not supposed the right hon. baronet meant seriously to persist in the proposed duty on iron, after a similar tax had been rejected in England, on account of its impolitic pressure upon all the manufactures of the country, and its consequent extension to the poorer classes of the community. If this was found to be a weighty consideration in England, how much more ought it to operate, when the comparative poverty of Ireland was contemplated! This proposed duty would cause an increase of twenty per cent. in the price of iron, and prove almost ruinous to the infant manufactures of that country, as no countervailing duty was allowed on their introduction into England. A drawback was provided, in the case of the small duty of 3*s.* per cwt. on sugar; and yet to countervail the much more material tax upon iron, no increase of drawback was allowed. The measure, if carried in its present shape, would defeat itself, as not a shilling of revenue would be derived from it: as it was only calculated to produce 15,000*l.*, he hoped the right hon. baronet would adopt some of the many preferable means that presented themselves of raising that sum, and prevent the dissatisfaction that would ensue in Ireland, if, whilst in this ample and opulent country, the tax upon iron was abandoned as oppressive, it should be inflicted there.

Mr. *Rose* thought it was impossible the right hon. baronet could press the tax, as even in case of providing a sufficient countervailing duty, if the manufactures of Ireland were like those of England, the mixture of foreign with native iron would prevent its being embraced. He was sure the tax would produce nothing; and he was also of opinion, that in estimating the duty on sugar, the right hon. gentleman had calculated upon a greater average price (50*s.* per cwt.) than it would be found to bear. It was altogether a new and extraordinary measure, to make a provision of temporary war taxes to pay a permanent loan; and even the provision made would fall greatly short of what it was estimated at.

Sir *John Newport* said, that from the observations made by the right hon. gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Foster), it might be supposed that the tax now proposed on iron was exactly similar to the duty which had been proposed on iron in this country; but the fact was directly the reverse. This was not an excise duty;—this was not a tax upon native iron, but on foreign iron. It was contended, that if this duty were laid on, there ought to be a countervailing duty in England. In answer to this assertion, he begged to ask, how it happened that no less than five duties had been imposed upon iron in this country, without any countervailing duty being imposed in Ireland? These several duties amounted to no less than 2*l.* 10*s.* per ton; and when duties to such an amount had been laid on in England without any countervailing duty in Ireland, he did not think it now fair to call for a countervailing duty in England, when a duty of 1*l.* 8*s.* was proposed in Ireland. If he had any doubt upon this subject, he was enabled to resort to the best possible assistance, for he had the right hon. gentleman's own authority. The year before last, the right hon. gentleman had proposed an alteration of the duties, by converting the whole into British currency, with the exception of the imports from Great Britain. Now, it was impossible to deny, that this was an alteration of the duty to the amount of $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. without any countervailing duty having been proposed. Here then he had the right hon. gentleman's authority for what he was now doing. It was true, that in the instance he had alluded to, the sum was small; but that was of no importance; the principle was established, whether the sum was large or small. But if Ireland had an absolute right to call for this countervailing duty, for this additional duty of 1*l.* 8*s.*, undoubtedly Great Britain had an equal right to call for a countervailing duty in Ireland, in consequence of the duties to the amount of 2*l.* 11*s.* per ton, which had been imposed in Great Britain. These cases certainly did not escape the attention of the legislature at the time of the union. It was enacted, that countervailing duties should be imposed in each country, and the articles are specified in the schedule No. 1; but in that schedule, iron and hardware are not mentioned; they are included in schedule No. 2, which contains a list of articles which are to be subject to a fixed duty for 20 years. Considering, therefore, that this subject was fully within the contemplation of the persons who framed the act of union, and considering that no countervailing duty had been called for in Ireland in consequence of the additional duties in this country, he did not think the right hon. gentleman's objection intitled to any weight. With respect to the objections made by the other right hon, gentleman, respecting sugar, and by the other right hon. gentleman (Mr. Rose), he begged to re-assert what he stated on a former occasion, that all the duties in Ireland were annual. The legislature never had felt itself bound to continue the duties of the former year, but altered or repealed them whenever it thought proper. He wished the right hon. gentleman had stated his reasons for asserting, that this duty on sugar would not produce any revenue. The average during the last year was 50*s.*; the tax would certainly then have attached, and he saw no reason why it should not attach now. But the right hon. gentleman had accused him of not making provision for the interest of the loan: to this assertion he should give a very short answer. The charge for the loan, not including the interest that might become due upon treasury bills that might be hereafter issued, was 268,666*l.*, the provision he had made was 333,244*l.*; which exceeded the charge by above 64,000*l.*; and consequently ample provision was made for the loan. It was true, that he had stated the amount of the charge, on opening the budget, at 313,000*l.*; but this was because he had done what none of his predecessors had done, viz. provided, by anticipation, for the interest that might become due during the current year. This he certainly was not bound to do; and consequently the ways and means exceeded the regular charges, as he had before stated, by 64,000*l.* and even if the duty on sugar, which he had estimated at 60,000*l.* did not produce a single farthing, still there would be a surplus of 4000*l.* But he begged that it might not for a moment be supposed that he admitted the position of the right hon. gentleman, that this duty would not produce any revenue. The right hon. gentleman had formed his opinion upon the price of the day; but he had formed his calculation upon the average of one or two years. Upon these grounds he should certainly persevere in the tax.

Mr. *Foster* said, that the situation of England and Ireland was such, that, although the former could afford to relinquish the advantage of a countervailing duty, the latter was not in a condition to forego the protection of it, and allow this country an advantage. The doctrine of the right hon. gentleman, that because an article was not found in the first schedule of the act he had quoted, a countervailing duty was not to extend to it, was quite new, and extremely dangerous.

Sir *John Newport* said, he did not mean that it was not competent to parliament to extend that duty; but he would ask, since the right hon. gentleman seemed so strenuous for the countervailing duty, why it had not been called for in the case of the duty on cotton wool, which had been imposed since the union?

Mr. *Rose* said, that the duty was only a penny per pound, and not an object of great consequence, and he thought no omission ought to be pleaded as a precedent for not now pursuing the right course.

Mr. *Corry* said, he was glad to see the principle of the union so well agreed upon. Undoubtedly, a countervailing duty ought to be laid in either country, for a duty imposed on the other; and, therefore, the tax now proposed would have the effect of equalizing what, by the increase of duty in this country, since the union, without a countervailing duty in Ireland, had been made unequal. He hoped the right hon. baronet would make the duties in Ireland perpetual, instead of annual and uncertain, as they now are.

Lord *Castlereagh* spoke at some length on the necessity of immediately remedying any breach or omission of the enactments of the act of union. He thought the tax on iron would have the effect of destroying the produce of the duty already imposed.

Mr. *Grattan* said, he was not a friend to the duty upon Iron; but he submitted to it as the best in the choice of evils. When gentlemen objected to a tax because it affected the manufactures, and condemned the measures by which the right hon. baronet was to raise a considerable revenue, would they be so good as to point out what course of taxation could possibly be adopted, by which the manufactures of the country would not be affected? He would not accede to the duty on iron, if it violated a principle of the union; but it did not appear to him to do so. The duty on sugar, as sufficient was provided without it to cover the loan, was imposed because a duty was also imposed in England; and he considered it to be intended as a security for the future interest of the loan, in addition to the faith of parliament. He admitted, the iron duty was rather a strong measure; but he did not know any that would be less severely felt.—Sir William Young, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Huskisson, said a few words in opposition to the taxes.—On account of a verbal omission which Mr. Foster pointed out, the committee did not proceed in the bill; but the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again to-morrow.

[UNAUDITED ACCOUNTS.] Mr. *Rose*, preparatory to a motion which he proposed to bring forward to-morrow, relating to the Public Accounts at present unaudited, observed, that a noble lord (H. Petty) had, last night, detailed to the house such a series of accounts, respecting the issues and disbursements of public money for military expenditure, during a period of above twenty years, as could not fail to excite great anxiety in the mind of the public, as well as in that of the house, that this subject should undergo the most minute and radical investigation. In that anxiety no man more deeply participated than himself: he was desirous that the business should be probed to the very bottom; that whoever were the persons upon whom the duties of examining and adjusting those accounts devolved, should be brought forward, and made to account for such an extraordinary delay, and apparently gross and unpardonable negligence; and if they could not satisfactorily account for their conduct, that they might be subjected to that shame and reproach which should appear to be due to it. With a view, as early as possible, to accelerate that enquiry, he should, to-morrow, move for several documents, in order to shew to the house, distinctly, what were the accounts that had been proceeded upon, and what were not, with the real sums under each distinct head of military expenditure still unaccounted for. He had no objection to name, now, the papers for which he intended to move; and if the noble lord, after hearing them specified, wished to add any more, he might move for them at the same time, as it was his sincere wish to give every aid in his power to the enquiry. The papers for which he meant to move were, Accounts of the sums issued from the Exchequer to principal accountants, and by them to sub-accountants, to be disbursed for military purposes, from the close of the American war to the time of appointing the commissioners of accounts; and since; and also what part of those sums had been investigated, and what part not; together with several other documents. The right hon. member repeated his earnest solicitude, that the enquiry should proceed with the strictest scrutiny, and, if any circumstances of delinquency should appear, let the parties implicated be who they might, it was his earnest wish, that, without favour or affection, they might be dragged into public notice, and punished with a severity adequate to their guilt.

[ELECTION TREATING BILL.] Mr. *Tierney* moved the order of the day for the further consideration of the Election Treating bill, to which bill he understood he was to expect the opposition of a right hon. secretary (Mr. Fox). He did not wish to press the house, now, to a discussion upon the subject, as there was another subject pending, of more urgent importance. But, if it was allowed that the bill should pass the present stage without discussion, those gentlemen who were opposed to the bill might take the debate upon the third reading, and name their own day for that purpose.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* could see no objection to the course pointed out by the right hon. gentleman; upon which, the amendments were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be engrossed, and read a third time on Monday se'nnight.

[AMERICAN INTERCOURSE BILL.] Lord *Temple* moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the motion of Monday last, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill for authorising his majesty in council to allow the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities, in neutral ships, in time of war, into and from his majesty's territories in the West Indies and continent of America."

Mr. *Rose* hoped that the noble lord would not press to a discussion, in so very thin a house, a measure of such importance as this, so deeply affecting the interest of the merchants and ship-owners of this country, and repealing the Navigation act, under the salutary operation of which, the commerce, the prosperity, and the naval strength of this country, had attained their present superiority. He deprecated any proceeding upon a measure of such vital importance in the absence of so many commercial gentlemen, whose interests were materially at stake, and hoped the noble lord would defer the business to another opportunity and a fuller house.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, that if ever there was a bill which ought not to give any alarm either to any particular class of men, or to the country at large, this was that bill. He considered the measure in question to be totally misconceived by the right hon. gent. in the view he seemed to consider it. It really did not go to affect the commerce of the country, or the commercial interests of any body of men in it. Neither did it repeal any part of the Navigation laws: it was merely meant to vest that power exclusively in the hands of the king and council by law, which had been, for thirteen years past, assumed by the governors of our West-India Islands, without law; for which, undoubtedly, they had incurred high responsibility; namely, to suspend for a time, under the pressure of inevitable necessity, the operation of the Navigation laws in favour of British ships in the ports of their respective islands; and to permit the inhabitants of those islands to be supplied with provisions, and certain other articles of indispensable necessity, with which it was impossible, under a variety of impediments, for British ships to supply them, and without which a great part of their inhabitants must be reduced to famine, and, in other instances, to the utmost distress. The measure now proposed, therefore, was to limit the power to safe hands, of dispensing, in cases of actual necessity, with the operation of the Navigation laws, in the ports of those islands; and to guard against the possible abuses of that power to which governors might be importuned, under the false insinuations of interested persons. It repealed no law; it subverted no principle; and, in fact, would do no more than guard a privilege in his majesty's hands, which had been, for a series of years past, exercised by West-India governors, assumed from necessity, and for which they had been uniformly indemnified by parliament.

Sir *W. Curtis* admitted, that this power had been assumed by West-India governors, in cases of urgent necessity, under a heavy responsibility, from which had they shrunk, he should have thought them highly reprehensible. But though he considered them justly intitled to the indemnity they had received, he was decidedly against legalizing a principle that so directly militated against our Navigation laws, and must so materially affect the interests of the merchants and ship-owners of this kingdom.—The Speaker reminded the hon. bart. that the stage for discussing the subject would certainly be in the committee.—The house then resolved itself into a committee; when

Lord *Temple* rose, and said, that the bill for which he intended to move, and which had already passed the other house of parliament, was precisely what his right hon. friend had described it to be; involving no commercial interest of this country; repealing no law connected with our commerce or navigation; but simply placing in the safe hands of his majesty in council, the exercise of a privilege, which was heretofore constantly assumed by the West-India governors, without law; namely, the privilege of empowering those governors, upon the fair proof of existing necessity, to receive, in American ships, that supply of provisions, and other necessaries, which, in time of war, it would often be impossible to supply in British ships; and without which, the immense population of their negroes, on whose labour and industry the prosperity of those islands so much depended, must often run the risk of perishing. Owing to the interruption of the intercourse of the colonies and the United States of America, during the American war, it had been ascertained, that about 15,000 negroes had died for want, or from being improperly fed, in the island of Jamaica alone, in the course of six years. But the supplies from America did not rest solely on the ground of the necessity of procuring food for our colonies in the West Indies. There was a necessity of resorting to America for articles to enable the colonists to convey their produce to the mother country. It had been ascertained, by practice and experiment, that that part of the system of the Navigation laws, passed under circumstances and in times perfectly dissimilar to the present, should be suspended in time of war, especially such a war as the present, where the extent of coast in the power of the enemy rendered it necessary to employ so large a portion of the British shipping to watch them, the crews of which might otherwise add to our mercantile naval force. That the Navigation laws could not, in this instance, be adhered to, was clear, from the circumstance of the governors of the colonies having been under the necessity of suspending these laws, upon their own responsibility, ever since the year 1793. The necessity appeared from the representations of the colonies, and Jamaica in particular, from the acts of indemnity passed from year to year, and the circumstance that such indemnity had been in no case refused. At the same time it was clear, that the governors were not the persons on whom the responsibility ought to rest. It was utterly unfit, that they should either repeal or suspend so important a law. The object of this bill, therefore, was not to repeal, or definitively to suspend, any law; but to permit his majesty in council to do that by law, which had before been done against law, where the necessity of the case should require it; and to relieve the governors from a responsibility which certainly ought not to attach upon them. The noble lord concluded by moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for authorising his majesty in council to allow the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in neutral ships, in time of war, into and from his majesty's territories in the West Indies and continent of South America."

Mr. *Rose* said, he felt it rather uncomfortable to enter upon this most important subject in so thin a house. No one respected the talents of the right hon. secretary of state (Mr. Fox) more than he did; but he thought he was not sufficiently informed upon this subject. The noble lord had said, that this bill would repeal no law. Why, it would certainly repeal the Navigation laws to a certain degree. But he was still more alarmed at what had fallen from the noble lord, when he said, that there was an indispensable necessity for this during the war. He would therefore state how the matter really stood. By the regulation of the trade with America in 1783, it was permitted to import certain American articles into the colonies, in British ships, manned, for the most part, with British seamen. There were representations made by Jamaica, and some other colonies, that the supplies could not be sufficiently provided by British ships. The matter was investigated before the privy council, in 1784. Both sides were heard; and the result was, that the representations were unfounded, and his majesty was advised to continue the regulations as before, and they were continued thus till 1793; during which time the colonies were supplied with provisions, lumber, &c. as well, and as cheap, by British ships, as they could be by American vessels. The report stated, that the colonies were to be supplied from America, in British ships, with such articles as they could not procure from Britain, or her continental colonies. The consequence of this was, that, from 1784 to 1793, about 935 British ships were employed in this trade, a tonnage of 110,000, and about 6,500 seamen. But, in consequence of the suspension of the laws, the number of ships in the trade at last dwindled down to a very trifling number indeed. In the American trade, too, the consequence was unfortunate, for the number of ships employed were reduced to a very few. There might be other causes for this; but the suspension of the Navigation laws was partly the cause. Now, it having been stated by the governors, that a regular supply of British ships could not be procured in time of war, from want of convoys, and other circumstances, they did, on their responsibility, permit some articles to be imported in neutral ships. In the committee of trade, however, it was proposed to put an end to this, if possible, and they had succeeded to a certain extent; for the governor of Barbadoes, and of Jamaica too, said, that if they were supported by the government here, they had no doubt they should be able to prevail in re-establishing the Navigation laws in all their force. The disadvantage of being driven out of this trade was, that we lost a tonnage equal to 100,000, and 6,000 seamen. He hoped that some delay would, at least, be allowed, till this subject should be completely investigated, and that the parties should be heard by their counsel. He wished, therefore, to have the matter investigated before a committee above stairs; and if their report were favourable to the bill, it might be brought in on that report, which would not occasion a delay of more than a very few days. It had been stated to him, and that from the authority of most respectable persons, on whose veracity and judgment he could rely, that if the government of this country would grant two convoys a year, every spring and fall, (which convoys would only require a frigate or two, and three or four sloops of war,) the trade might still be carried on in British ships, as well as in American bottoms; and that it would not make a difference of two per cent. in the expences; for there were hundreds of British ships, more indeed than he dared venture to name, that were now lying in the river rotting for want of employment, and which the owners would be very glad to hire out for this purpose on very reasonable terms. He assured the committee, that he felt as much anxiety for the West-India islands, and was perhaps as deeply interested in their welfare, as any man in that house, and should be extremely sorry that any severity should be used towards them, which might operate so as to prevent them from obtaining due supplies of either food or lumber; but he had considered the subject very attentively; he had exerted himself in a very particular manner, to obtain information relative to it from every quarter that was likely to afford any; and the result was, that he was satisfied in his own mind, the islands might be as well and as copiously supplied by the British ships, as they could by those of America, and therefore great care should be taken how we made any alteration, much more how we repealed the Navigation act, which this bill, if passed into a law, would effect. The next objection he had to it was, the effect it would have on the British continental colonies, which, he contended, would be very seriously and extensively injured by it. The next interest that would suffer in consequence of it was, the British manufactures, particularly linens and cottons, which would be superseded and supplanted by German linens and East-India goods. A letter which had, some time since, been received from Admiral Cochrane, had informed, that the islands were inundated with East-India goods and German linens, which were sold cheaper than the British articles of those kinds, and were a serious injury to the country. It might, perhaps, be said, that British ships would also contribute their part to inundate the islands with East-India goods; but that was not in their power; for, if they attempted it, such goods would be taken by ships of war and cruisers, stationed among the different islands; or, if they escaped those, they would be seizable at the different custom-houses as contraband. He was well assured, that all the East-India goods, carried into the islands, were by American ships; and that the islands were become a grand mart for those goods. The next interest that would be affected, and that very materially too, was the Irish provision trade; for it was very well known, that the Americans furnished beef and pork much cheaper than the Irish can do; and therefore that article ought to be restrained, instead of being, as it would be by this bill, very considerably enlarged. If the restrictions be left to our governors, on their responsibility, they will never suffer the Americans to come in farther than necessity, absolute and imperious necessity, may require; but, if you take off that responsibility, there will be nothing to prevent them doing it to any extent. This, he said, was certainly the worst-chosen moment, for adopting any relaxation of our Navigation laws, that could be selected. He had heard it urged, that systems adopted 150 years ago ought to be departed from, and that they should be altered as the circumstances of the times, and the situations of different countries varied. He did not say, that systems formed 150 years ago, ought to be always obstinately and pertinaciously adhered to; but they should not be materially broken in upon, or altered, but after most mature and serious consideration. These were the considerations which induced him to wish the matter to be referred to a committee above-stairs; and he asked the noble lord, whether, after the case he had made out, he would pass such a bill as this, without giving the parties leave to be heard? He hoped, therefore, he would agree to a committee, which would only occasion a delay of four or five days, and he would pledge himself to attend and expedite the business as much as possible.

Lord *Temple*, could not accede to the proposition of the right hon. gent. He saw no reason for appointing a committee up-stairs, to enquire into the facts stated in the preamble, which could not be disputed.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* observed, that there was but a small part of the right hon. gentleman's speech of which it was necessary to take any notice. The right hon. gent. had said, that this was not a matter of right that could be claimed by the Americans on the principle of the law of nations. He most completely concurred with him in that point; and, in all the discussions that had taken place with the Americans on the subject of trade, he never heard such a monstrous and extravagant claim stated, or even hinted at. Now, as to the bill itself, the right hon. gent. had said, that he (Mr. Fox) was not informed upon this subject. As to any thing respecting the repeal of the general principle of the Navigation act, he certainly was uninformed; but this was not a repeal of the general principle. He used the term "repeal." The right hon. gent. must have surely meant "suspended;" for the intention certainly was only to suspend, on the ground of the present necessity, and not to establish a general principle. After all that had been said by the right hon. gent., he still continued to think, that no interest whatever, whether of Irish provisions or our own ship-owners, of the continental colonies or any other, was injured by this measure. Now, what was this bill? The necessity was stated, and admitted, as it had already been acted upon. Now, this being granted, all we said was, that the responsibility ought not to rest with the governors. The bill, as it now stood, or, rather, as it stood when it came from the lords, empowered the king in council to suspend the Navigation law in part, in cases where there should be a necessity for it. Now, if there was a necessity for this suspension since the year 1793, how came it, that the right hon. gent. was of opinion that this necessity had now ceased, and that a different course might be adopted? It would certainly require a good deal of argument to prove this, which was upon the face of it so extremely improbable. But, however, if that was the case, it was the duty of the ship-owners, and the other parties concerned, to contradict the statements of the West-India colonists, and to shew sufficient grounds to the council, why they should advise his majesty not to allow this suspension. Now, the governors of the colonies had no opportunity of hearing the ship-owners at all; for they were surrounded by the West-India colonists, who would tell them that they were starving, and require them to allow the suspension of the Navigation laws, upon the plea that it had been done by their predecessors, to whom an indemnity had never been refused. The governors would, of course, grant the request, except they should hear good reasons against it. From whom were they to hear those reasons? from persons who were not there? Now, the council here might undoubtedly hear both sides. But could any governor refuse a request of this nature, after it had been granted for a period of thirteen years, and indemnity never refused? It had been said, that the governor of Barbadoes had agreed to enforce the Navigation laws, if supported by the government here. No doubt; but where could there be so complete a support as in the king's council here? Therefore, in every point of view, it was better that the power should be in the council. But, if the suspension was only in the time of war, how could the interests mentioned by the right hon. gent. be affected? Was it proposed to suspend in time of peace? No; the thing divided itself into two separate questions. In time of peace, the question might be, whether any relaxation ought ever to be allowed at all? If he should then be in the house, he would give his opinion on that point; but the question now was, whether a suspension should be allowed in time of war, in cases of necessity? Would any man pretend to say, that a ship less would go to the trade after the passing of this bill? It only transferred a discretionary power, which already existed, from one less fit to exercise that power, to one more fit. He could not conceive, therefore, how the interests alluded to by the right hon. gent. could be affected by the bill. Now, if it should happen that this power of relaxation should be abused, it was competent to parliament to take care that the council should do its duty more properly in such a case, and to force it to act as it ought to do. But, at least, an enquiry ought to be allowed. Enquiry into what? The facts which the right hon. gent. had mentioned, respecting the state of the shipping between 1784 and 1793, might be very good ones, if the question had been respecting the general principle. But what had these to do with the subject, when the question was about placing a temporary power in the hands of those with whom such powers had been considered as most safely lodged? Here was no mention made, at present, of a permanent system. If there had, certainly an enquiry would have been proper. But what was the use of it, when this was only a question relative to temporary power already recognised. Giving the right hon. gent. full credit, therefore, for all that he had said, still he had said nothing against the bill. Allowing him even his supposition, that the necessity no longer existed, still he had said nothing against it. Besides all this, he strongly disapproved of breaches of the law, and bills of indemnity. They were much to be deprecated in all regular governments; and it was far better that this suspension should be rendered lawful at once, in cases of necessity; and this was all that was required by the bill.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that the right hon. secretary had made out no case of necessity, nor even of expediency. He was, however, considerably relieved from his alarm, after what had been said respecting the American government. He was glad to find, that they had not urged such a monstrous proposition, as that we ought to repeal our Navigation laws. Yet something of this sort had been agitated by many persons connected with the American government, and by the country. On this account, he thought it very bad policy in us to do any thing, at present, that might look like concession, as the Americans might think the government was of a conceding disposition, and might presume on that temper. The right hon. secretary might in this manner feel the inconvenience of this measure. He could not see any ground, founded either in the expediency or the necessity of the case, for this measure, which went almost to the overturning the system of our Navigation laws. The noble lord opposite (lord Temple), in his opinion, proceeded with too great a tone of authority, in a measure for the accomplishment of which it might be expected that some reasonable and strong argument, of political necessity, prudence, or economy, would have been advanced. He would advise the noble lord to be something more moderate, more condescending in the manner in which he pressed such measures forward: he could not think that it was very wise in that noble lord to push important measures of commercial regulations through that house entirely by the force of government. There was another favourite object of the noble lord's, which then occurred to his mind, that was the Tortola free port bill. Than that bill, he could venture to affirm, there was not one ever introduced into the British or any other legislative assembly, which involved in it a greater breach of commercial regulation, or, he might say, of common sense; yet that bill was to be sent up to the house of lords without a single observation from his majesty's ministers. Instead of preserving so much of dignified silence, he thought it would be more advisable in his majesty's ministers to make some provision for the security of the British, without infringing on the American interests; and he was confident, that some such system might be very readily devised.

Sir *W. Young* thought the bill could not trench upon the Navigation act, because it was only to be resorted to in the case of absolute necessity. It was well said by a learned lord, whom he recollected in that house, that, "what necessity creates, necessity limits." There was now a statute, by which the exportation of corn to the West Indies was limited to 3,200 tons. It was impossible that 32,000 barrels could supply the whole population of the islands: 132,000 had been the computation; but, in fact, not less than 150,000 barrels were required for the subsistence of the inhabitants. Sir Joshua Child, in the 4th chapter of his Essays on Trade, had said, very justly, that the principle of the Navigation act was power, not profit: he said, in a commercial point of view, it was prejudicial to the manufactures and commerce of the country. Since power was so indispensable for the support of the commerce, he would not, as a member of that house, admit the partial and temporary interests of the latter to interfere with the former. The Navigation act, important as it was, had not always been considered indispensably necessary to the well-being of the state. It was repealed as lately as 26 Geo. III. c. 11, when merchants were permitted to have 3-4ths foreign sailors, instead of 3-4ths British. All the difference now proposed was, that the measures for the supply of the islands should originate with the privy council, and not with the governors. It was of great importance, that salutary regulations should be made on this subject, because a delay in the supply of the essential articles of subsistence might occasion a tumult, which would sever these colonial establishments from the parent state. But why these objections on the ground of general policy? The government permitted the English manufactures to be exported in foreign shipping; the profits of these afforded the means of war, and furnished additional resources for the protection of the kingdom. An inducement for this expedient was to be stated on another principle. A capricious governor, in a contest with his council, might tell them, he would shut the ports, if they would not accede to what he proposed; and thus, any plan he chose to adopt, however pernicious, might be forced upon the island. On these grounds he should support the bill.

Sir *C. Price* wished to go into a committee of enquiry, in which the effect of the proposed measure, on the Shipping Interest, might be fully considered. The decrease of ship-building in Britain, from the year 1790, was most alarming, as would appear from some accounts on the subject moved for by him. The colonies could now be effectually supplied by British shipping.

Mr. *Rose* recommended that the bill should go to a committee. Many ship-owners were ready to embark in the trade, if parliament would not prevent them by this measure, and they contended they could supply the islands nearly on the same terms the same articles could be procured from the Americans. Why the bill was brought in, he did not know; it was asked for by nobody. He thought it was due to the opulent merchants of the capital, and the great towns of the kingdom, to make this enquiry; but not only these were concerned, there was not a ship-chandler in Wapping who did not feel himself interested in the present proceedings.

Lord *Temple* said, ministers had communicated with intelligent persons in the Irish provision trade, and others in different branches, and they had the mortification to learn, that the means would be inadequate without a bill of this kind.

Mr. *Rose* very much doubted if they had consulted the old-established merchants, men of probity and fortune, who were best acquainted with this subject.

Sir *W. Young* explained.

Mr. *Barham* said, the question was, if the decision was to be removed from an improper to a competent tribunal? and, sensible of the fitness of this transference of authority, he should support the bill.

Sir *W. Curtis* wished for a committee of enquiry to ascertain how the shipping interest would be affected by the measure. Our ships and our sailors were the wooden walls of old England. He thought that the employment of the mariners and capital of the country was promoted by this trade, and that it ought not to be resigned without deliberate enquiry.

Mr. *Jeffery* asserted, that Newfoundland alone was sufficient to supply five times the quantity of fish required for our West-India colonies.—After a few words from lord Temple, and Mr. Perceval, the question was put and agreed to, and the house being resumed, the report was brought up, and leave was given to bring in a bill.—Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, May 23.

[MINUTES.] The royal assent was given by commission to the Irish Loan bill, the Irish Treasury Bills bill, the Scotch Judges' Salary bill, lord St. Vincent's Annuity bill, the Additional Force Act Repeal bill, the Slave Importation Restriction bill, the West-India Indemnity bill, the Admiralty Jurisdiction bill, and forty private bills.—The commissioners were, the lord Chancellor, lord Walsingham, and lord Auckland.—The Franking bill, and the Irish Debenture bill, were read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 23.

[MINUTES.] The Speaker informed the house, that the royal assent was given by commission to the Irish Loan bill, the Irish Treasury Bills bill, the Scotch Judges' Salary Augmentation bill, lord St. Vincent's Annuity bill, and several private bills.—Sir J. Newport brought in a bill, which was read a first time, for allowing persons to volunteer from the militia of Ireland into the regular regiments.—Lord Howick brought up a petition from the royal college of surgeons, praying for parliamentary assistance to enable them to procure a place for the better arranging and preserving the Collection of the late John Hunter, esq.; which was referred to a select committee.—Mr. H. Addington gave notice, that he should, immediately after the holidays, bring forward a motion respecting the returns which had been made by the inspecting field-officers, of the progress of the Volunteers in their discipline, and their fitness to serve with the troops of the line. The object of his motion would be to do away, as far as was in his power, the dissatisfaction of some volunteer officers at the reports which were made of the discipline of their corps from a single inspection. He was not yet resolved, whether his motion should be for an address to his majesty for a copy of the circular letter of general Brownrigg, or whether it should be for a general return of the corps, as they were reported; but the object of his motion should be merely to remove the uneasy sensation which he knew had been felt by many officers of the highest respectability.—Mr. Francis, as he understood that the 3d reading of the Property Duty bill was fixed for Wednesday next, gave notice that on that day he would move for the omission of the provision which went to exempt foreign property in the funds from the payment of the duty. He hoped that ministers would again consider the subject, and by remedying this defect, render his motion unnecessary.—A new writ was ordered to be issued for the election of a member for the borough of Carlow, in the room of Charles Montague Ormsby, esq., who has accepted the office of Recorder of Prince of Wales island.—Mr. Rose moved, that there be laid before the house, a copy of a letter from the Secretary at War to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, respecting the supply of military stores by Mr. Trotter. After a short conversation across the table, the paper was ordered.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of supply, lord Henry Petty moved, that the sum of 300,000*l.* be granted to his majesty for the use of the officers and seamen who had been engaged in the late glorious battle off Trafalgar, which was ordered.

[AMERICAN INTERCOURSE BILL.] The American Intercourse bill was brought in and read a first time. On the motion for the second reading,

Sir *W. Curtis* expressed a hope that the noble lord would take time sufficient to consider how this bill would affect the shipping interest. He hoped the second reading would not be pressed forward rashly.

Lord *Temple* said, that the house would do him the justice to believe that he had considered it in all its bearings before he introduced such an important measure into the house. He saw no ground whatever for the alarm which seemed to have been excited on this subject. But he did not wish to press forward the bill improperly, and therefore would attend to the suggestion of the hon. baronet, as far as respected urging it on rashly. He would fix Monday se'nnight for the second reading.

Mr. *Perceval* was glad that the noble lord had yielded thus far, and he hoped that he would further relax and allow an investigation of facts; if it were for no other purpose than to remove the prejudices, supposing them to be so, which had excited the alarm to which he had alluded. When they could get at the materials, it would give them great satisfaction if they could come to the same conclusion to which the noble lord had come.

General *Tarleton* agreed in sentiment with the hon. baronet. He expected every hour instructions from his constituents on this point.

Lord *Temple* replied, that nothing which he had heard yesterday, or at any time, appeared to him to shew any occasion for enquiry. He agreed to the delay of the second reading till Monday se'nnight, but farther he could not go.—The second reading was accordingly fixed for Monday se'nnight.

[ARMY ESTIMATES.] General *Tarleton* rose, purely for the purpose of suggesting to the right hon. the secretary at war, the propriety of having the Army Estimates printed. The resolutions founded upon them had undoubtedly been agreed to; but as there were other important military questions to be brought under discussion, which were connected with these estimates, he thought that the estimates ought to be printed, with a view to give the house every opportunity of coming fully prepared to the discussion of them. He wished particularly to be informed, whether the enlistment for limited service was to be extended to the eight battalions of West-India regiments.

The *Secretary at War* was not aware of any objection to the wish of the hon. general, but that it was wholly unprecedented to order the estimates to be printed after the resolutions founded on them were voted. He could not see what information the hon. general could derive from the estimates with respect to the subject of this particular enquiry, and on this ground he could not agree to the proposition.

General *Tarleton* replied, that there was a paper relative to eight West-India regiments maintained at a considerable expence. He had asked the right hon. secretary for the war department, whether these negro regiments were to be included in the limited service, but had got no answer.

Mr. *Huskisson* thought, that when such novel and important military discussions were expected, every information that could be given, ought to be produced.

Lord *Temple* observed, that the estimates would be printed in the journals; to which

General *Tarleton* replied, that it was not for the satisfaction of members in three or four years, but for the next debate that they were wanted.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* said, the motion was not sanctioned by precedent, or the natural course of things. The gentlemen on the other side said, the army estimates were of importance. When were they otherwise? They said, they were now different from what were usual; that also was the case in many former years. The estimates were upon the table, and any gent. that pleased might have recourse to them; as to the eight West-India regiments, he did not think that particular point alone could require the additional printing of 6 or 7 hundred copies.

Mr. *Perceval* thought it extraordinary that there should be such reluctance to print the papers, for he heard no argument against it, which would not equally apply to any motion for printing. If the whole of the case had already been disposed of, they might indeed properly quote the precedent; but it was a poor argument, when they knew that there were ulterior discussions in which the estimates might be used.—After some further conversation, the motion was negatived.

[VOTE OF THANKS TO THE MANAGERS OF THE IMPEACHMENT OF LORD MELVILLE.] The *Secretary at War* rose, pursuant to his notice on a former day, to submit a motion to the house, on which, he trusted, he should have the good fortune to meet their concurrence. His motion referred to the great and important subjects to which the attention of the public and of parliament had so long been directed; he meant, the Impeachment preferred by that house, in the last session, against Henry lord viscount Melville, for high crimes and misdemeanours. That Impeachment being now, as far as that house was concerned in the prosecution of it, brought to an end, and understanding that it was customary, and conformable to former proceedings, that the house should express to those to whom the care of that prosecution had been committed, the sense it entertained of the manner in which they executed that trust; he had risen for the purpose of calling the attention of the house to what they had witnessed in Westminster-hall. He believed that the Speaker himself, as well as every member of that house, who had attended during the trial, was sensible, that whatever might have been the merits or services of former committees of management, none had ever discharged the important duties delegated to them, with more credit to themselves and their constituents, with more ability, diligence, and industry, or in a manner more deserving of the marked approbation of the house. In the selection of the persons who were to compose the committee, it was natural for the house to fix upon those in whom they observed the greatest zeal in the cause, and the most vigorous activity in the prosecution of the business. It was natural for them to look, in the first instance, to his hon. friend near him (Mr. Whitbread), whose manly conduct, unceasing diligence, and unabated perseverance, during the whole of this arduous proceeding, had been such, as to merit the thanks of that house, to entitle him to the gratitude of the country, and to insure to him the veneration of posterity. In addition to that hon. gent., the house had selected from amongst all the descriptions that compose their body, persons of distinguished character every way, and eminently qualified for the performance of the important trust confided to them. The house had witnessed the manner in which they had acquitted themselves of that trust, so that it was unnecessary for him to take up any portion of their time by describing it. Whether they looked to the clear, able, and argumentative manner, in which the case had been stated, to the acute, judicious, and discriminating sagacity displayed in the examination of evidence; to the perspicuous, cogent, and comprehensive manner in which the evidence had been summed up; or to the splendid and luminous efforts of eloquence, by which that evidence had been enforced, the house would be at a loss to decide which of the exertions was most entitled to its approbation and thanks. There was another point of view, however, in which these gentlemen appeared to him to merit the thanks of the house, and of every person attached to that most constitutional process, for bringing great and powerful delinquents to justice. It could not but be owned, that, of late years, considerable delays, difficulties, and embarrassments, had brought this mode of trial into disrepute, and created an indisposition in many well-intentioned and respectable persons to have recourse to it at all. But by the manner in which the managers had conducted the late trial, by the care they had used to avoid going into any extraneous topics, and to confine themselves to such points only as were essentially interwoven with the merits of the case, they had in some degree done away those objections to a species of trial, that afforded the best security for the rights and liberties of the people, and was the most salutary and constitutional instrument of the power of parliament. That house had now discharged its duty; it had performed what it owed to the public, and no responsibility attached to it. The only duty that it had now to perform, was to do justice to the merits of those who had so well acquitted themselves of the important trust delegated to them. He should therefore conclude with moving, "That the thanks of this house be given to the members who were appointed the Managers of the Impeachment of Henry lord viscount Melville, for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them."—The motion was seconded by sir John Newport, and agreed to with only one dissentient voice.

The *Speaker* then calling on the Managers, who stood up in their several places, addressed them, in a most impressive manner, as follows; "Gentlemen, this house, upon the result of grave and important enquiries into the administration of the Public Expenditure, came to the resolution of entering upon the most solemn of all its functions; and of resorting to that transcendent power, by which it can bring to judgment all misdeeds done by the highest servants of the crown, and most effectually avenge all inroads made, or attempted to be made, upon the liberties of the people. The conduct and management of that power is delegated to you; to prepare and arrange the proofs of complex and intricate facts; and to make good the charge of high crimes and misdemeanours against a noble person, whose elevated and splendid situations in the state rendered his actions of signal example, for good or for evil, to all persons entrusted with the public treasure. Throughout the progress of the Trial so undertaken, we have seen with peculiar satisfaction, its proceedings conducted with an exemplary diligence and dispatch, which have rescued Impeachments from the disgrace into which they had nearly fallen, and have restored them to their antient strength and honour. Upon your part, we have also witnessed, that unwearied industry, and singular sagacity, with which you have pursued and established the proofs;—that boldness, so properly belonging to the Commons, with which you have maintained the Charge; and that powerful display of argument and learned eloquence which have spread the light of day over dark, secret, and criminal transactions. The issue of the whole is now with the Lords; and, whether that be of condemnation or of acquittal, it rests with a tribunal, which, so far as depends upon human institutions, promises the fairest hopes of ultimate justice. But, be that issue what it may, your part is accomplished. In the discharge of your duty, you have satisfied the expectation of the Commons; you have obtained the high reward of their approbation and thanks; and, in obedience to their commands, I am now to acquaint you with their resolution; 'That the thanks of this house be given to the members, who were appointed the Managers of the Impeachment against Henry lord viscount Melville, for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them.'"

The *Secretary at War* rose and said, that though he was disappointed in his hopes of unanimity on his former motion, by one dissentient voice, yet he believed that in the motion which he was now to submit, he should not be opposed by even that one. The motion was, "That Mr. Speaker be desired to print the speech which he made to the Managers of the Impeachment of lord Melville, in consequence of the resolution of the house."—Agreed to, *nem. con.*

Mr. *Perceval* allowed that the precedents not only justified, but even called for a vote of thanks in this stage of the business. At the same time, for a variety of reasons, which he would not now enter upon, he thought that it might be extremely expedient to consider, whether these votes of thanks ought to be passed, till the final termination of the business of impeachments, by the judgment of the lords. He would not enter now upon the subject in detail, because this would be falling into the evil which he deprecated; but after the judgment of the lords was given in this case, he would certainly bring a motion before the house, to prevent any consideration of a case of Impeachment, by a vote of thanks while it was before the lords, and before they had given their decision.

Sir *John Newport* rose to make some observations on this notice; when the Speaker put a stop to further discussion, by informing the hon. baronet that there was no question before the house.

[UNAUDITED ACCOUNTS.] Mr. *Rose* adverted to the statement made by a noble lord (H. Petty) on a preceding day, which had caused an uncommon sensation in the public mind, as the noble lord had charged his majesty's late government with gross neglect in not calling in balances and arrears of public accounts, to the enormous amount, as it was stated, of 450 millions. From this sum, however, he was at once enabled to strike off a great deduction, by observing, that ninety millions of it were the accounts of the bank, and 250 millions the accounts of the pay-office; and considering that the noble lord, who for twenty years of the late government had the superintendance of that department, was also now at the head of his majesty's government, he could not suppose that any insinuation could be intended in that quarter, notwithstanding the extraordinary tone in which the noble lord dwelt upon these points. The only instance of misconduct in these respects, was that of a gentleman, who had been 52,000*l.* behind-hand; for which, however, he was called to account, and severely punished. With regard to the pay-office accounts, it would be a sufficient vindication of the late government, for him to say, that they had not even yet been returned to the War-office. And as to the navy balance of 90 millions, the only scrutiny or audit upon that was at the Navy-office. Upon the whole, it would appear, that though the noble lord insisted there were 450 millions unaccounted for, there were of that sum 429 millions which remained in departments which did not admit of the possibility of abuse, though it certainly was right that all the accounts should be audited. Going back, then, to the office of the auditor, he said, that, on having discovered and pointed out to Mr. Pitt some impropriety in that department, he brought in a bill for the purpose of checking it, which was opposed by the gentlemen then in opposition; and, on the third reading, a division took place, in which he had the honour of being a teller with the present first lord of the treasury. In pursuance of that bill, a commission was appointed, for the purpose of checking the accounts every way, and taking the discretion out of the hands of the treasury; and, in order to shew that they were persons every way qualified for the office to which they were appointed, he would, with the permission of the house, read their names, which were, sir Wm. Musgrave, Mr. Read, a gentleman of the treasury, Mr. Banks, a gentleman of the law, and the two comptrollers of army accounts. He wished the whole of the accounts in the different departments to be regularly examined into, in order to shew which of them was in the wrong. There was no duty of the house more sacred, not even that of impeachment, which had so lately occupied their attention, than that of scrutinizing the public accounts; and it was for that purpose that he should first propose the production of the accounts, and afterwards move that they be all referred to a committee, with instructions to report the names of the persons who held balances in their hands, so that regular proceedings might be taken against them. The act he alluded to had been in force for 21 years, and this was the first time he heard that it had been ineffectual. He knew not who the persons were whom the noble lord meant to call before his commissioners; but he knew of several that would not appear to be defaulters; as in some cases, though he believed it was not sanctioned by law, the responsibility was by some means or other transferred from the principal to the sub-accountants. The next point he had to advert to, was that of an immense expenditure, of no less than 10 millions annually, in the War-office, which never was accounted for. Having noticed this, in the course of his enquiries in the last year, he mentioned it to his right hon. friend, now no more, (Mr. Pitt,) who meant to make it the subject of a distinct measure. He had since put the same statement into the hands of one of the commissioners of military enquiry, who returned it this day; and an examination of it would shew that there were, in the present year, upwards of 9 millions unaccounted for by the secretary at war. The noble lord, amongst other things, had stated, that upwards of 700,000*l.* had been annually paid to a Mr. Trotter, and was yet unaccounted for. Why the noble lord selected that gentleman, he knew not, unless it was for stage effect, as he happened to be of the same name with a person who was under the displeasure of that house. The noble lord stated, that, besides being the manufacturer and purveyor, he was also his own comptroller and examiner, and had, after all, only charged a modest commercial commission of 10*l.* per cent. over and above his other profits. He, for his own part, knew little or nothing of this Mr. Trotter; but, upon enquiry, he found that the house of Trotter had been in the habit of furnishing stores for the army these 50 years back. His charges at first were of a moderate amount, but had of late years swelled to such a magnitude, that a late secretary at war (Mr. Yorke), for the purpose of checking the extent of his mercantile profits, made an order that he should give in first an accurate statement of the prime cost; and, secondly, of the expence of labour; after which, he was to be allowed 10 per cent. for his mercantile profits. Such was the conduct of the late secretary at war; but he had lately heard, though from a quarter which he would not quote as accurate authority, that the right hon. gent., his successor, (general Fitzpatrick,) had given his full and unqualified approbation to all Mr. Trotter's arrangements. It would be irregular in him to put a question on that subject to the right hon. gent. now; but to ascertain the fact, he meant, after this question should be disposed of, to move for a copy of the letter which he understood was sent by the present secretary at war to the board of treasury, in approbation of all Mr. Trotter's arrangements. He then concluded with moving, "That there be laid before the house a list of the names of all the principal public accountants, to whom money was issued from the exchequer, and transferred to their sub-accountants; as also of those whose accounts were yet outstanding; distinguishing the ordinary from the extraordinary accounts; together with the names of those who did and did not give in their accounts; distinguishing the balances yet outstanding, from those that were accounted for.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, the right hon. gent., in the long speech he had just made, had not denied or combated any one of the statements he had made on a former night, only with the exception of Mr. Trotter. The right hon. gent. had stated that the greatest part of the unsettled and unaudited accounts which he had mentioned as forming a vast mass of arrears of accounts, were from the Pay-office; that the gentlemen of that office were respectable men, of the most unblemished and honourable characters; and that one of the paymasters-general of that period, was the noble lord now at the head of the treasury. Certainly, said the noble lord, from the political situation and connection in which I stand with the noble personage now at the head of the treasury, and the individual friendship and esteem I have long entertained for him, it is impossible I could mean to cast the slightest insinuation or imputation on the honour, integrity, or attention to business, of that noble lord, whose character has always stood as high as any man's in the kingdom; but, I am sure I can, with great truth and justice, appeal to the house on that point, if I did not expressly state, that I did not mean to cast the smallest imputation on any public accountant; and, as a proof of this, I particularly mentioned the case of lord Macartney, a nobleman of as high character and honour as ever lived, and who was universally allowed to be so, and the peculiar hardship he laboured under, in not being able to get his accounts settled. It unfortunately happened, however, that when I have stated nothing of which the right hon. gent. can directly complain, there is nothing that can deserve his animadversion, but the tone in which I spoke; this, I own, is a difficult thing to answer; an expression may be explained, a mistake may be corrected, but, as to a tone, I really am at a loss what to say on the subject. If, in speaking of measures in which the right hon. gent. himself was concerned, I adopted a tone not pleasing to him, I may be sorry, though I do not feel disposed to apologize to him personally for it; but if, on that, or any other occasion, I had adopted a tone which was disagreeable to the house, I should not only be sorry for it, but would be ready to make the most ample apology for having done so. The right hon. gent. had said that no very considerable part of any arrears would be lost to the public. He himself had stated that he hoped that would be the case. But would the right hon. gent. venture to say, that it was no loss to the public that the accounts of the barrack department, of the public stores to an immense amount, of the expedition to the Helder, of the expedition to Egypt, and of our whole foreign subsidiary system during the last war, had never been audited; all of which had taken place while the right hon. gent. himself was at the treasury board? This being the fact, the house must agree with him in thinking that, though great part of the sums granted for these services might be properly laid out, there was every possibility of great frauds having been committed. The right hon. gent. had accused him of not dealing fairly by Mr. Trotter. He had only stated the circumstances in which that gentleman stood. But did he impute any blame to him? No. If, however, he had omitted it on the former day, he should now ask, if the right hon. gent. thought it proper, that the same person should be the purveyor, manufacturer, and store-keeper for government, and at the same time the auditor of his own accounts? Did the right hon. gent. mean to say that 10 per cent. was all that Mr. Trotter had on these furnishings? He had, besides, an additional 5 per cent. for credit, and another 5 per cent. for incidental charges, making a total of 20 per cent. He had not said, however, that Mr. Trotter was to blame in this; probably he might have been right to have got 50 per cent. if he could. In 1801, suspicions being entertained as to the correctness of his charge, a charge at prime cost was demanded, when it was found that these were his additional charges. He then reduced the 10 per cent. charges to 5 per cent.; the extra charge from 5 to 2½ per cent.; and the other 5 per cent. for interest he gave up entirely; so that he then began to find the same articles for $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which, during the whole of the war, he had charged at no less than 20 per cent. The noble lord had no hesitation in doing Mr. Trotter the justice to declare, that, from every thing he had been able to discover, the articles were of the very best quality. But in so complete an absence of all check on the extent and nature of the charge, it became his duty to advert to the above circumstances. He had so stated it on a former day, and now he could not contradict what he then stated. If he did not find credit for his statement before proceeding to prove it, he knew he should do so when the documents were laid before the house. He felt much obliged to the right hon. gent. for moving for these papers, or any others which could throw additional light on the subject, and should certainly second his motion. He must state, that it would take a very considerable time before the papers could be produced; a delay which would principally arise from the state of the accounts themselves. He had therefore made the necessary enquiry as to what papers could be produced this session; and, after the hon. gent.'s motion should be assented to, he should move for the production of such papers. Part of his plan he might thus be obliged to postpone till next session, keeping in view, however, the necessity of the immediate adoption of that part of it which regarded the balancing of the accounts every year, in the same manner with mercantile houses. Any delay, however, he assured the house, should proceed, not from an idea of abandoning the plan, but from a wish and expectation of being able to bring it to greater perfection.

Mr. *Perceval* said, that as no objection had been, or was to be made to his right hon. friend's motion, there were but two points on which he would trouble the house with a very few observations. From the manner in which this business had been stated by the noble lord in that house, an idea had gone abroad, that the sum of 450 millions, which the noble lord had mentioned, was, for the greatest part, arrears which were recoverable, and it had caused a great sensation in the mind of the public. The noble lord had raised a great expectation in the public mind, that there were great balances due, which might give relief to the public burthens; whereas, those vast sums were no more than arrears of accounts not settled; and the mistake was owing to the noble lord's talking of arrears, and arrears to be recovered. The noble lord had found fault with his right hon. friend, for having complained of the tone in which he had delivered himself; he had said, "an expression might be explained, a mistake corrected; but as to a tone, he could not answer for it." He (Mr. Perceval) thought, on the contrary, a tone might be explained; for, when a person was speaking either sarcastically or ironically of another, a great deal of force and energy might be given in addition to the words used, by the tone in which they were uttered. The second point was, he thought Mr. Trotter had reason to complain of the noble lord, who had described him as the manufacturer, purveyor, store-keeper, comptroller, and auditor of his own accounts; and that, after all this accumulation of relations, he had the modesty to charge 10 per cent. [Here lord H. Petty said, across the table, "No; I deny the modesty."] He had, however, at this time, no profits on these several heads; for, from 1801, these profits had been cut down by the member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Yorke), then secretary at war, to 10 per cent. only. The noble lord had since explained, that what he meant by "auditor of his own accounts" was, that there was nobody to audit them; he submitted to the house, that there was a great difference between the statement and the explanation. He wished the noble lord to give a more correct statement, in order to give satisfaction to the public mind on so important a subject.

Lord *H. Petty* was surprised, that any such mistake should have occurred, as that of taking arrears of accounts for arrears of balances; and, in a speech of considerable length, when talking of arrears, which word frequently occurred, that the instant arrears were mentioned, without the addition of accounts, it should immediately be taken to mean arrears of balances. It was, he thought, that kind of mistake which no one could well make, who did not wish to fall into it.

Mr. *Perceval*, in explanation, said, that a certain morning paper had stated the arrears to be arrears of balances to a vast amount.

Dr. *Laurence* reprobated the misinterpretation of the arrears of accounts into arrears of money; and explained the mention of Mr. Trotter, as applicable only to the complex situation in which he stood, It was a gross and absurd error, that any person could suppose a sum equal to the national debt was outstanding in balances.

Mr. *Haskisson* adverted to a statement in a morning paper, supposed to be in the interest of government, in which the noble lord was described as representing the amount of the accounts unaudited as recoverable to the public.

Mr. *Wilberforce* thought his right hon. friend under him (Mr. Rose) a little too tender, as to persons supposed to hold balances in their hands; and his learned friend (Mr. Perceval) had distinguished between arrears of balances and arrears of accounts unsettled, as if the latter were not a great evil. He thought accounts long outstanding might create numerous abuses, and produce the worst consequences. He gave the noble lord, therefore, great credit for the attention he had paid to the subject, and the plan by which it was proposed to check abuses of this kind in future.

Mr. *Paull* differed with those gentlemen who thought these arrears were no more than arrears of accounts. He thought, on the contrary, there were arrears of balances also; he believed the noble lord was of the same opinion; and he had but little doubt, that large sums would be recovered. In the barrack department alone, an arrear of balances had been lately discovered, by the commission appointed for investigating military accounts; and that no less a sum than 93,000*l.* of the public money was in the hands of general Delancey. There were, unquestionably, many more, when the accounts came to be fully enquired into; and, therefore, he thought there was no such great mistake as had been imputed. He hoped the noble lord would never lose sight of that part of his plan for making the auditors account every year.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, he had expressly stated that to be his intention, and he should not depart from it.

Mr. *W. Dundas* vindicated the conduct of the clerks in the War-office. Since 1793, 898 regimental accounts had been settled; 208 were still to be settled, of which 115 were under examination. The bankruptcy of the great agency house of Ross and Ogilvie had produced great delay. The institution of monthly for half-yearly payments had also retarded the accounts; but he hoped great facility would be given by the quarterly payments now adopted. It was only the account of the 74th regiment that was in arrear so long.

The *Secretary at War* wished every means to be used for facilitating the examination of the public accounts, and particulary those in the War-office; but was by no means so sanguine as to imagine, that the arrangement proposed by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) would be so effectual as he appeared to suppose. He observed, that in the whole course of the conversation which this motion had produced, there had been no opposition to the motion itself; and therefore, the right hon. gent. who made it had no reason to complain, if his object should not be ultimately attained. He must, however, be allowed to observe, that he wished the house not to separate without affording to him an opportunity of saying, that there was no idea of intending to defame Mr. Trotter. No such intention was entertained by his noble friend. He had stated, very fairly, the different characters in which Mr. Trotter had been employed by government, ever since the American war; during which time, said the right hon. secretary, I believe he has discharged his duty to the public with very great and distinguished ability; but the very capacity in which Mr. Trotter acted, rendered it almost impossible that there should not be great confidence in that officer; and the security, for his discharge of the duties of his office, must rest entirely on his integrity. That his accounts are not audited, is not strictly true, for they do undergo an audit; but that cannot be so strictly done, as to prevent the possibility of frauds, and even enormous frauds.

Mr. *Rose* observed, that the noble lord (Henry Petty) had said, he should not alter his tone, on any occasion of the investigation of public affairs; he did not desire that he should; but his feelings and sensations were excited by what fell from the noble lord by way of observation, not upon him, but upon a right hon. friend of his, now no more. These observations were not favourable to the ministerial memory of that great and departed statesman (Mr. Pitt). Very different conduct had been observed by a right hon. gent. on the other side, for which he had a claim on his gratitude. He then proceeded to defend his own conduct in administration under Mr. Pitt. The noble lord had complained, that there was no account of the expeditions to the Helder or to Egypt. Good God! had the noble lord forgotten the pains which were taken by Mr. Pitt to accelerate all public accounts of this nature; and that it was not his fault, that they had not been all forth-coming without delay? By his direction, 35 or 36 clerks had been added to a public office for that purpose; nor was Mr. Pitt contented with that; but he followed it up with various directions for a better mode of investigation of those accounts. But the noble lord had asked him, if he thought there was no evil in the arrears of public accounts. He admitted there was an evil in it; but it was fitting the house should know to whom the delay was owing; it was neither to himself, nor to the late Mr. Pitt. As to the different relations in which Mr. Trotter stood towards government, he had said, and he must repeat it, that he did not know, nor had he any means of knowing, Mr. Trotter's mode of supplying articles for the army until he became paymaster-general, and in that character he was only a mere banker, and had no discretion; he was astonished at the payments which were made to the amount of 10 millions; but if there was any blame imputable to Mr. Trotter, in any part of these accounts, he was sorry that the noble lord's friend (Mr. Windham) was not present, to defend himself for having continued Mr. Trotter in so many different characters under government; however, the noble lord should not put these matters to him (Mr. Rose), for he was not responsible for, nor even apprised of them; the noble lord should direct his observations to those who were concerned, and not to those who knew nothing of the matter. He could not help observing, however, that the noble lord had talked of 450 millions unaccounted for, as if that sum had been lost to the public; whereas, he (Mr. Rose) had stated, that different heads of those very services to the amount of 429 millions were unaccounted for, in which it was impossible for the public to have lost 100*l*. He disclaimed any intention to say any thing disrespectful of the manner in which the numerous clerks in the War-office performed the various duties allotted to them: all he meant to say was, that some considerable regulations ought to take place in that department. He concluded with assuring the noble lord, he should have his utmost support in making all possible disclosure of public accounts. —The motion was then put and carried.

Lord *H. Petty*, on rising to move for additional accounts on the subject, observed, that he was not conscious of having spoken disrespectfully of his late predecessor; but at the same time, he would never be prevented, by any feelings of false delicacy, from performing his duty to the public, in stating abuses which had existed during the administration of that right hon. gent.; and he was certain, that were that great man now alive, he would not have wished him to abstain from any of the statements which he had made. He then moved for a variety of lists of accounts not yet delivered by accountants, nor proceeded upon in the office of the commissioners of audit; which were ordered accordingly.

[TORTOLA FREE-PORT BILL.] Earl Temple moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Tortola Free-Port bill; on which,

Mr. *Rose* briefly adverted to the disadvantages which, he conceived, would result from it, and entreated that the noble lord would consider it in every point of view, before he pressed it through the house.

Mr. *S. Bourne* said, that such a measure had been more than once under consideration, but had been rejected on examination; and he conceived that the board of trade had undertaken the business through the solicitations of certain interested persons, without being aware of the consequences. He therefore would oppose the third reading.

Mr. *Perceval* did not think it decent to press this measure on the house, without a single argument being made use of by the ministers in support of it. The learned gent. then repeated several of the arguments he had before urged against the bill. It would be impossible, he said, that the island of Tortola could ever be in the same situation as the island of St. Thomas; the latter being in the possession of a neutral power, and having a privilege of trading all over the world; neither of which advantages Tortola could have by virtue of this bill. He then adverted to the difficulty that would arise, from the signature of the officer in the island of Tortola not being known in all the different ports of England and Ireland; and concluded by calling on the ministers, not to suffer the bill to pass without breaking through the silent dignity they had maintained in all the stages, and, at least, stating what grounds they had for bringing forward the measure.—No answer being made to this demand, the question was put, and the house divided; when there appeared, for the third reading, 35; against it, 12; majority, 23.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, May 28.

[MINUTES.] The house met, pursuant to adjournment. Strangers were excluded, and continued so till nine o'clock; during which, we understand, their lordships were considering, in a committee of the whole house, the evidence adduced on the trial of lord viscount Melville.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, May 28.

[MINUTES]. A petition was presented by Mr. Alexander, from the merchants of Glasgow, against the bill now pending, for withholding the Drawback on foreign Linens exported from this country; which, with two other petitions, from other merchants, to the same effect, were ordered to lie on the table until the second reading of the bill, which, upon the motion of Mr. Foster, was deferred till Wednesday next.—A new writ was ordered to be issued, for the election of a representative for the county of Somerset, in the room of W. Dickenson, esq. deceased.—Sir J. Anderson presented a petition from the curriers of London, against the bill for repealing the Flaying Act.—The house, upon the motion of lord Temple, resolved itself into a committee for taking into consideration the Foreign Thread Lace Duty act, and the propriety of increasing the duties thereon. Resolved, that it was expedient to increase the several denominations of duties. Ordered to be reported on Friday.—A message from the lords announced their lordships' concurrence in the Irish Spirit Duty bill, the Irish Butter Regulation bill, and several private bills.—Mr. Speaker acquainted the house, that in answer to the communication of the thanks of the house voted to admiral sir Richard Strachan, and the officers, seamen, and marines, under his command, for their gallant services against the enemy, he had received a letter from that officer, dated on board the Cesar, at sea, the 19th of May, 1806; and which he should read. The letter, in substance, acknowledged the receipt of the letter from Mr. Speaker, communicating to sir Richard the honour done him by the house of commons, in their vote, approving the services of himself and the officers and seamen under his command; that he should feel sincere pleasure in performing the duty entrusted to him, of communicating the sense of the house of Commons to the officers, seamen, and marines, under his command; and as to himself, he begged leave to express his hope, that his readiness, on all occasions, to devote his life to the service of his country, would prove him not unworthy the honour conferred upon him.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA—OUDE CHARGE.] Mr. *Paull*, pursuant to the notice he had given, rose to bring forward his promised Charge against the marquis Wellesley, with reference to his conduct to the Nabob of Oude. It was not his wish, he said, to trespass unnecessarily upon the time and attention of the house. The charges he meant to submit to their consideration, he had written, and were in his hand; he would read them, if it was the pleasure of the house, or, with their permission, he would move, without reading them, to lay them on the table.—The Speaker said, the hon. member might use his own discretion, and had certainly a right, if he chose, to use his privilege of laying them on the table. Mr. Paull immediately did so, and moved that the charge be now read. The charge was accordingly read by the clerk at the table, and is as follows:

> "Article of Charge of high Crimes and Misdemeanours committed by Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley, in his transactions with respect to the Nabob Vizier of Oude.

"That Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley was appointed, constituted, and actually became a servant of the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1797, and in the year of the reign of his majesty the 37th. That the office which he was appointed to fill was that of governor-general of Bengal, and subsequently of captain-general of all the king's and company's forces serving in the British territories in the East Indies. That he arrived, and took possession of the government committed to his charge, in the month of May 1798; and that he continued to fill and to exercise the powers of the said office and offices, until the month of August 1805, when he was therein superseded by Charles marquis Cornwallis.—That Oude is an independent principality in the peninsula of India, adjoining on the one side to the British territories, being in extent somewhat larger than England and Wales, having many large and populous cities; amongst which is Lucknow, the present capital, exceeding, in number of inhabitants, London and Westminster together; and containing in the whole principality, a population of nearly 6,000,000 souls. That the government is monarchical in form, and absolute in the person of the sovereign, whose title is that of Nabob Vizier; who had under him, previous to the spoliation and extortion of marquis Wellesley, a high and opulent nobility; whose court exhibited every mark of splendour, and every proof of reverence and devotion to the sovereign; whose jewels alone were worth 4,000,000*l.* sterling; whose retinue was so numerous, that he was sometimes attended with 500 elephants richly caparisoned, the whole number of his elephants and stable horses amounting to several thousands; and whose army consisted of more than 13,000 horse, and 30,000 foot, exclusive of artillery, and exclusive also of an armed police. That the principality of Oude abounds in fertile lands, and yields (besides those sorts of grain which are common to England) cotton, indigo, rice, sugar, and many other valuable commodities. That the manufactories, previous to the spoliations of marquis Wellesley, were extensive, and the exports thereof great, both in quantity of goods and in amount of value; and that the revenues of the country were abundant, and daily increasing. That the mode of raising the revenues of Oude has grown out of the nature of the government; according to the laws and usages of which, the sovereign, that is to say, the nabob vizier, is the sole and exclusive owner of the lands, there being in the country no property but that which is derived from the profits of the taxes farmed out or let by him, and collected by his authority, and, if need be, by the aid of his troops. That the great renters or farmers-general of the taxes, are called Aumils, of whom there are about 20 in number, and to whom the taxes of counties or portions of the country are let; the two principal aumils being Almas Ali Cawn and Mirza Mehindy, the former having the farm of one-third and the latter of one-fourth of the revenues of the whole country. That there is another class of renters or farmers of the taxes under the aumils, called Zemindars, a superior class of whom are also distinguished by the name of Rajahs, who rent of the aumils the taxes of their several townships or villages, each zemindar being, however, in such his minor district, a sort of hereditary feudal chieftain, having his family, his clan, and generally a fortress to defend himself against the aumil, in case of a quarrel arising from the oppression of the latter, or from any other cause. That from the Ryots, or husbandmen, and manufacturers (which character is generally united in the same person) the taxes are collected by their respective zemindars. That the rent of the taxes is fixed by agreements annually made, first, between the nabob vizier and the aumils, who are, besides, great nobles, composing a part of his court, and, except in the season of collecting, residing in the capital; next, between the aumils and the zemindars, from whom the former obtain as high a rent as they can prevail on the latter to give; and, lastly, between the zemindars and their ryots, to each of whom is left, out of the produce of his labour, the means wherewith to subsist in a greater or less degree of ease, there being, according to the laws and usages of the country, no possibility of his acquiring any thing to which the name of property can apply. That, from such a state of existence, so degrading in the eyes of Britons, it became a British governor and commander (if at all justified in interfering) to endeavour to exalt the people of Oude; but that, as it will hereinafter appear, the aforesaid marquis Wellesley, after having, under pretences the most groundless, encroached upon and extended his sway over the principality of Oude, did, upon the people thereof, impose burthens greatly surpassing any that had ever been imposed even by the most oppressive of their native sovereigns, their aumils, or their zemindars.—That the British connection with Oude began in the year 1765, under the governor-generalship of Robert lord Clive, by the treaty of Allahabad, being a treaty of peace, and of defensive alliance between the East-India company and the then reigning sovereign Sujah ul Dowlah; stipulating, amongst other things, that, "in case the dominions of his highness Sujah ul Dowlah shall at any time hereafter be attacked, the English company shall assist him with forces according to the exigency of his affairs, and that in such case the extraordinary expence of the forces so employed, shall be defrayed by him;" the said treaty in form, language, and tenour, fully shewing, that the said nabob vizier Sujah ul Dowlah was, to all intents and purposes, the sovereign of a state perfectly independent. That, in 1768, by a treaty made at Benares, between the English company and the nabob vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, an explanatory clause was added to the treaty of Allahabad, respecting the number of troops to be in future maintained by his highness, and confirming the said treaty of Allahabad.—That in the year 1773, under the governor-generalship of Warren Hastings, esquire, a treaty of cession and of subsidy was made at Benares between the English company and the nabob vizier Sujah ul Dowlah; by which treaty, were ceded for ever to the vizier and his heirs, three considerable districts of country, then belonging to or claimed by the company; in consideration of which it was stipulated, on the part of the nabob vizier, that he should pay to the English company, at different periods there stated, 50 lacks of sicca rupees; and, in a second article, it was stipulated, in order to prevent disputes concerning the payments to be made by the nabob vizier for expences of the company's troops, which might be called to march to his assistance, that the expence of a brigade should be computed at 2 lacks 10,000 sicca rupees (or 26,250*l.*) per month, such brigade to consist of 2 battalions of European, 6 battalions of sepoys, and 1 company of artillery: and further it was stipulated, that, "exclusive of the abovementioned sum, no more shall, on any account, be demanded from him; and should the company and the English chiefs have occasion to send for the troops of the nabob vizier, the company and the English chiefs shall also pay their expences in the like manner." That in the year 1775, upon the death of Sujah ul Dowlah, Warren Hastings, esq., being still governor-general, as aforesaid, a new treaty was made at Lucknow, between the English company and the nabob vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, son and successor of Sujah ul Dowlah, by which treaty it was stipulated that the said nabob vizier, for the aid and assistance of the English troops when stationed with him, should pay monthly for the charges of a brigade from the time that the said troops should enter his territories, at his request, until their return, the sum of two lacks 60,000 sicca rupees (or 32,500*l.*); and, as the subsidy above stipulated for related particularly to the defence of possessions in the vicinity of the British territories, it was further stipulated, in a subsequent article, that, "if the aforesaid nabob vizier shall ever require the aid or assistance of the English company for the defence of any other of his countries, he will fix something for the company in proportion to the service: and in conclusion this solemn declaration was made: "The English company, and all the English sirdars (or chiefs) engage to perform whatever articles are now mutually settled; and in the future, during the life of the nabob vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, they will not, in any respect or manner, make requests of any thing new, contrary to the tenour of this treaty; and this the parties mutually swear according to their respective faiths." That in the year 1781 Warren Hastings, esq., being still the governor-general as aforesaid, another treaty between the English company and the nabob vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, was made at Chunar: that, previous to the making of this treaty, the subsidiary force having been found unequal to the purposes of external defence and internal tranquillity, other troops have been from time to time introduced under the denomination of Sibbendies, temporary brigade, &c. &c. so that the expences of the military department became a burthen too great for the finances of the country to support; wherefore, by the treaty herein last named, it was declared and agreed, that, the said nabob vizier "having repeatedly and urgently represented that he is unable to support the expences of the temporary brigade, cavalry, and English officers, with their battalions, as well as other gentlemen, who are now paid by him, under the denomination of Sebundy, &c. &c.; and having made sundry requests to that and other purposes, and as the constancy and firmness of his alliance with the company entitle him to every consideration and relief that may depend upon us; I Warren Hastings, governor-general, have agreed that the temporary brigade, and 3 regiments of cavalry, be no longer charged to the nabob's account for the year fussellee 1189, excepting a term for 2½ months, which is required for their passing the nabob's boundaries; and for which, together with all former allowances and arrears, their usual pay and allowances are to be made good; also, that the English officers, with their sebundy battalions, and other gentlemen, excepting the resident's office, now upon the nabob's list, be no longer at his charge for the year 1189, the arrears being paid up, with the addition of two months allowances; the true meaning of this being, that no more troops be paid for by the nabob, than the number of European artillery and sepoys agreed for under the title of one brigade, with the late nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, now paid for at the rate of 260,000 rupees (or 32,500*l.*) per month; to which is now to be added one regiment of sepoys of the present establishment, expressly allowed for the purpose of protecting the office, treasury, and person of the resident at Lucknow; the pay and allowances of which shall commence from the first of Aughun next, at the rate of 25,000 rupees per month (or 3,125*l.*), the regiment to be relieved every 3 months: also, that the brigade shall be stationed or moved wherever the nabob shall direct, in the mode prescribed by the former treaty with the nabob vizier deceased: and finally, that whenever the nabob vizier shall require a further aid of troops from the company, the pay and allowances shall commence from the day of their passing the Carumnassa; also, should the assistance of the nabob's troops be required by the company, their pay and allowances, as may then be agreed on, be allowed during the time they may serve." That thus, by this new treaty, it was settled that the temporary brigade and all other troops, the subsidiary brigade excepted, should be withdrawn; that the subsidiary brigade should be augmented with one regiment of sepoys, for which the nabob vizier was to pay at the rate of 25,000 rupees a month, making the whole subsidy amount to 2 lack and 88,000 rupees (or 35,625*l.*) a month; and that whatever further troops might be sent into the country, at the special request of the nabob vizier, he should pay for at a rate to be agreed upon; and that, in conclusion, it was, by the said treaty, declared and agreed, "that the treaties made between the English and the nabob Sujah ul Dowlah should be ratified between the present parties, as far as might be consistent with the above-written articles; and that no officers, troops, or others, should be put upon the nabob's establishment, exclusive of those before stipulated." That, under the date of the treaty here mentioned of 1781, there was an agreement entered into between the English company and the nabob vizier; in which agreement the nabob vizier promised to accept of, and conform himself to, the advice of the governor-general as to the reduction of his expences, and the appropriation of his revenue; but that, in the said advice or agreement, it was "expressly declared," that "the ultimate object thereof was the nabob vizier's interest alone, the interest of the English company being no further concerned than in the influence which they will eventually have in the payment of the debt due from the nabob vizier to the company."—That, in the year 1787, Charles marquis Cornwallis being then governor-general under the said East-India company, as aforesaid, a new treaty was made, on the 21st of July in the said year, between the said company and the said nabob vizier Asoph ul Dowlah. That this last-mentioned treaty was in form of a letter from marquis Cornwallis to the nabob vizier; the propositions in which letter contained, being accepted in a letter from the nabob vizier, became the stipulations of a treaty between the parties aforesaid. That by this treaty it was stipulated, that, "after the 1st of March 1787, the whole sum to be paid annually by the vizier to the company should be 50 lacks of fyzabad 16 sun rupees (or 600,000*l.*), including the charges for the brigades, those of the residency, the allowance to Saadut Ali Cawn, and the stipends of the Rohillas; there should be no excess unless the vizier should demand more forces from the company; in that case, the increase to be provided for on a fair estimate: That if either of the 2 brigades or corps of cavalry should be recalled, or any considerable diminution in their number should take place, the company should allow the vizier for the decrease of the expence from the sum of 50 lacks, agreeable to a fair valuation; that the arrears due to the residency, to the troops, to Saadut Ali Cawn, to the Rohillas, and to lieut. Anderson, should be paid to the 1st of March, but the other arrears charged to the governor be struck out, and no longer considered as a demand of this government on his excellency: That a resident should remain at his excellency's court; but it being a system now positively and declaredly established, that the company should not interfere in any respect in the details of the vizier's government, strict orders should be sent him neither to interfere himself, nor suffer any interference, for any public or private claims of British subjects or persons under our authority; and that the whole management of the vizier's country should be left to his excellency and his ministers, and no appeals from any of its inhabitants be received by the company's government."—That the said governor-general marquis Cornwallis in council did, afterwards, in a letter by them addressed to the secret committee of the East-India company, dated on the 16th of August 1787, state, "that the satisfaction of the nabob vizier at the conduct and conclusion of this negociation had been expressed in a letter addressed by him to the governor-general, a copy of which, as well as of the kistbundy executed by him, were inclosed; that, upon the whole, they had every reason to affirm that it would prove the foundation of a permanent connection between him and the company, being concluded upon principles of mutual advantage to both; and that notwithstanding the renunciation of the large claims of the company's government upon the nabob vizier, it must in a pecuniary light be deemed beneficial to the company; and that the negociation would appear conformable to the spirit of the company's instructions regarding the conduct of their government to the nabob vizier." That, in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty here mentioned, the said governor-general did, amongst other his instructions to Edward Otto Ives, esq. then resident at Lucknow, strictly enjoin him not to interfere in the internal government of the nabob vizier; observing and ordering as follows; to wit: that, "an interference with the internal government of the nabob vizier's dominions being now unnecessary, as well as contrary to the engagements subsisting between us and the vizier, you will be careful to avoid both the reality and appearance of any; and you will use your endeavours to acquire the confidence of the vizier and his ministers, and to convince them that we have nothing in view but to render the connection with Oude of mutual benefit to both parties." That an account of the conducting and of the result of these negociations, between the nabob vizier and the marquis Cornwallis, having been communicated to the said East-India company, the court of directors of the said company, by a letter to the said governor-general in council, dated on the 8th of April 1789, did "approve of the general arrangement, and of the principles upon which it was framed," and did express their satisfaction, that "the nature of the connection with the nabob vizier was now accurately defined, the defence of Oude being assigned to the British troops under a fixed subsidy, and the internal government of the country remaining with the nabob vizier." That thus, the nabob vizier paying an annual subsidy of 600,000*l.* to the East-India company, the connection between the company and the nabob vizier did continue uninterrupted and unaltered for the space of 10 years.—That, in the year 1797, Sir John Shore, bart. (now lord Teignmouth), being the then governor-general under the said East-India company; it having been found necessary to augment the company's forces; and "the governor-general having represented to his excellency the nabob vizier, the late very great increase of the company's establishments, by the addition of several regiments of cavalry, both European and native; and having, in compliance with the company's order, solicited his excellency's assistance to defray the consequent additional expence;" it was stipulated, in an agreement made at Lucknow in the month of March, in the year last-mentioned, between the said governor-general and the nabob vizier, that "his excellency the nabob vizier, in the fullest reliance that the company's troops are ever ready, in conformity to existing circumstances, to protect and defend his dominions against the attacks of all his enemies, will annually defray the actual *boná fide* expences of a regiment of Europeans and one of native cavalry; (that is to say) two regiments, (the amount of which expences, the governor-general cannot at present specify,) provided they shall not exceed, upon every account, five lacks and a half of rupees per annum; the amount to be defrayed by monthly instalments, of which the first shall commence with the month of Bysade of the present Fussiley year."—That, in the year 1797, the nabob vizier Asoph ul Dowlah died, and was, for a short space, succeeded in the musnud (or throne) by a pretended son, named Vizier Ally Cawn, who, through the aid of the elder Begum and of the great Aumil Almas Ali Cawn, usurped the throne, to the prejudice of the rightful heir Saadut Ali Cawn, brother of the late nabob vizier Asoph ul Dowlah. That, by the aid of the English East-India company, the usurper was dethroned, and Saadut Ali Cawn was placed on the throne on the 21st of January 1798. That, on the 21st of February in the year last mentioned, a new treaty was made at Lucknow between the said nabob vizier Saadut Ali Cawn, on the one part, and the said East-

India company on the other part, the said sir John Shore being still the governor-general, as aforesaid. That, in the treaty here mentioned, it was stipulated, that, as the English company had "incurred a considerable expence by their exertions to restore the nabob vizier to the possession of his rights, he the said nabob vizier should, in consideration thereof, pay to the company the sum of 12 lacs of rupees;" and further, it was in the said treaty stipulated, that, "with a view to enable the English company to fulfil their engagements to defend the dominions of the nabob vizier, and at the same time to provide for the protection of their own dominions, the company having largely increased their military establishments by new levied regiments for that purpose;" that the annual subsidy paid to the company by the nabob vizier should be augmented from 55½ to 76 lacs of rupees (or 950,000*l.*), including the stipends to the Begums and others, and which subsidy the nabob vizier was to pay by monthly kists (or instalments), each instalment being in amount equal to a 12th part of the whole annual subsidy. And further, it was in the said treaty stipulated, as to the company's troops to be maintained in the principality of Oude for its defence, that the said troops should "never consist of less than ten thousand men, including Europeans and natives, cavalry, infantry, and artillery; and that if, at any time, it should become necessary to augment the troops of the company in Oude beyond the number of 13,000 men, including Europeans and natives, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, the nabob Saadut Ali Cawn should pay the actual difference occasioned by the excess above that number; and that in the same manner, if the troops of the company of Oude, from any necessity should be less than 8,000 men, including infantry, cavalry, artillery, natives and Europeans, a deduction should be made from the annual stipend, of 76 lacs of rupees, equal to the actual difference of men below the specified number." And further, it was in the said treaty stipulated, with regard to security for the regular payment of the kists as aforesaid, that, "as the payment of the company's troops in Oude depends upon the regular discharge of the subsidy, stated in the 2d and 3d articles of the treaty, the said nabob engages to exert his utmost endeavours to discharge the stipulated kists with punctuality; but that if, contrary to the sincere intentions and exertions of the said nabob, the payment of the kists should fall into arrear, the said nabob Saadut Ali Cawn engages and promises, that he will then give such security to the company for the discharge of the existing arrears, and the future regular payment of the kists, as shall be deemed satisfactory." And further, in the said treaty it was stipulated, with respect to reductions of expence in the government of the nabob vizier, that, "the subsidy to the company being now considerably increased, and many other permanent charges upon his excellency being incurred, on a comparison of his disbursements with the assets or pecuniary means of his country, it becomes necessary to make such reductions in the superfluous charges of the public establishments, servants, &c. as may be requisite, and are consistent with his excellency's dignity and convenience; and to that end the said nabob agrees to consult with the company's government, and, in concert with them, devise the proper objects of such reductions, and the best means of affecting them:" And, lastly, in the said treaty it was stipulated, as to the management of the internal affairs of the principality of Oude, that "all transactions between the two states should be carried on with the greatest cordiality and harmony on both sides, and that the nabob vizier should possess full authority over his househould affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, and his subjects."—That the terms of the said treaty were highly advantageous to the English company, not only as enabling them to defray almost the whole increased expence of their military establishment, and having added in perpetuity to the possessions of the company the important fortress of Allahabad, which was to be put in a state of defence at the expence of the nabob vizier, but did greatly aid the said company in their commercial concerns, as appears in a letter from the governor-general in council to the secret committee of the court of directors, dated on the 5th of March 1798, and of which advantages the court of directors were fully sensible, as appears by their answer to the extract last quoted, of their political letter to the governor-general marquis Wellesley, dated the 15th day of May, in the year 1799; wherein they observe, that "the governor-general's minute of the 5th of March, 1798, contains a very satisfactory explanation of the variations between the terms of the previous engagement executed by Saadut Ali at Benares, and those of the definitive treaty concluded at Lucknow. By the latter, the company's influence over the vizier's country appears to be sufficiently preserved without the insertion of any article that might be deemed offensive; and we have the further satisfaction to find, that, exclusive of the immediate payment of 12 lacs of rupees (or 150,000*l.* sterling) by the nabob vizier, his annual subsidy is increased upwards of 20 lacs of rupees (or 250,000*l.*), besides the acquisition of a fortress in the Oude dominions, of the greatest consequence in the scale of general defence;" and in the same letter they add, that, "having taken this general view of the subject, with a minute attention however to all the papers and proceedings, we are, upon the whole, decidedly of opinion, that the late governor-general, lord Teignmouth, in a most arduous situation, and under circumstances of much delicacy and embarrassment, conducted himself with great temper, impartiality, ability, and firmness; and that he finished a long course of faithful services, by planning and carrying into execution an arrangement which not only redounds highly to his own honour, but which will also operate to the reciprocal advantage of the company and the nabob vizier."—That the character and conduct of the said nabob vizier Saadut Ali Cawn was, in letters from the governor-general, and from the governor-general in council to the secret committee aforesaid, bearing date on the said 5th of March 1798, thus described: "His talents and capacity, though moderate, are not mean; his habits of economy are strong, and approaching to parsimony; his conduct during his residence at Benares, was reserved and correct; in all his dealings he was fair and just; if some moral defects are imputed to him, they are not exposed to general observation. His conduct, since his accession, has been dignified and conciliatory; and indeed, in all respects, regulated by the strictest propriety; and it is with sincere pleasure we acquaint you, that the most perfect tranquillity prevailed at Oude at the time of the governor-general's departure therefrom, and that there was no ground whatever to apprehend its being disturbed."—That such and so auspicious was the state of affairs in Oude, and such its connection with the East-India company when Richard Colley marquis Wellesley arrived in India, and entered upon his functions, as aforesaid, in the month of May 1798; that is to say, three months after the date of the treaty so happily concluded, and so strongly approved of, as aforesaid.—That, by an act passed in the year 1784, being the 24th year of the reign of his present majesty, it was declared and enacted, that, "Whereas to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation; Be it therefore further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful for the governor-general and council of Fort William aforesaid, without the express command and authority of the said court of directors, or of the secret committee of the said court of directors, in any case, (except where hostilities have actually been commenced, or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities against the British nation in India, or against some of the princes or states dependent thereon, or whose territories the said united company shall be at such time engaged by any subsisting treaty to defend or guarantee), either to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war against any of the country princes or states in India, or any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country princes or states; and that in such case it shall not be lawful for the said governor-general and council to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into treaty for making war against any other prince or state than such as shall be actually committing hostilities or making preparations as aforesaid, or to make such treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any prince or state, but upon the consideration of such prince or state actually engaging to assist the company against such hostilities commenced, or preparations made as aforesaid; and in all cases where hostilities shall be commenced or treaty made, the said governor-general and council shall, by the most expeditious means they can devise, communicate the same unto the said court of directors, together with a full state of the information and intelligence upon which they shall have commenced such hostilities, or made such treaties, and their motives and reasons for the same at large." That by an act passed in the year 1773, being the 13th year of the reign of his present majesty, it was enacted, that, "for the better management of the said united company's affairs in India, Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, That for the government of the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, there shall be appointed a governor-general, and 4 counsellors, and that the whole civil and military government of the said presidency, and also the ordering, management, and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, shall, during such time as the territorial acquisitions and revenues shall remain in the possession of the said united company, be, and are hereby, vested in the said governor-general and council of the said presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, in like manner, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the same now are, or at any time heretofore might have been, exercised by the president and council, or select committee in the said kingdoms." That, nevertheless, the said marquis Wellesley, in defiance and contempt of the laws, to the strict observance of which he was bound by engagements the most solemn, did, from the time of his arrival in India, conceive and entertain the intention, an intention which he finally executed, to encroach upon the power and rights of the said nabob vizier, to interfere in the internal affairs of his government, to undermine and to destroy his authority over his household affairs, his troops, and his subjects, and, under pretences the most false, to extort from him the said nabob vizier, his hereditary dominions, so solemnly guaranteed to him by the company in the treaty of 1798; and that all this he the said marquis Wellesley did without the concurrence, approbation, or consent, and even without the knowledge, of the council of Bengal, and without communicating to the said council, or to his employers the said East-India company, any information whatever of such his intention or proceedings.—That the means by him the said marquis Wellesley employed for the effecting of his designs of encroachment, extortion, and usurpation aforesaid, were, First, the making and reiterating of unfounded complaints and affected apprehensions with respect to the nabob vizier's due payment of the monthly kist (or instalment): Secondly, the making of continual applications to the nabob vizier for the disbanding of his troops; the purport of which applications, together with the persecuting and insulting manner in which they were made, being evidently calculated and intended to disgust the nabob vizier with his government, and to induce him to abdicate his throne: Thirdly, the immediately interfering in the internal government of the nabob vizier, the encouraging of his subjects to resist his authority, and even the fomenting amongst them a spirit of hostility to the person, as well as to the government, of their sovereign: and, Fourthly, the pouring into the country of the nabob vizier troops in such numbers, and of expence so enormous, and the adding thereunto the amount of new and unfounded claims, together with charges for troops, which troops had no existence in fact; thus heaping demand upon demand, until the revenues of the nabob vizier became inadequate to the payment; and having at last compelled him to make an avowal of such inadequacy, seizing upon that avowal as the ground for demanding from him a cession, in perpetuity, of one-half of his territory, as a compensation for the non-payment of the sums so unjustly, and in such direct violation of treaty, of good faith, of honour, and of honesty, demanded.—That, as preliminary to the employment of means so foul, so wicked, so unworthy of a soldier and a Briton, the said marquis Wellesley did recall from Lucknow the then resident, John Lumsden, esq., who had assisted in the negociating of the treaty of 1798, and, in the room of him, did, in the month of June 1799, appoint, as resident at that court, lieut. col. William Scott, with whom the said marquis Wellesley had previously held secret consultations as to his ultimate designs with regard to Oude, and who, as it hereinafter will appear, was a representative entirely worthy of the person whom he was chosen to represent, and of the designs with the accomplishment of which he was charged.—That, with respect to the alledged non-payment of the monthly kist (or instalment) as provided in the treaty of 1798, it doth appear from a retrospective view of the several taeaties and compacts between the English company and the nabob viziers of Oude successively, that the annual subsidy, paid by that country to the company, had, in the space of 25 years, been augmented by degrees from 315,000*l.* to 950,000*l.* That, from a letter of sir John Shore, bart. to the secret committee of the court of directors, dated on the 5th of March 1798, immediately after the conclusion of the treaty last-mentioned, and also from a letter of the said secret committee to the governor-general in council, dated on the 15th of May 1799, it doth further appear, that it was reasonable to expect, and that it actually was expected, that "the nabob vizier would find considerable difficulty in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements with the company during the first year, or perhaps longer;" and that, by the stipulations of the treaty of 1798, a burthen full as great, if not greater, than he could possibly bear, had, in the opinion of sir John Shore, bart., and also of the East-India company, been imposed upon him the said nabob vizier. That, nevertheless, the said nabob vizier did, in a manner the most punctual, begin and continue to make payment of the kists (or instalments), as aforesaid, fixed and agreed upon; that in one single instance only did he suffer to fail in arrear a monthly kist, which he immediately afterwards paid up. That from the day of the conclusion of the treaty to the day of its final abrogation by the treaty of Cession from him extorted by the said marquis Wellesley, he the said nabob vizier did, with the most perfect sincerity and the most scrupulous good faith, adhere, in word and in deed, to all and singular its stipulations and provisions; and that, therefore, the pretences of the said marquis Wellesley, of apprehensions as to the punctual payment of the kists, were insincere, unfounded, and false, and were intended to mask the unjust, dishonourable, and perfidious designs, which he had previously formed for interfering in and encroaching upon the government of the nabob vizier, for disbanding his troops, and finally for seizing upon his territories, in defiance of the positive compact with the said nabob vizier, as well as in defiance of the law before cited, which he the said marquis Wellesley was solemnly bound to observe, adhere to, and obey.—That, with respect to the disbanding of the troops of the nabob vizier, it was, in the treaty of 1798 afore-mentioned, settled, and agreed, that "the said nabob vizier should possess full authority over his household affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, and his subjects;" and that, in another part of the said treaty, it was settled and agreed, that, "Whereas by the engagements now entered into between the nabob vizier and the company, the amount of the subsidy is considerably increased, and many other permanent charges upon his excellency are incurred; upon a comparison of his disbursements with the assets (or pecuniary means) of his country, it becomes necessary to make such reductions in the superfluous charges, servants, &c. as may be requisite and are consistent with his excellency's dignity and convenience; and to that end the said nabob agrees to consult with the company's government, and, in concert with them, devise the proper objects of such reductions, and the best means of effecting them."—That, in a letter from the secret committee of the court of directors aforesaid to the governor-general and council, dated on the 15th of May 1799, it is stated, that, seeing the difficulties which the nabob vizier had to encounter, as afore-mentioned in the letter of sir John Shore, bart., they the said secret committee are "not surprised to find, by the last accounts, that an arrear had accumulated in the payments of the kists, to the amount of 18 lacks of rupees; that, lord Mornington having represented, however, that he believes the nabob vizier is sincerely disposed to make every possible effort for the liquidation of this arrear, as well as for introducing such a system of order and economy into the management of his finances, as will enable him to be more punctual in his future payments, they the said secret committee entertain a well-grounded expectation that every cause of complaint upon this head will speedily terminate; observing at the same time, that the large, useless, and expensive military establishment within the Oude dominions, appears to them to be one of the principal objects of economical reform." That hence it doth manifestly appear, that, even agreeably to the hard terms of the treaty of 1798, and to the subsequent instructions of the secret committee, the disbanding of the troops of the said nabob vizier had in view no object beyond that of leaving him the means punctually to discharge the stipulated kists; that, in the extent of disbanding, reduction, or reform, due attention was to be paid to the dignity and convenience of the nabob vizier; and, in the execution of the measure, the nabob vizier was to be the principal, he having agreed merely to consult upon the subject with the company's government, and having, in the express terms of the treaty aforesaid, retained "full authority over his household affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, and his subjects." But that, notwithstanding the obvious meaning of the stipulations and instructions aforesaid; notwithstanding the arrear before-mentioned had been fully paid up, and all the subsequent kists had been paid to the day, and even the day before due; notwithstanding the nabob vizier had, in strict conformity to the treaty, not only shewn a willingness to make a reform in his military establishment, but had urgently besought the company's government with him thereon to consult, and in concert to devise proper objects of reduction, and proper means in such reduction to be employed; all this notwithstanding, the said marquis Wellesley, in furtherance of his iniquitous designs of territorial aggrandisement, extortion, and plunder afore-mentioned, did, between the month of July and the 12th of Nov. 1799, as well himself as by and through the means of the said William Scott, by him thereunto moved and instigated, directly interfere in the internal government, in the household affairs, and in the appointment of counsellors and ministers of the nabob vizier, and, in terms the most peremptory and arrogant, dictate unto him the said nabob vizier such a reduction of his military establishment as would have left him no troops over whom to exercise authority, and as would, according to the remonstrance made by the said nabob vizier, have left him "no authority whatever over his dominions or his subjects;" and, finally, did threaten to march, and actually made preparations for marching, large bodies of the company's troops into the territories of Oude, to be maintained at the expence of the nabob vizier; avowing at the same time, that the nabob vizier would be unable to make good such expence, without disbanding his own troops; insomuch, that, at the epoch last-mentioned, namely, on the 12th of Nov. 1799, wearied with unceasing importunities and threats; thwarted by the frowardness of his Aumils and others thereunto stirred up and encouraged by the said marquis Wellesley; disgusted with a system of interferences, of dictation, of reproof, and of insult, by which he was exhibited as a slave in his own capital—the said nabob vizier did make unto the said marquis Wellesley a proposition for the abdication of his throne, for the placing his son thereon, and for retiring himself to a distance from his capital; his intention, as it afterwards appeared, being to make in person an appeal to the justice of the king and the parliament in England. Whereupon the said marquis Wellesley, in pursuance of his unjust and unlawful designs as before described, eagerly seizing upon the proposition so made by the nabob vizier, and, falsely ascribing the said proposition to a sense of incapacity and inability to govern in the said nabob vizier, did unto him the said nabob vizier, through the means of the said William Scott, propose the executing of a treaty, whereby to assign over, in perpetuity, to the East-India company, "the sole administration of the civil and military government of all the territories and dependencies of the state of Oude, together with the full and entire right and title to the revenues thereof," to the utter exclusion of his sons and of every branch of his family, to agree to quit the territories of Oude for ever, to remove unto and reside in some place within the company's territories, to be fixed by the governor-general in council; there to reside, and the said place of residence not thereafter to change, without the leave of the governor-general in council, and thus to renounce his dominions and his subjects, to disinherit his sons and his family for ever, and, in return, to become, in fact, a prisoner in some one or other of the company's fortresses in the province of Bengal or of Behar.—That the nabob vizier, astounded at a proposition so unjust in itself, and so insulting to his feelings, yet so characteristic of the mind and of the views of the proposer, and strenuously remonstrating against the terms of the said treaty, which he finally rejected, the said marquis Wellesley, while, on one hand, he renewed with increased arrogance his menaces of interference, encroachment, extortion, and usurpation, did, on the other hand, resort to the use of persuasions the most insincere, insidious, and crafty; he the said marquis Wellesley having to the said William Scott stated, that "the proposition of the nabob vizier was pregnant with such immense benefit, that it could not be too much encouraged; and that there were no circumstances which should be allowed to impede the grand object to which it led, that object being the acquisition by the company, of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude;" while at the same time he the said marquis Wellesley did instruct the said William

Scott to declare to the nabob vizier, that "his abdication of the government of Oude was neither wished for nor approved of by him" the said marquis Wellesley; thus evincing the profoundest hypocrisy, united with views the most tyrannical, violent, and cruel.—That, with respect to the fomenting, amongst the subjects of the nabob vizier, of discontents against his government, and hostility to his person, the said marquis Wellesley, through the means of, and in concert with the said William Scott, besides the divers acts of the kind here mentioned and before referred to, did, after the rejection of the aforesaid insulting and cruel proposition, together with other propositions nearly thereunto resembling, and with the view and the intention of driving the nabob vizier, his rights and revenues and territories to renounce, intrigue with, stir up, and, as well by threats as by promises, did move and instigate the subjects of the said nabob vizier the due authority of their sovereign to contemn, his lawful commands to set at nought, his just claims to refuse, and his person to abhor. That, in the month of May 1801, a cession of territory having been demanded of the nabob vizier by the said marquis Wellesley, and the demand having been backed by the marching of large bodies of the company's troops into the territories and near the capital of Oude; the nabob vizier seeing resistance to be in vain, yet hoping to obtain some small degree of security for his person, his revenues, and his authority, in the territories which should remain in his hands, did draw up a paper of requests, communicating the same in a manner expressly unofficial to the said William Scott, from whom, in a very short time afterwards, he the said nabob vizier did receive back the said paper, together with an urgent recommendation, accompanied with professions of the warmest friendship, that the nabob vizier would not insist upon his, the said William Scott's, transmitting any such paper to the said marquis Wellesley; but that the said William Scott, during the short time that the said paper remained in his hands, did surreptitiously take a copy thereof, and the said copy did immediately transmit to the said marquis Wellesley, together with an account of all circumstances under which, and all the means whereby, the said copy had been obtained; and that, between the month of May last-mentioned, and the month of July 1801, the said marquis Wellesley, through the means of, and in concert with the said William Scott, did make preparations for obtaining an attested copy of the said paper from the nabob vizier, which copy they at last obtained. That, in the said paper of requests, the nabob vizier having expressed his wish, that, "should any person have obtained, or should thereafter obtain, by breach of trust or other means, possession of specie or property belonging to the sircar of Oude, no one should obstruct his taking back such property;" and the said marquis Wellesley intending to strip him of all authority, and all means of self-protection, seized upon the wish, so expressed by the nabob vizier, as a means of rendering him odious and detestable in the eyes of the most wealthy of his subjects, whose riches and jewels to be able to confiscate at pleasure, he the said marquis Wellesley pretended to regard as the object of the wish so expressed by the nabob vizier. That the said marquis Wellesley, thus falsely pretending, did, on the 2d of June 1801, thus write to the nabob vizier: "The publication of the articles tendered by his excellency to the governor-general, and still more any attempt to carry them into effect, would inevitably occasion the most dreadful convulsions in the province of Oude, and would for ever alienate from his excellency's person and government every sentiment of affection, obedience, or respect; and the governor-general, therefore, not only expresses his anxious hope that the nabob vizier will never revive the project contained in the proposed articles, but his lordship most earnestly recommends it to his excellency to exert every possible precaution to prevent the tenour of those propositions from transpiring in his excellency's court, or among any description of his excellency's subjects."—That the said marquis Wellesley, while he was thus writing to the nabob vizier, while he was thus expressing his apprehensions lest the nabob vizier should suffer the knowledge of his wish, so expressed, to transpire amongst any description of his subjects, was actually conveying to the said William Scott the instructions here following; to wit: "I conclude, that you have retained an attested copy of the paper of requests, of which you have sent me the original. If it should become necessary to assume the districts without his excellency's consent, I desire you to consider, whether it may not be expedient to furnish the Begum, Alma Ali-

Cawn, Hussein Reza Cawn, and the principal personages in Oude, with attested copies of such parts of that paper as tend to disclose the comprehensive project of confiscation, proscription, and tyrannical violence, entertained by his excellency against his own family, nobility, and people. If you should concur with me in opinion, that such a communication to the persons named and described in the preceding paragraph might be useful, I authorise you to make it at the period of time, and to the extent which you may judge adviseable."—That the said William Scott, having before made use of numerous means to seduce the nabob vizier's subjects from their allegiance, did, in the month of July 1801, make to certain amongst them a communication of the contents of the said paper of requests, accompanied with the false, malicious, and wicked construction thereon put by the said marquis Wellesley, and for the foul and treacherous purposes afore-mentioned; and that, after all the transactions aforesaid, the said marquis Wellesley did, in a public and official manner, express his entire satisfaction at the conduct of the said William Scott, and did, as a mark of such his satisfaction, appoint the said William Scott to be one of his honorary aides-de-camp, or legion of honour, a distinction which, agreeably to the express words of the said marquis Wellesley, he had "reserved for such officers as had proved highly meritorious in the field, or in the conduct of negociations with foreign states."—That, with respect to the pouring of troops into the territories of the said nabob vizier, the loading him with accumulated expences, and the final seizure of one-half of his territory, as a commutation for the sums so unjustly demanded, the said marquis Wellesley having disbanded the troops of the said nabob vizier without his consent, which disbanding he had represented as sufficient to enable the said nabob vizier to meet all the demands that would ever come against him for the support of the company's troops to be in lieu thereof introduced into the dominions of Oude; having introduced into the said dominions, corps upon corps, adding expence to expence, making, upon exaggerated and fraudulent estimates and returns, demand after demand on the treasury of the nabob vizier, while at the same time he undermined the authority of the said nabob vizier over the persons from whom his revenues were immediately received; having, in fact, seized upon great part of the territories from which the nabob vizier's revenues were derived, insomuch, that on the 18th of July 1801, in answer to reproaches to him by the said William Scott made, relative to the non-payment of the kist, the said nabob vizier in the bitterness of his heart, thus represented the tyranny over him by the said marquis Wellesley exercised: "In respect to the kist, you well know, that in opposition to and in defiance of me, you have called before you the aumils and their vakeels (or messengers), and, without my acquiescence, or any participation on my part, you have told them that such and such countries belonged to the company, and have forbidden them giving me the peishgee, or advance; and further, you have directed the officers in command of the troops to establish themselves in the countries alluded to; judge then, what confusion these circumstances must have given rise to in the country; what confidence the aumils can now repose in me: having first deprived me of the means of collecting the revenues, you then call upon me to make payments."—Having, by means so unjust, and tyrannical, reduced the said nabob vizier to the situation here described, the said marquis Wellesley, under the false pretence of being so authorized to act by the treaty of 1798, did demand, and by and through the means of his brother the hon. Henry Wellesley, by him unlawfully appointed to the mission at Lucknow, did, from the said nabob vizier force and extort the cession in perpetuity to the East-India company, of the one half of the whole of the territories of Oude. That, in the month of November 1801, a treaty, in which the said cession was stipulated for, was concluded with the nabob vizier; that the said Henry Wellesley, in order to compel the said nabob vizier thereunto to consent, did renew the alarming threats so frequently resorted to by the said marquis Wellesley, by the means of, and in concert with the said William Scott; that he the said Henry Wellesley was instructed to declare, and to the said nabob vizier did declare, the settled determination of his brother, the said marquis Wellesley, to seize upon the whole of the dominions of Oude, unless the cession proposed was assented to; and that the said marquis Wellesley, resorting again to his false, malicious, and wicked construction of the paper of requests, did instruct the said Henry Wellesley to present and to publish a declaration, containing the parts of the said paper referred to, together with the said marquis Wellesley's construction thereof, to the end that the most opulent and powerful subjects of the said nabob vizier might thereby be induced to abandon their sovereign, and to join in the views of the said marquis Wellesley; which said instructions were expressed in the following words; to wit: "You will communicate to the Begum, to the other members of his excellency's family, and to the principal persons of rank at the vizier's court, the nature and extent of those acts of arbitrary power to which the vizier required the sanction of the British name, as the condition of his consent to a territorial cession. And his lordship directs that this unparalleled instance of rapacity and injustice, form a leading article in the declaration to be preferred by you, and transmitted for his lordship's approbation. You will also communicate to the Begum, and to the other personages in question, a copy of his lordship's reply to that part of the vizier's propositions. His lordship has no doubt, that the knowledge of this transaction will fully explain the necessity of the company's assumption of the civil and military government of Oude to those persons who are the objects of his excellency's proscription. His lordship is also of opinion, that his excellency the vizier, either sensible of the disgrace, or apprehensive of the consequences of a public exposure of his tyrannical views, may be ultimately induced to accede to an equitable arrangement by a seasonable notification of this part of your instructions, and of its result. His lordship deems it not improbable, that the principal persons to whom the foregoing communication is to be made, may come forward with declarations expressive of their indignation at his excellency's unwarrantable views, and soliciting the protection of the British government: in this event, his lordship directs that you will receive such representations, and transmit them immediately to his lordship. But the most noble the governor-general desires that you will not solicit or express any wish to receive any such representations. His lordship deems it of essential importance, that the receipt and substance of such representations should be particularly noticed in the proposed declaration. The communication above directed to the family of the vizier, and the principal persons of his court, will consequently precede the delivery of that document to his excellency the vizier." That, notwithstanding the embarrassment and danger arising from intrigues so perfidious, notwithstanding the alarming threats and the personal insults from the said Henry Wellesley daily received; notwithstanding the great numbers and the menacing attitude of the company's troops; notwithstanding the orders for a seizure, by hostile means, of the whole of the dominions of Oude, had actually been issued by the said marquis Wellesley; all this notwithstanding, the said nabob vizier did, until he had exhausted every means of remonstrance, until resistance could no longer be continued without imminent danger to his life, and to the lives of his family, withhold his assent from, and decidedly reject, the treaty of cession as aforesaid; under the mask of which treaty, but in fact by force of arms, the said marquis Wellesley did wrest from the said nabob vizier a territory yielding an annual revenue of 1 croare and 35 lacks of rupees (or 1,682,500*l.*); that though the said nabob vizier, thus persecuted and plundered, dreading further acts of injustice and violence, and anxiously wishing for the future to be free from the interference of British amity and advice, most earnestly besought the said marquis Wellesley to leave him the sole management of the territory unto him the said nabob vizier now remaining, the said marquis Wellesley, by the means of, and in concert with his brother aforesaid, did, in manner and in terms the most haughty and insulting, reject the said request; guaranteeing unto the said nabob vizier and his heirs the sovereignty of the said remaining territory, solely upon the condition, that they should hold it under such a system of administration as might be recommended by the officers of the said East-India company: And that this injurious and degrading condition was by the said marquis Wellesley imposed, under the impudent pretext of its being necessary, in order to secure the fulfilment of the treaty of 1798; according to the letter, as well as to the spirit of which treaty, the whole of the dominions of Oude were guaranteed to the nabob vizier and his heirs for ever, with "full authority over his said dominions, his household affairs, his troops, and his subjects." That, proceeding in the completing of a triumph so inglorious, the said marquis Wellesley, by the means of, and in concert with his said brother Henry Wellesley, did, at the moment of his taking possession of the territories to the company ceded as aforesaid, impose new and unprecedented burthens upon the people; augmenting, in a proportion of nearly one-half, the revenues from them before collected, and employing in the collection of those revenues, in extorting from the husbandmen the very means of existence, those troops, those British regiments, which, with his wonted insincerity, he had introduced under the specious guise of a desire to defend the country against its external enemies, and to relieve the people from internal oppression. That, having by means of these his extortions, and other acts of oppression and of tyranny, excited the resistance of certain amongst the zemindars and rajahs before described, the said marquis Wellesley did, by the means of, and in concert with his brother aforesaid, cause the mansions and retreats of the said rajahs to be surrounded, attacked, and plundered, and the said rajahs, their faithful adherents, their relations, vassals, and servants, to be barbarously slain; thus finishing in violence and murder that which in fraud and perfidy he had begun: and that, in order to stifle the groans of complaint, to extinguish all hope of redress, and his fraudulently acquired and tyrannical power the more securely to preserve and to exercise, he the said marquis Wellesley, as well by himself as by his brother aforesaid, did declare, and unto the princes and people of India did, through the means of such declaration, proclaim, that no change of administration in Britain could stay the course of his proceedings, as aforesaid; falsely and audaciously thereunto adding, that the said course, a course of fraudulent pretences, of pecuniary extortion, of political encroachment, and of territorial invasion and usurpation, had "already received the approbation of his sovereign, of parliament, and of the company."—That in all and singular the above recited acts and proceedings, the said Richard Colley marquis Wellesley has been wholly unmindful of the solemn engagements of duty to the said East-India company, to his sovereign, and to his country, by him entered into; has daringly contemned the parliament, the king, and the laws, and dishonoured the British nation and name; and has therein been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanours."

After the charge had been read, Mr Paull observed, that a more important business than this had never come before the house. He moved, that the said article should lie on the table, and be printed. Lord Archibald Hamilton seconded the motion.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* did not oppose the printing of the charge; but wished to know at what time the hon. gent. intended to proceed upon it.

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* observed, that he was glad that the charge had been brought forward, but at the same time he must state that many gentlemen talked of the princes of India as they did of the king of Sardinia, or any other European princes, whose territories were guaranteed in order to preserve the balance of Europe. Such a thing as a balance of power was not known in India, therefore the cases were different. There was no power in India but the power of the sword. The chief who could procure the command of troops and money, and was of a bold and enterprising disposition, always had the superiority till he was superseded by a stronger than himself. The changes of governments, or of sovereigns there, were not to be regarded with the same feelings as we did such things when they happened in Europe.

Mr. *Francis* could not sit silent on the present occasion, as some explanation was required of the very erroneous idea which the hon. gent. on the other side seemed to entertain of the mode of conduct which justice required should be adopted relative to the Indian princes. The hon. gent. seemed to assert that the Indian princes did not hold their possessions by the same tenure as the European sovereigns. He said that the only power in India was the power of the sword. This was indeed, he was afraid, but too true; there was no power in India but the power of the sword, and that was the British sword, and no other. These princes held their sovereignties in consequence of the dissolution of the Mogul empire ever since the year 1740. But whatever might be the original right of these princes, they had been acknowledged by us, as we had entered with them into contracts and treaties. To deprive them, therefore, of their territories was, in the first place, a violation of justice itself; and, in the next place, an infringement of the orders of this house; and therefore he hoped we should go to the discussion of this question with the conviction that the rights of the Indian princes were founded on justice and the authority of this house, as they had been acknowledged as independent by our treaties with them.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* observed, that after what had fallen from his hon. friend, it was perfectly unnecessary for him to say a word more on the subject. If the hon. gent. opposite thought that the Indian princes were not entitled at our hands to the same justice as other independent sovereigns, he hoped that the number in this house who agreed with him were but small. There was no proposition more universal than this, that you acknowledged the right of a sovereign with whom you treated. It was true, when an ancient sovereign fell, and another came in his place, the feelings of regret for the fate of the sufferer might be more acute, and the indignation against the more recent sovereign more strong and general. Yet this must be confined to third persons; for those who treated with him must, by that act, be considered as having acknowledged his authority. But if ever there was one case where the breach of treaty ought to occasion more indignation than in another, it was where there was no power but the power of the sword, especially in India, where, as had been stated, that sword was the British sword. If ever there could be a case where a breach of treaty could be defended, it was only in support of the weak against the strong. But in India the British ought to be bound by their compacts the more closely, the more it was in their power to break them. This he hoped and believed would be the general sentiment of the house. He could not help saying thus much on the general principle, without applying it at present in any way to the case before the house.

Mr. *Bankes*, in concurring in the sentiments that had fallen from the right hon. gent. who spoke last, hoped that he should not be considered as giving any countenance to this mode of proceeding. He still maintained that the matter ought to be submitted to that board which had been appointed for the express purpose of investigating Indian affairs.—The charge was then ordered to be printed.

Mr. *Paull*, in answer to the question put by the hon. baronet, said he would proceed in the charge in three weeks at the farthest. He would move on Friday for certain papers relative to the expulsion of the Rajah of Shasnee.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* thought the delay of three weeks too much, after so many papers had been moved for, and a general notice given twelve months since. He took this opportunity of stating, that he knew no distinction of right with respect to the princes of India and the princes of Europe. In his defence of lord Wellesley, far from assuming such a distinction, he would shew that lord Wellesley had neither invaded a right nor violated a treaty.

Mr. *Paull* said, that the papers were voluminous, and that he himself, with all his exertion, could not be prepared to proceed upon the charge sooner than the time mentioned. If the hon. baronet would look into the precedents, he would find that three weeks was the shortest period: as to the papers, they were essential.

Mr. *R. Thornton*, as he had been particularly referred to concerning these papers, stated that they had not certainly come to the directors in the regular way in which they ought to have come. They had only come in the Bengal consultations. They were not so long, perhaps, as far as he could judge, as the Furruckabad papers. They certainly were very material, and applied to the present charge. As to making them the ground of a separate article, he did not think that desirable. He was sorry that they had not come to hand as they ought to have done, as by this means the directors were not in possession of some material information on the point to which they related.

Mr. *Wellesley Pole* said, that the hon. gent. had stated no reason for putting off the consideration of the charge for three weeks.

The *Speaker* said, that on that head the hon. gent. had a right to exercise his own discretion.

Mr. *Paull* advised the hon. gent. to look at the precedents, and then he would find that three weeks was the shortest time that had been mentioned for entering into consideration of such charges.—The Charge was accordingly ordered to be considered on that day three weeks.

[PROPERTY DUTY BILL.] Lord *Henry Petty* moved the third reading of the bill for imposing an additional Duty on Property.

Mr. *Francis* observed, that he had some serious observations to make on one of the clauses which he before objected to in the committee, and wished to know whether this was the proper opportunity?

The *Speaker* informed him, that if he intended to object to the principle of the bill altogether, this was the proper stage for doing so; but if his objections went only to a particular clause, he must wait till the new clauses were disposed of.—After some little conversation, the hon. gent. acquiesced in this arrangement.

Mr. *Vansittart* proposed a clause for allowing the commissioners acting under the act, to take out certificates to exempt them from serving on juries or in parish offices.

Sir *R. Buxton* wished to know the grounds on which the exemption was proposed.

Mr. *Vansittart* replied, that it was meant as a relief to a set of gentlemen laboriously employed in the service of the public, without emolument.

Sir *R. Buxton* said, that he had no other objection to the clause than a fear that, if that principle was introduced here, it might render magistrates, and others in similar circumstances, discontented for not having the same advantages.—The clause was then agreed to.

Mr. *Vansittart* then proposed another clause for rendering complete the assessments of former years, in districts where they had not been made out.

Mr. *Johnstone* asked if this clause would not have the effect of obliging some persons to pay at the rate of 16½ per cent. within one year?

Mr. *Vansittart* replied, that a provision was made for obliging no person to pay in any one quarter, more than two quarters of arrears. After this, the clause was agreed to.—He then proposed a third clause, providing, that the same commissioners and assessors who had acted under former bills, should also make out the assessments under this.

Mr. *Johnstone* apprehended the effect of this clause might be to compel some persons in the course of a year and a half to pay 21*l.* per cent.; and lamented that clauses of so much importance had not been proposed at an earlier time, when there would have been a better opportunity of discussing them.

Lord *H. Petty* replied, that on so comprehensive and voluminous a measure, a great variety of suggestions must have been expected, which had not been thought of at an earlier period. The effect of this clause, he said, would only be, that those who had before contrived to evade the tax, should not be allowed to continue always in arrears.—The clause was then added.

On coming to the clause which exempted from the duty any sums held by foreigners in the funds,

Mr. *Francis* rose and spoke as follows:—Sir, before I enter into the considerations, which I mean to submit to the house, respecting a very important clause in the present bill, I beg leave to state to you the circumstances, which have led me into this situation. It is painful to me, at all times, to differ from my right hon. friend (Mr. Fox), and still more to find myself compelled to maintain an opinion, which I know he will oppose. In fact, however, I have not provoked this question, nor was it possible for me to foresee that I should have to maintain it against my right hon. friend. Some time, I think, before the Property bill was in print, and when I knew little or nothing of its contents, a right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose), whose assiduous attendance in general on the business of the house, and particularly on subjects of this nature, is much to be commended, took some occasion, I forget what, to declare his opinion, that if the foreign property in our funds were not exempted from the Income tax, the owners would sell out, and transfer their capital to some other country. This was the proposition, which I resisted without reflection in the first instance, and that was the quarter it came from. Until the debate in the committee of the 12th of this month, I did never know what opinion my right hon. friend entertained on the subject. Then, indeed, I found myself between the hammer and the anvil; but that malleation has served only to harden me in my opinion. I state the facts; but I make no apology. The part I take, and my resolution to adhere to it, I hope will entitle me to this conclusion at least, that, if I am in an error, it is the serious error of my judgment, and that I think the object of considerable importance. I am not so thoughtless as to look for a dispute with such an opponent, on doubtful ground, or for a trivial object. All I desire of him, and I am sure he is too liberal to do otherwise, is to answer me as he understands me, and not to avail himself of any lapse of expression, in my hasty way of speaking, as long as he knows what I mean. He wants no advantage of that kind over me or any man.—For the convenience of the house, and still more for my own, I mean to consider the whole subject of the foreign property under three distinct heads. First, the policy of the exemption; secondly, the inconveniences and abuses, which are likely to attend it; and finally, the justice due to the parties concerned, and the good faith which ought to be preserved to them. I reserve that question for the last, because I think it the most material. A conclusion, fairly deduced from principles of justice, cannot have greater weight with my right hon. friend than it will have, and ought to have, with myself and with the house. I wish to have each of these heads of discussion considered distinctly, and on its own separate merits; that is, that arguments drawn from policy or abuse, shall not be answered by topics that belong strictly to the justice of the case, or *vice versâ*.—In considering the policy of the exemption, the first point to be settled is, the value of the object which is meant to be relinquished. If the amount were inconsiderable, or if the actual necessities of the country, compared with its resources, permitted us to be careless about little or immaterial savings, the question perhaps might not be worth arguing, nor should I have troubled the house about it. But do his majesty's ministers know, have they ascertained by sufficient enquiry, or by any probable calculation, what is the amount of the real and pretented foreign property in our funds, that is, of stock held under foreign names? Do they know the value of the concession they are going to make? what sort of persons are to have the benefit of it, and what the public will lose by it? The return from the tax-office, dated the 8th of this month, exhibits a capital of about 12 millions in different stocks. The duty on the income of this capital, including the long and short annuities, cannot be less than 50,000*l.* a year; and we are told by the public officers who make the return, "that these accounts are coming in daily to a great amount!" Then, I ask, do we know what we are doing? Is the chancellor of the exchequer sure that, when the bill shall be once passed, the return of foreign stock, real or pretended, may not reach to double or treble its present amount? The temptations to fraud are obvious and powerful; and, as to the penalty, I shall only observe that government will have to inforce it, not upon awkward, clumsy delinquents, but on many of the most dexterous and experienced practitioners in concealments of this kind. How the real and *bonâ fide* foreign property, supposing it right that such property should be exempted, can with any certainty be distinguished from the rest, will form, as I believe, a serious difficulty in the execution of the act, and ought to be seriously considered.—It is argued, or rather it is threatened, that, if we tax this income, foreigners will sell out, and carry their capital into some other country, and that this will be attended with a material depreciation in the market price of our funds. I, for one, do not believe it. Nor is any man entitled to threaten us with that consequence, until he has shewn, to what other fund these foreigners can transmit their property, and where else they can now place it, I will not say with security, but without manifest risk and the greatest danger. Is there a place left on the continent, subject to the power of France, or within reach of its influence, where the income of funded property will not be taxed? or indeed where the capital itself is safe from confiscation? In former times, when banks existed in some of the free states of Europe, where it was thought that private fortunes might be safely deposited, while there was a public bank at Genoa, at Venice, and above all, at Amsterdam, still the security of our funds was preferred by foreigners to all other. To this country they remitted their savings, and here many of them left their capital, not merely to improve or to produce, but to be safe. Where can they carry it now? Is there another kingdom or republic, or state of any kind left in Europe, to which a rational being would remove, or where he would deposit his fortune, if he had the choice? But, besides the real permanent proprietors, a great quantity of stock is held by other foreigners, who do not fall within that description. I speak of speculators and jobbers, who watch and understand, and avail themselves of the fluctuations in our funds, with as much skill as the Jews in Change Alley. This trade goes on at Amsterdam just as it does in London; or rather the parties correspond with, and understand one another at the expence of those whom it concerns. These are the people, into whose pockets you pay a great part of the produce of your sinking fund, for the pretended purpose of keeping up the price of the 3 per cents. All these foreign speculations are governed by the course of exchange between London and Amsterdam, by the state of our funds, or by the probabilities of peace and war. Their profits, whatever they may be, are always at the expence of this country. At the close of the American war, they sold out with a clear gain of 20 per cent. on the capital they had vested during the war. And do you think that speculations of this extent, and with such great objects in view, will be affected by a tax on the income? that dealers of this quality will be deterred from such lucrative dealings in capital by a tax of 10 per cent. on the interest? Are these speculations carried on for the sake of a 3 per cent. annuity, and will they be abandoned, because this interest is reduced from 60*s*. to 54*s*.? To such persons, sir, the difference of the interest is no object, compared with the speculation in the capital. On the policy of the exemption, another material question arises. Who are the proprietors whom you intend to favour? In a political sense, what is their claim to it, or, in other words, where do they spend their fortunes, and the very income, which they receive from the heavy taxes laid upon our own people? My answer is, In France, in Flanders, or in Holland. The place makes no difference. All those countries, and many more, are in a direct subjection to Buonaparte. As far as the expenditure of this income goes, the taxes of England contribute to the support of the French government, and to assist Buonaparte with the means of an attempt, which, if it succeeded, would annihilate this species of property as well as all the rest. If an alien spends his income in England, you tax him. If he spends it in France, you grant him an exemption. I wish to hear, in some plain intelligible language, what the merit of such a person is, what his title is to so much favour, what rational claim he has to particular indulgence, from the circumstance of his contributing, as far as his expence and consumption go, to increase a hostile power already too formidable to this country. While he does so, you favour him. But if he were to change his residence, and spend his fortune in England, you would make him pay for doing that, for which in common sense you ought rather to reward him.—The abuses, to which this measure is liable, come next to be considered. I have spoken already of the difficulty of distinguishing the real from the pretended foreign property. Laws, made to prevent or punish fraud, suppose the fact, or they presume the intention. Do you mean to trust to the declarations of such persons? or how can you convict those declarations of falsehood? Will you examine the books of an alien merchant, who holds stock in the name of foreigners? There may be some difficulty, I do not doubt, in the operation of the fraud, and some danger in the attempt. So there is in every criminal act. Yet danger will be hazarded, and difficulties will be overcome, and penalties will be evaded, and lucrative frauds will be committed. Consider too, that the persons, most liable to this suspicion, must have been engaged in these practices already, and that they cannot make a true return now, without discovering that they had made a false one heretofore. On this part of the subject I can state a fact, very well known in the city of London, which, I believe, will startle the most determined friends of this exemption. While the French Revolution was depending, many natives of that country, on motives of prudence, or under the natural influence of terror, thought the best way to secure some portion of their property from the fangs of their domestic tyrants, was to remit it to England, as secretly as they could, in order to have it vested in our funds. As the transaction was dangerous in itself, all manner of precautions were taken to conceal it. The names of the real proprietors could not appear. Whatever stock was purchased on this account, stood in the names of their agents in London. Many of the right owners perished in the Revolution. Neither their children, if they left any, nor their lawful heirs, could prove their title. Even the proprietors themselves, if any of them survived and made their escape to England, were at the mercy of the persons, whom they had trusted. They had no proofs to produce, or none that would avail them in a court of justice. In many instances, as I am well assured, the parties, who purchased the stock, kept it for their own use, received the interest, returned the whole as foreign property, and evaded even the tax upon the income, while the real owners were cheated without remedy, and left to perish without mercy. Whatever the amount of stock obtained in this manner may be, the exemption you propose is not only an injury to the public, but a reward held out to the basest personal treachery.—I come now, sir, to the strict right of the claim, and to the principles of justice, by which it is supported. On this part of the question a great deal was said on a former occasion; and, if the arguments I then heard had really altered, or even shaken my opinion, I should have yielded at once, as I always do, to that conviction. Can it be necessary for me to say, that I have no more interest in the event of this discussion than any other member of the community? His majesty's ministers indeed have an interest in it, and a duty too, which I thought I was contributing to assist. I could not foresee that, in endeavouring to inforce the due collection of this part of the public revenue, I should have them to contend with. But this is an æra of virtue, and justice must be done, without looking to the right or left, without regard to consequences, to policy, to abuse, to inconvenience, or to any loss of revenue: Justice and power are so rarely united in the same hand, that, in me at least, it would be particularly criminal to attempt to divide them, when they happen to act together. I submit to the principle. Let the fact, that is, the application of the principle to the case, be fairly tried. This is the question, on which we are at issue. In all money transactions, whether the recovery of a debt, or the exaction of a tax, the right to refuse payment must be founded either on a special contract, or on general principles of justice. Produce the contract, if it exists, by which an exception is made, and an exemption secured or promised to the property of aliens living out of the kingdom, and I shall desire no other answer. Whether the supposed concession in their favour was reasonable or not, whether it was just or unjust to other parties, I am not at all disposed to plead any general argument against a specific parliamentary engagement. I have looked for it diligently in all the acts for raising money by loan, and creating annuities, and I can find no such contract, nor any thing like it. The act of the first of queen Anne says, "that no money lent on security of this act shall be rated or assessed by virtue of this act, or any other act of parliament whatsoever." Another act of the 4th of queen Anne says, "that the purchasers, their executors, administrators, and assigns, shall have good and sure estates and interests in the several annuities so by them to be purchased, and that the said annuities shall be free from all taxes, charges, and impositions whatsoever." Since that time, all the acts for granting annuities, expressly and uniformly say, that they shall be paid at the bank of England, without deduction. It is not for me to deny that these declarations constitute or amount to a contract, virtually and in terms, on the part of parliament. But who were the other contracting parties? Why, all the subscribers generally, or their representatives, who lent their money with this condition, and on the faith of parliament. I see no exception in favour of aliens. When foreigners purchase into our funds, they do it on the same terms, under the same conditions, and subject to all the contingencies, to which the original subscribers, and all those who inherited or purchased under them, were liable. If there be no breach of faith in taxing the annuities payable to natives, there can be none to foreigners. The laws say that such annuities, that such money lent, shall not be rated or assessed. They say nothing of the exempting annuities themselves, nothing personally about the proprietors. But, if you admit that it is a breach of faith to deduct 10 per cent. from that interest, which you promised to pay without deduction, then, I say, make no distinction. A general act of positive injustice may be defended by necessity, and, on that principle alone, may be endured with patience, as long as it is impartial. But, if you add partiality to injustice, if you employ your power to favour a few, while the many are oppressed, the consequence is that, so far forth, you abandon the plea of necessity, which is full as good against aliens as natives, and then that you have nothing to trust to, but direct and absolute power, to insure submission to arbitrary distinctions. So much for the obligation of a supposed contract. But perhaps some stronger arguments, in favour of the exemption, may be deduced from general principles of government, or from those of the English constitution. In the first place then, I ask, for what purpose are taxes levied on the people? For the support of government. But why should government be supported? Because, in return for support, it gives protection. To whom and to what? Generally to persons, and principally property. Persons, in some cases, may protect themselves; in others, they may evade or escape. Mere property can do neither. Persons who do not live under our jurisdiction, do not want our protection, nor are they within the reach of it. But their property lives here, and ought to contribute to its own defence. If the owner, when he remitted his fortune to England, had followed it himself, I suppose you would hardly exempt him from taxation, because he was an alien. What sort of merit he derives from the circulation of his income in an enemy's country, or what reasonable or equitable claim to exemption the residence of the proprietor abroad gives to his property here, has not been stated. Who knows that many of those aliens, whose income is not to be diminished even for the security of the capital, may not be employed in that very army, which we are told is destined to invade us? On this part of the subject, I have heard some general declamations, and loose inferences from ancient forms to present practice, that is, from times when the case not only did not exist, but could not have been foreseen or thought of. As to sound reason or solid argument, I have heard none.—In the last resort, however, an appeal is made to a fundamental principle in the constitution, which is supposed to furnish a final and triumphant answer to all my objections on the score of policy, convenience, and abuse, and even to the obvious claims of equity, by which the natural relation between service and payment, between protection and contribution, are established and acknowledged. Undoubtedly the power that protects, may relinquish its right to a return of support, by positive concession, or by any other gratuitous or discretionary act of its own. No such specific act has been alledged. We must look to the constitution then, and see what sort of countenance it gives, what shelter it affords to the proposition, that foreign property in our funds ought not to be subject to the same duty with all the rest, because the proprietors are not represented in parliament. That principle, if it prevails, will include other objects, for which, I believe, no exemption is intended. The foreign merchant, who sends his goods or merchandise into England, for sale or security, is no more represented than the foreign owner of stock. But even these are inconsiderable objects, compared with the consequences, which must be admitted, if you reason right on your own premises. They who establish the principle, must let it take its course. In fair and honourable argument, they have no discretionary power to govern the conclusion by any rule external to the principle, or to limit the operation by arbitrary exceptions. This is not the first time that the general question between representation and taxation has been agitated in this country. In the general theory of this constitution, I am as ready as any man to maintain the affirmative; and for that reason I have at all times endeavoured to promote a reform in the construction of the house of commons, by extending the right of voting, as far as property could be found to support it. But, in the times I allude to, that abstract principle was very far from prevailing in this house, or generally in this kingdom; much less did it ever govern the practice of parliament. The strongest case that can be imagined, in support of the practice against the principle, or to prove the sense of parliament on the right, was that of America; because it hardly furnished a colourable pretence for affirming, that the people who were to be taxed were really, or virtually, or even by contact or sympathy, represented in the house of commons. Yet the right, even over America, was maintained by very great authorities. I remember the Stamp act, and I believe I have read every word that was written on the merits and effects of that measure. One of the great men of that period, I mean Mr. Grenville, whose principles, I imagine, will not be quite discarded or discountenanced, as long as his name shall be preserved, would hear of no disqualification, much less of a limitation to the right of taxation in this legislature over every colony or dependence of the empire. My opinion certainly has never gone that length. I think that his powerful logic led him to an indefensible, as well as a dangerous result, in practice. But it led him fairly and in earnest to his conclusion. They, who think that he had nothing to say for his opinion, are very ill informed. To say merely that it was a debateable question, is not doing justice to the great abilities, which were universally engaged in discussing it. Never was there a question so debated as that was, both in and out of parliament. Another administration, professing different principles, succeeded Mr. Grenville; that of the marquis of Rockingham: and what was the first measure of that administration? The declaratory act of 1766, by which the right of parliament to make laws to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, was asserted. At that time, no case was in question, but that of taxation. By a later act, which passed in 1778, the exercise of the right was given up as to America; but the original right itself was not disclaimed or renounced. The legislature claimed it, not on the principle of representation; for how could it be seriously maintained, that the Americans were, *bonâ fide*, represented in the house of commons? No. The ground they took, and the only tenable ground they could take, was, that protection and contribution were reciprocal; that America was protected, and therefore bound to contribute. Since I have had a seat in parliament, various schemes have been proposed for a reform in the election of members to represent the commonalty, and to serve in this house. Most of them assumed it as a fact, and asserted it as a principle, that the people of this kingdom were not represented as they ought to be. After many attempts, recommended by the highest individual authorities, and the greatest personal abilities, had failed, a plan was formed, in 1792, to try what could be done by combination. For this purpose, no little pains were taken to institute a society, called "The Friends of the People," to extend the operations, and to promote the success of it. Many persons, now highly stationed in his majesty's councils and service, were the leaders of this association: my noble friend the lord high chancellor, my noble friend the first lord of the admiralty, my right hon. friends the present and preceding treasurer of the navy (Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney), all of them privy-councillors; my learned friend (sir A. Pigott), his majesty's attorney-general; and, among many others, my noble friend the earl of Lauderdale, at whose house the original engagement was drawn, at whose table it was signed. It was my lot too, sir, to be one of the "Friends of the People;" at all times the least considerable, and now, I believe, the last of them. My right hon. friend was not a member of that society; but, I think, his subsequent conduct has proved that he concurred in our principles. The institution itself has gone into oblivion. A feeble memory is one of those human infirmities, which sometimes accompany the most exalted faculties. But I have no doubt that the principles still live in the hearts of my noble friends, though they are not aware of it, and that, some time or other, they will be resorted to again. From this society, a petition was presented to the house on the 6th of May 1793, and is recorded on our journals. Some persons, I presume, are yet in existence here, who may remember how it was received. Among other allegations, the petitioners asserted, "That the house of commons did not fully "and fairly represent the people of England; that this hon. house is not an adequate representation of the people of "England; and that if this hon. house "should be pleased to determine that the "people of England ought not to be fully "represented, they prayed that such our "determination should be made known." The plain amount of these declarations is, that the people are not represented, or very slightly and partially at the utmost, by the house of commons; and this must have been, more or less, the principle of every preceding project of reform, which proposed to increase the number of voters at elections. But I never heard that among those, who carried their opinion on this point as far as it would go, there was a single individual so absurd or so depraved as to contend, that he ought not to be taxed, because he was not represented. For that duty at least, he would have found the house of commons, as it stands, perfectly sufficient to impose the duty, and to compel obedience.—The only article, that remains to be considered, and with that I shall conclude, is the prudence of making this exception in favour of foreigners, in the present times and circumstances of the country. The chancellor of the exchequer has been obliged to abandon the first tax he has proposed on iron; and I suspect that the home brewery is very likely to share the same fate. The fact, I fear, is, that we are arrived at the final limit of taxation on consumption, or very near it. The multitude can pay no more, without crushing and confounding the gradations of society, when no distinction of rank or fortune will be left, but between the many and the few. I wish I could remember and repeat the eloquent language, with which this opinion, or the conclusion I would draw from it, was urged and enforced a few days ago, by my hon. friend (Mr. Whitbread), who closed the Impeachment of lord Melville. Speaking of the treasure of the navy, he said, what I say of all the public revenue, "that it has its fibrous root in the meal of every peasant; in the cloth of the coat he wears; in the implements, with which he earns his daily bread; in every article he consumes." The actual burthen of the taxes is enough to drive the mass of the people to despair. If you do not wish and intend to drive them to madness, you will not aggravate their sufferings by this unjust exemption of strangers from contributing even to the protection of their own property. I therefore move you, sir, that the clause in the present bill, which provides "an exemption for the annuities, dividends, or shares belonging to aliens, not resident in Great Britain, or elsewhere within the dominions of his majesty," may be omitted.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, he was convinced that his hon. friend was actuated by the best intentions, in proposing his present motion, though something like a tone of reproach seemed to run through his speech. It would be impossible for any man to believe, that his majesty's ministers were influenced by any peculiar tenderness for foreigners, in proposing to exempt their funded property from the tax. They could only be actuated by what appeared to them just and politic. The present measure, considered with regard to its policy, would have the effect of discouraging foreigners from vesting their property in the British funds, and of inducing them to withdraw it altogether, and therefore must be ultimately injurious to this country. Their motives for preferring the British funds were their superior security, together with the high rate of interest which they derived from them; but the hon. gent. seemed desirous of removing these motives at once. He had also given them the invidious name of speculators, and had observed, that during the American war they bought in when the funds were low, and had sold out at the conclusion of peace, to great advantage. But, every man who purchased an estate with a view of rendering it more valuable, might equally be considered as a speculator; and he could not see how the conduct of foreigners, in this instance, should draw upon them the resentment of this country. Unless speculations of this kind were left unfettered, the whole funded system would be annihilated. One great advantage of that system was, that any man could invest his property without risk or delay, and could buy in or sell out whenever it suited his convenience. And as it was desirable that foreigners should purchase into our funds, he considered it as exceedingly impolitic to subject them to the tax. The hon. gent. had dwelt upon the frauds that would be practised, in vesting domestic property in the names of foreigners, and it was certainly possible that such frauds might take place; but it was to be observed, that the property tax had now existed for three years, and frauds had not been hitherto discovered. He could not help thinking, that there was little danger of the defalcation of the tax from fraudulent practices in that way. The British creditor must be aware of the consequences that might ensue from them. Suppose the foreigner, in whose name the property was fraudulently vested, to die, the property would descend to his heirs, and according to the laws of the country in which he resided. In regard to the justice of such a proceeding, he could not see how it was just in parliament to tax any but the property of its own subjects. As to the act of queen Anne, which the hon. gent. referred to, as exempting the funds from taxation, it must be confessed, that the present tax might perhaps be justly considered as a tax on the funds, and as only to be justified from the necessity of the times. But the tax in itself was properly a tax on every species of property; and were the property of foreigners in the funds to be now taxed, it might justly be considered, in that case, as a tax on the funds, since parliament could not pretend to tax the property of foreigners. It had been represented as provoking, that foreigners should be exempted from the tax; but would they not, by being deterred from purchasing in our funds, be enabled to give the hostile governments, under which they lived, more active assistance, by lending them their money, than we could derive benefit from extending the tax to them? Such governments also, as far as he knew, might have a property tax, and thus the property of such foreigners might be doubly rated. In truth, the hostile foreigner, were he subject to this tax, might justly complain, that we took a part of his property in order to deprive him of the whole. As to what the hon. gent. had said on the subject of representation, no one who had said that the representation of the country was inadequate, except perhaps a few eccentric men, had denied that the people owed obedience to that house as their representatives. The very phrase "inadequate representatation" proved, that the friends of reform conceived, that the people were represented, that the virtual representation, indeed, was not complete, and that it ought to approach more to what was real. Every person with whom he had been connected, disclaimed the idea of universal suffrage; but he did not know on what the constitution of the country depended, if the people were not considered as virtually represented in parliament. It was because America was neither virtually nor really represented in parliament, and that the Americans had no complete communion of interests with this country, that our right to tax America was denied; and it was on precisely the same grounds, that he now objected to taxing the property of foreigners in our funds. Would it be consistent with the constitution of parliament to say, we give and grant the property of foreigners, in addition to that of those we represent? And how could his majesty be represented as thanking his good subjects for their benevolence, as was done in giving the royal assent to tax bills, while he would at the same time be thanking the subjects of France, or of foreign powers subject to her influence? The very tenour of the royal acceptance would render the imposition of a tax on the property of foreigners absurd. The commons could only give and grant what was their own, and not that which belonged to others, who had, perhaps, a perfect opposition of interests. With regard to the hon. gentleman's peroration on the case of the poor, no one could doubt that they were entitled to every relief in the power of parliament to give; but recourse ought not therefore to be had to a measure radically unjust. The case of foreigners residing in this country was totally different; they enjoyed the protection of government, and of the laws, and, therefore, were bound to contribute to the support of that government, and of those laws. On the whole, he thought that this proposed extension would be a complete departure from that system that had been followed since the Property Tax had been introduced; and concluded with observing, that the hon. gentleman's arguments had not produced the slightest conviction on his mind.

The *Speaker* then begged to state to the house, whether the motion, in the present stage of the bill, could at all be entertained by the house. It went to take away the exemption granted to foreigners, and thus tended to a material increase of the produce of the tax. But, agreeably to the established usages of the house, no measure of this kind could be proposed, except in a committee. When the bill, therefore, had already been read a third time, he submitted to the house, whether the present motion was not irregular.

Mr. *Bankes* wished the discussion to continue, though his hon. friend had perhaps unadvisedly postponed his motion, as it was a question in which the country at large would feel materially interested. He said, it was his intention to have delivered his sentiments on this measure. He had examined the bill minutely, and he did not find a single sound or solid principle in it.

Lord *Henry Petty* spoke to order. After the very clear statement on the subject, which they had heard from the chair, he did not think it correct to go into any farther discussion at present. The only mode he could see for gentlemen to attain their object, and have the matter fully considered, was, for some member to give notice, that he would, on a future day, move, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the propriety of subjecting foreign property to this tax.—After a few words from Mr. Francis, the motion then fell to the ground.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, clauses were brought up to exempt stock, or dividends, the property of his majesty, in whatever name they may stand; and also stock the property of accredited ministers from foreign states, when duly authenticated.—On the question that the bill do pass,

Sir *R. Buxton* said, that he could not omit that last opportunity of entering his decided protest against the bill, inasmuch as it charged the landed interest with what he thought equivalent to 13 per cent., and the funds with 10 per cent.; while on professional men, it operated only as a voluntary tax. The hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Vansittart) had argued the measure as if it was a land-tax; if so, he should have liked to have the bill made annual, as the land-tax always was.

Mr. *Vansittart* could not see the utility of its being merely an annual bill. Besides, it would be always subject to the revision of parliament.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, that, looking upon the bill as unjust in most of its provisions, nothing should ever reconcile him to it. He had, very lately, received a letter, from a family whose small annuity would expire in 1808, that is, in little more than a year and a half, and yet they would be compelled to pay as much, in proportion, as the man who had a permanent income, arising from landed or funded property.

Mr. *Hydlestone* agreed with every syllable that had fallen from his hon. friend; and contended, that it would oblige the man who derived a small income from the funds, to sell his capital, and, ultimately, drive him to the workhouse. He was sorry the noble lord had departed from the two principles with which he had set out, namely, that the tax should not interfere with the necessaries of life, nor apply to income under 50*l.* per annum. But, as the bill now stood, the tax would apply to all property in the funds, of whatever amount. He had ascertained the number of persons holding property in the funds under 50*l.* a year, to be 220,000, who, he was afraid, would be compelled to sell out their stock, and live upon their capital. He was ashamed to ask, whether, in justice, they ought to levy the same proportion of duty on 20*l.* a year, as on 20,000*l.*? For his own part, he would cheerfully submit to a larger proportion of duty upon the class to which he belonged, provided it should be the means of exempting the lower classes.

Lord *De Blaquiere* deprecated the conduct of those gentlemen who, just at the moment the bill was about to take its departure from the house, were so anxious to give it a death-blow. Such conduct was the more to be condemned, as it could not be supposed to operate against the adoption of the bill, and could serve only, as it were, to send out the measure to the world with a canister tied to its tail.

Mr. *Vansittart* contradicted the assertion, that his noble friend (Petty) had departed from the principles he had stated upon his first proposition of this bill, in any other instance than that in which he had acceded to some deductions, which were deemed necessary to satisfy the claims of justice and humanity. The right hon. gent. argued against the notion, that if the scale of taxation were agreed to, which some gentlemen recommended, namely, the removal of it altogether, from the poor, and the consequent advance upon the rich; if that scale were adopted, he was satisfied that the burthen upon the richer classes would be much greater, in proportion, than the relief to be afforded to the poorer. He would, indeed, ask the house, in answer to all that had been said, within and without, upon the subject, whether it was possible to devise a tax, which it would be practicable to collect, and which would be productive to the state, without being imposed upon the different classes of the community?

Mr. *A. Wright* expressed his hope that, if a man who had a small interest from the funds, should, notwithstanding, be obliged to resort to parish relief, he should not be still liable to this tax.—The bill was read a third time and passed.

[SALARIES TO COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS.] The house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to whom it was referred to consider of granting salaries to such persons as should be appointed commissioners to carry into execution any act of this session of parliament for the examination of the accounts of the expenditure of the public money in the West Indies, and to their secretaries, officers, and clerks, and of defraying the incidental expences attending the same; upon the motion of Mr. Vansittart, it was agreed, "That there be issued and paid, out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, an annual salary, not exceeding 1500*l.* to the commissioner who shall be first named to carry into execution any act of this session for the examination of the accounts of the expenditure of the public money in the West Indies; and to each of the other commissioners an annual salary not exceeding 1000*l.*; and when any of the said commissioners shall be sent abroad, he shall be allowed such additional salary as the lords commissioners of the treasury shall think proper, not exceeding 500*l.*; and that the said lords commissioners be authorised to allow, out of the said consolidated fund, such salaries to the secretaries, officers, and clerks, to the said commissioners, as they shall think proper; and also reasonable sums of money for the incidental charges of the said commissioners."

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, May 30.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Alexander, and other members, brought up from the commons the Property Duty bill, the Tortola Free-Port bill, the Irish Malt Duty bill, the Irish Revenue bill, and several private bills. These bills were all read a first time.—The Duke of Montrose observed, that the Tortola Free-Port bill involved questions of great importance to the commerce of the country. He therefore thought it necessary to move for some documents, which, he conceived, ought to come under the consideration of their lordships, previous to the discussion on the second reading of the bill. He accordingly moved for, an account of the value of the British Manufactures exported to the islands of Dominica and Tortola, at different periods; the quantity of sugar, rum, coffee, and indigo, imported from those islands into Great Britain; the value of the sugar, rum, &c. imported from foreign settlements into

Tortola; copies of the orders in council allowing foreign sugar, &c. to be imported into Tortola and Dominica.—The Lord Chancellor read a letter from sir T. Duckworth, in which he expressed his grateful acknowledgments for the honour done him by their lordships' vote of thanks.—Lord Auckland moved that the bar be cleared, and strangers were immediately ordered to withdraw. Their lordships then proceeded to the further consideration of the evidence adduced on lord Melville's trial. They continued in close deliberation until eleven o'clock; when the further consideration of the evidence was deferred till Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, May 30.

[Minutes.] The Temple Bar and Snow-hill Lottery bill, on the motion of alderman Combe, was passed, and ordered to the lords.—An account was presented, on the motion of sir J. Newport, of the additional duties on taxes, stamps, and wares and merchandise in Ireland, from the year 1801 down to the present year.—Mr. Vansittart moved, for an account of exchequer bills issued for the year 1805, outstanding; which was presented accordingly.—Sir J. Newport said, he should, on Wednesday, submit a proposition to the house, to establish a free and unrestrained intercourse of all sorts of grain between Great Britain and Ireland.—Alderman Combe obtained leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Additional Force bill, as far as related to the city of London.—The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means for Ireland; sir J. Newport moved, that there be a duty of 1*s.* a barrel laid on all malt in Ireland, to commence from the 2d of June next; and also a duty of 4*s.* on every barrel of malt converted into spirits in Ireland; which motion was agreed to.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee for granting salaries to the West-India commissioners, and other commissioners, auditors, clerks, &c.; which was agreed to, and provision was ordered to be made accordingly in the auditors' bill.—Mr. Bankes brought up the report of the committee appointed to examine the buildings erected at the British Museum; which stated, that the buildings would be finished in the course of three or four months; and that the estimate voted amounted to 2240*l.*; and that an extra sum was necessary to finish the buildings, amounting to 600*l.* Ordered to be laid on the table.—Mr. Rose presented a petition from several West-India merchants, against the American Intercourse bill.—Sir C. Price presented a similar petition from the owners of several British ships. Both petitions were ordered to be laid on the table.

[Affairs of India—Papers relative to sir R. Sullivan.] Mr. *Sullivan* said, he rose to move for the papers of which he had given notice two days ago.—That, having been prevented, by an afflicting distress in his family, from attending in his place during the last week, he had not had an opportunity of hearing the observations which an hon. member had permitted himself to make, to the disadvantage of a near and dear relation of his, a member of that house, who was absent through infirmity. From what he had since heard and read of those observations, he did not hesitate to say that they were unfounded; and that the house would find, in the papers to which he had alluded, the most distinct and pointed contradiction to what the hon. gent. had asserted. That the transactions, to which those papers related, had reference to a proceeding in which the government of Madras, and the superior government of Bengal, were the principal parties, and in which the hon. bart. was an active and efficient instrument. The inferior government of Madras had recorded, in strong terms, their disapprobation of the conduct of the hon. bart.; and this record had been adduced to the house, as the ground and warrant for the imputation which the hon. gent. had thought proper to cast on his hon. relation. The superior government of Bengal, with this record before them, pronounced the conduct of the hon. bart. to have been highly meritorious, and, in consequence, they gave it their strongest commendation. That it was not his intention to trespass upon the time of the house, by going into the controversy between the two governments; but that he appealed to the justice of the house, and to the honourable feelings of every man in it, whether the proceedings of the hon. member, in adverting exclusively to the opinion that was expressed by one of the parties, and thereupon founding a judgment, could be justifiable in any case, but particularly in that of a member absent through illness?—That the misery and desolation that overspread the Carnatic in the years 1780 and 1781, and the reduced state of our military force and resources at that time, were historical facts, to which he only referred, as they gave rise to a proposition out of which the transaction in question arose, namely, a proposition for ceding to the Dutch company, in perpetuity, the Southern provinces of the Carnatic, upon condition that an immediate military aid, of 1000 European soldiers, should be furnished by that company.—The news of a rupture with Holland was received in India before the arrangements upon this proposition could be carried into effect. But the alarm, which it had excited in the mind of the nabob of the Carnatic, was not the less strong; nor were his doubts and apprehensions to be appeased by the interposition of the temporary authority which then prevailed at Madras, the government being held by devolution, and the gentleman so holding it not possessing the confidence of the nabob.—The exigency of the public affairs had become still more pressing, in consequence of the rupture with Holland; and the nabob was urged, by the temporary government of Madras, to assign the collection of his revenues into their hands. The nabob resisted the proposition, and want of confidence increased the difficulties of our situation.—At this time the hon. bart. held the office of secretary to the government of Madras, and, from his knowledge of the Persian language, he was enabled to communicate directly with the nabob; that he availed himself of this advantage, not to betray the secrets of government, as the hon. gent. had thought proper to state, but to impress upon the mind of the nabob, the necessity of his making the great sacrifice that was required of him for the general safety.—The nabob, seeing the public danger on one side, and his personal risk on the other, was some time before he could bring his mind to decide; at length he signified his disposition to concur in the proposition, provided the hon. bart. would undertake to negociate the terms of the assignment with the government-general, and to obtain a formal assurance from that superior authority, that his just rights should be restored to him upon the return of peace. The hon. bart. did not hesitate between personal responsibility, and what appeared to him an object, upon the attainment of which our political existence in the Carnatic might depend. He therefore accepted powers from the nabob, to treat with the government-general for the assignment of all his revenues during the war, subject to certain conditions and reservations. A treaty was, in consequence, executed at Calcutta, in March 1781; and the government-general, with a view of confirming in the nabob the fullest confidence in the good faith which they intended to preserve towards him, thought proper to invest the hon. bart. with powers as their minister at the court of the nabob, to see that the terms of the treaty were observed. Before the hon. bart. arrived at Madras, in the character of a public minister from the superior government, lord Macartney had assumed the reins of that government, to which he was regularly appointed by the company, with the approbation of the crown. The hon. bart. immediately delivered his dispatches to lord Macartney; and observed to his lordship, that, as the situation of the Madras government was so materially changed by his being placed at the head of it, he (the minister) was persuaded, that the government-general would approve of his suspending the executive duties of his commission, until his lordship could receive answers to any reference he might think proper to make to him upon the subject of his mission, and he accordingly confined himself to the act of delivering the treaty to the nabob.—That it would be an unnecessary intrusion on the patience of the house, if he were to go further into this subject. That he only begged it might not be inferred, from what he had said, that he considered the treaty of March 1781 as a perfect arrangement. All he meant to say upon that point was, that it was better than any thing that had preceded it; and that it was the object which the temporary government of Madras endeavoured, but without effect, to obtain; that it was obtained through the representations of the hon. bart.; that the government-general considered it as an object of great importance; and marked their approbation of the hon. bart. in the most distinguished manner, by vesting him with the character of their minister. That lord Macartney, in a letter to the chairman, of the 15th of December, 1782, calls it a "considerable step towards remedying the defects of past transactions." That in a letter of 1st December, 1781, to the secret committee, adverting to it under the modifications he had introduced into it, he calls it "that rock of strength upon which you stand in the Carnatic;" and that the treaty of 1792, made by lord Cornwallis, was formed upon the basis of this assignment.—He begged again, that it might not be inferred, from what he had said, that he considered any of those measures as free from objection. He had long since published the opinion he entertained on this subject. That opinion had not varied; and he had no difficulty in now stating, that he thought the zeal of my lord Wellesley, for the public service, had carried him too far, in the arrangement which was made under his authority in the Carnatic. Had his lordship made his arrangement in the Carnatic, upon the principle upon which his arrangement in Oude was formed, it would have had his hearty concurrence, as that measure had, upon the fullest consideration he had been able to give it. He explained, that he now adverted to the cession of the frontier provinces, as a full compensation for the military protection of the dominions of Oude.—That the hon. member was represented to have implicated, in his censure, another hon. friend of his (Mr. Laurence Sullivan), who, after a long life, thirty years of which were passed in the chief management of the affairs of the India company, had reposed in his grave full twenty years.—That there are still living many persons, some perhaps now in that house, who must remember the plenitude of power with which Mr. Sullivan directed the affairs of India, with little intermission, from the year 1757 to 1786. The hon. member might, himself, possibly recollect the contest for supremacy, in 1768, between lord Clive and Mr. Sullivan: that contest was sustained with warmth, and an exertion of interest that seldom had been equalled in the party-struggles of this country. The law which had since rendered it necessary that India stock should be held a year before a proprietor could be qualified to vote, did not then exist. Mr. Sullivan, and Mr. Vansittart, who had united with him (he alluded to the father of a right hon. gent., now an ornament to the house) extended their interest, by entrusting stock amongst persons who were attached to them respectively: that in the number of persons of this description, were Mr. William Burke and Mr. Lauchlin Macleane, who had, each, been under-secretaries of state; that those gentlemen became, in consequence, largely indebted to Mr. Sullivan; that they both went out of the world without having discharged this debt. That each of these gentlemen had become agents to native princes in India. Mr. Macleane was lost on his return from that country, in 1782 or 1783, being at that time in the service of the nabob of the Carnatic. That the executor of Mr. Macleane, Mr. Stuart, who was secretary to the mission, had a knowledge of this long-standing debt to Mr. Sullivan; and, in urging the claims of Mr. Macleane upon the nabob, he represented it to him, and recommended that provision might be made for the payment of it, as Mr. Sullivan, in his old age, was in embarrassed circumstances. The bond to Mr. Stuart, in trust for Mr. Sullivan, was the consequence of this representation. It is dated February 5, 1785. Mr. Sullivan was informed of this transaction in the summer of that year. He immediately wrote to him (Mr. John Sullivan), desiring that he would take measures to have the bond cancelled; for though the transaction was fair and honourable, yet, as he was a public man, it was open to misconstruction. That letter was on its way to India, when he was on his passage to England; had he received it there, entering fully into the honourable and high feelings of his friend, he would have acted upon it. That Mr Sullivan died a short time after his arrival in England. Upon his death, his son called on Mr. J. Sullivan to assist in the arrangement of his father's affairs. They found them to be involved beyond the extent of all the property he left. Under these circumstances, they could not consider themselves at liberty to act as the high spirit of that distinguished man had directed. The bond was, in fact, the property of his creditors, and they could not, in justice, deprive them of any benefit that might arise out of it.—They had also considered, that the man whose influence had rewarded the services of colonel Clive, by appointing him to the government of Bengal, had placed Mr. Vansittart in that high office; had put the British interests in India under the care and guardianship of Mr. Hastings; the man who had been the friend and patron of Lawrence and Callaird; through whose influence lord Macartney had been appointed to the government of Madras (and here he availed himself of the opportunity to express the strong sense he entertained of the talents and probity that distinguished that noble lord): that they had considered, that the man who had selected such characters, as the objects of his patronage, could not be in danger of having his good name lightly brought into question.—That he had now described the origin of the bond that had been alluded to; let it be investigated, but let not the breath of calumny be employed to taint the well-earned fame of his revered friend. He observed, that the characters of public men were the property of his country, and, after their decease, that house should be their sanctuary. He would not trespass further on the patience of the house; but moved, "That there be laid before this house an extract of a letter, from the governor-general and council of Bengal to the court of directors, dated October 20, 1783." Also, "That there be laid before this house a copy of a letter, from the governor-general to the court of directors, dated November 28, 1783."

Mr. *W. Keene* said, on looking over the list of the debts of the nabob of the Carnatic, he referred merely to what was inserted in the papers, which had an effect on his mind, and on which his former observations were grounded. He was concerned if he gave pain to any gentleman.

Mr. *Sullivan* said, after what he had stated to the hon. gent., he trusted he would have done justice to his brother; instead of which, he aggravated his former remarks.

Mr. *Ellison* contended, that when an individual was criminated, he had a right to bring forward the best evidence he had, and agreed thoroughly with what had been stated by the hon. gent. who made the motion.—The motion was then put and agreed to.

[MUTINY BILL—LIMITED SERVICE.] The *Secretary at War* moved the order of the day, for the house going into a committee on the Mutiny bill. Previous to the Speaker's leaving the chair,

Lord *Castlereagh* wished to know from the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), as being a material point in judging of the estimate of the probable expence of his new system, whether he had yet made up his mind on the subject of granting bounties to soldiers on their entering into their second and third periods of service? Also, whether it was his idea that, on the expiration of the 14 years, those who retired were to have the half of the allowance of 1*s*. per day, and the whole on 21 years service?

Mr. Secretary *Windham* said, the questions put to him by the noble lord were matters merely of regulation. He might entertain an idea that it would be much more useful to give some bounty for the second and third periods of service, but it was impossible for him to conceive what, at the end of 7 years, such bounty might be; as to the other question, he was inclined to think that an allowance at the rate of 4*d*. instead of 6*d*. per day might be sufficient at the expiration of 14 years, and that the full allowance of 1*s*. per day should be given on the expiration of the 21 years service.

Lord *Castlereagh* repeated his wish to know the idea of the right hon. gent. as to whether any and what proportion of bounty should be given to those re-enlisting on the expiration of the first 7 years.

Mr. *Windham* said, when the rate of bounty had been so often changed during the present war, how was it possible for him to say what it ought to be at the expiration of 7 years from this date?

Mr. *Perceval* observed, that the right hon. gent. seemed not to conceive the question of his noble friend. The noble lord did not ask what the amount of the bounty then to be given would be, but if any bounty was intended to be given for the second period of service, and what proportion it was purposed it should bear to the original bounty?

Mr. *Windham* had no difficulty in saying, that it was likely bounties on re-enlistment would be found necessary; but he could not state the probable amount of such bounties, nor the proportion which they should bear to each other. He was not yet aware what bounty would be necessary on the first enlistment, and still less could he know what might be requisite on the second and third.

Mr. *Canning* observed, that the import of the question put by his noble friend was, whether the right hon. gent. had such confidence in the superior allurements of his plan, that he looked to recruiting without a bounty; or whether it would be necessary to have recourse to the ordinary mode of bounties? This question he conceived went to the very essence of his plan, and it was of importance that the house should know the right hon. gent.'s intentions on this head.

Mr. *Windham* replied, that he could not at present state what bounty would be given on the first enlistment, nor what proportion would be observed in the bounties at after-periods. He did conceive, however, that some bounty would be necessary; for if a bounty was given on the first enlistment, why not also on the second and third? But the amount of these bounties must necessarily vary according to the circumstances of the times, and it would be impossible now to say what bounty might be necessary 7 or 14 years hence. Nothing that might be now settled on the head of bounties could be unalterably fixed, but must vary according to the change of circumstances. But he had no hesitation in saying, that some bounty might be necessary to induce re-enlistment at the end of the first and second periods.

Mr. *O'Hara* thought, that government should always have it in their power to regulate and proportion the bounties, and either to give or withdraw them. They should be proportioned to the period of service for which every man was inclined to enter, whether limited or permanent, and thus adapted to the wishes and inclinations of individuals.—He was proceeding farther on the subject, when the Speaker spoke to order, observing, that the only question before the house was, whether it should resolve itself into a committee. The house then resolved itself into a committee on the bill. In schedule A, however, it was moved that the common oath should be omitted, for the purpose of substituting another in its place.

Mr. *Yorke* submitted, that it was not regular to call on the house to vote that certain words should be omitted, without their knowing what was to come in place of them.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* read the alterations, which it was his intention to propose in the form of the oath. After specifying the age of the recruit, and that he did not belong to the militia, he proposed that it should proceed to declare that he engaged to serve his majesty for years, which he would fill up with the word "seven;" and also for such further period as his majesty should please to direct, not exceeding years, which he proposed to fill up with the word "three," but which should terminate at the expiration of a period of six following months of uninterrupted peace. That if the recruit should happen to be under 18 years of age, so many years should be added to the period of service, as should prevent the term of 7 years from beginning to run till he was actually 18 years of age. That every soldier abroad, at the period of the expiration of his service, should be sent home free from expence, and, on his arrival in Great Britain, should receive the usual allowance of marching-money, to carry him to his particular parish or place. If in Great Britain at the time he was entitled to his discharge, then also that he should be entitled to the allowance of marching-money. These were the only alterations he had to propose, and with what the house was already in possession of, from what he had formerly stated on the subject, and any other alterations he might have to propose in the course of the business, formed the general system by which he submitted that the army might most properly and successfully be recruited at the present time. He had to submit that it should be left open to the executive government, to vary the terms of the bargain in future years, as they should see cause. It was impossible, in a case so varied, to provide for every contingency which might possibly present itself, by legislative provision. In saying this, he wished to be understood how false and unfounded the clamour and alarm were which had been sounded, of our resorting to a measure which was irrevocable; that we were now binding ourselves up by an irrevocable rule, from which we could not at any future period recede. The measure was, no doubt, irrevocable as to the army which it might raise, and to them the good faith pledged was irrevocable; but still it was not an irrevocable measure, but one which might be abandoned at any time. It was necessary to keep in view the reasons for, as well as against such a step. There must be involved in every measure something like a sacrifice, something to be given for something else to be received. It had been said, that the present measure was not pressed on us by necessity; that we were hazarding an experiment which we were not called on to make; that we were parting with men when we were not obliged to do so. All agreed that we would not willingly part with men in time of war, but the question was how we should most effectually induce men to enter into a service where they would be useful during war? We were not ignorant that advantages were not to be procured without proportionate sacrifices. And would any man say that we were not at this moment in a situation in which we were pressed to the adoption of some extraordinary remedy? Look at the measures which had been adopted for 15 years last past, on this very subject; one would have thought us an extraordinary set of projectors, on observing this scene. Look at our projects since the beginning of the late war, or rather take a period somewhat earlier. It was resolved to increase the militia, by means of calling out the supplementary part of them, to 100,000 men. If the ordinary recruiting had answered the purpose, it is not to be supposed that a mode of procuring men, so oppressive to individuals, and so prejudicial to the future interests of the service, would have been resorted to. But it was tried, however, and tried till it could do no more. And yet it did not fully effect its object, for it stopped short at about 80,000 men, and further it could not be carried. Peace ensued. After which, the war came, and found our military establishments low; and this scheme was again resorted to, with an addition which rendered it still more oppressive than before, and that was the quarterly penalties which were imposed on the counties. This was a measure of a most compulsory nature, and yet, notwithstanding this, the effect was, that it did not altogether attain its object, while it very materially injured the ordinary recruiting service. Then came the Army of Reserve act, with the same compulsion, and in the same form, with this aggravation, that the penalty was raised from 10*l.* to 20*l.* a man. Now, this measure was not adopted merely in preference to the militia. The right hon. gent. over the way (Mr. Yorke) had indeed said, that this would have the additional advantage of providing men for the regular army; but still it was not adopted on that account, but because the former measure had failed. He would not say that this Army of Reserve act had totally and completely failed. It certainly did do something, the effects of which we experienced at this moment. But yet it fell considerably short of what it was intended to produce, and then it was at an end. It went as far as it could, and indeed it did not even profess to be a permanent measure. It advanced to a certain point, and there it stopped. The ballot was perfectly worn out, and could do no more till a certain interval had expired. There we were left when the Additional Force act came into operation. Now, he would not say of the authors of that scheme what had been said of the present, that it was brought forward because the administration stood pledged to bring forward something, though certainly, if a pledge could be supposed in either case, it was much stronger in their case than in ours; for the former administration had been removed on the pretence of the inefficiency of their military measures. But we were said to be guilty of adhering to our former opinions, and put in mind that we were now the sworn servants of the crown, and therefore that we ought to set aside our former notions, and adopt others. But the right hon. gent. was not the sworn servant of the crown, and yet he claimed the privilege of not adhering to his former opinions. This might be very well, but consistency was more necessary in our case than in his, where the witness was not sworn [a laugh]! Now, on the principle stated by the right hon. gent., however, we were not pledged to any thing; but the former administration certainly was pledged to do something; and indeed the scheme with which they came forward looked very like one which had been rashly framed, without much consideration. He mentioned this, not with the view at present of entering into an investigation of the nature of that scheme, but merely with a view to shew that that administration properly enough considered themselves as pledged to do something—they must either go backwards or forwards, as the former measure was at an end. They must either have resorted to the ordinary recruiting, backed by such aids as must make it more productive, or they must have found out some original scheme, as they in fact did. And it was rather a whimsical thing that the gentlemen on the other side argued, that, if this measure was not continued, something ought to be substituted in its stead. But here they said there was nothing. This was very odd. Was there not the ordinary recruiting? "Yes," said they, "but then that is nothing; and therefore if you take away this measure, you leave nothing." Why, you left the original foundation clear, and had the old mode of recruiting. This was something; that it was not sufficient he readily allowed; for though it could not be called absolutely nothing, yet it had been brought much nearer to nothing by these measures. But still it was something, and it was on account of its not being altogether sufficient in the old way, that he was now proposing some variations in it which might render it more efficient; but most of the late measures were professedly in their nature temporary, and some of them, such as the Additional Force act, which had been represented as permanent, was, in fact, temporary, or, at any rate, inefficient. He would not now draw that measure from the grave, "its frailties from their dread abode," although he might discuss it at present on the same principle that they had resorted to such a variety of topics when engaged in the discussion of it. He only referred to it merely as having failed to answer its purpose, with a view to shew that we were left exactly as before, and therefore that there was a necessity for something new. An hon. and learned gent. (Mr. Perceval) had said, that if he (Mr. W.) had read that act, he did not understand it. He would have been satisfied with understanding it without reading it, if that were possible; but the hon. and learned gent. seemed satisfied with reading without understanding it. He maintained what he had before stated, that the nature of the act was such that its quota would be reduced to 9,000 men; and, when it came to that, the whole that it would do would be to supply the casualties upon this number. He had, indeed, heard of 58,000 men annually; but in 8 months it had only produced 15,000 men. It was constantly falling in arrears, and in this way lost ground as it advanced. It was like those racers which, the further they ran, the more they were left behind. It began with a deficiency of 16,000 men, and ended with a deficiency of 26,000. Even supposing, however, that it had completely succeeded in doing all that in its nature it was capable of doing, still it would have failed to answer the purpose intended by it. In the production of a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Sheridan), whom he did not see in his place, it was stated, "That a constitution that was always ailing, and yet never was positively in very bad health, sometimes lasted longer than one which was strong and robust." This remark might be applied to this act. It would soon come to its *minimum*, which was the quota of 9,000 men; and then it would go on supplying the deficiencies on this quota, and leading men through this gate to the regular army at a bounty of 6 guineas more than could be obtained by the ordinary recruiting. It would do little itself, and would prevent other means from doing what they might otherwise do. Men would naturally wait till they could get into the army through this gate, and this mode would be attended at the same time with an additional expence, and with great injury to the interests of morality, and to the ordinary recruiting. This measure, then, was completely inefficient. But if the right hon. gent. could prove that it had done all that was requisite, why, then, he must confess that there was no use for the present plan, or of any other; but, if he could not prove this, and if the measure was utterly inadequate to the purposes intended, then let it not be said that there was no necessity for any thing further. Now, in this case, the question was, what were we to do? Why, some aid must be given to the ordinary recruiting, or had any body any new scheme to propose? But any expedient which would exhaust the future resources of the country, was one which he would not recommend. When the gentlemen on the other side said, that we were not to confine our views to the present moment, but were to look to the future consequences of measures, he was very glad to hear all this, although it came rather oddly from those, whose projects had been almost all of a temporary nature, and who were even now calling out for some temporary scheme. He had no confidence in these projects however. He had no similar project of his own to offer, and thought that the good sense of the thing lay in a very small compass. The only option we had was, either to procure men by voluntary or forcible means, or we might have a combination of the two. The forcible means might procure us some men for the present, but then it destroyed our future resources. Yet force might on some occasions assist and quicken the operations of the bounty. This was the case in our navy, but here the man himself was taken. But in the land service this was impossible, and such means only raised the bounty to 40 or 50 guineas, or perhaps to more, by the competition which it excited. Such was the effect in the case of the provisional cavalry, of the supplementary militia, and so forth. Seeing, then, no good either in the theory or the practice of such schemes, but finding that they rather operated like ardent spirits, opium, or substances of the like nature, which roused the constitution at first, but afterwards relaxed its power: allowing that though they were in themselves bad, there might be cases in which they might be proper; having stated this so often before, and been charged with stating the exact contrary, he would now say, that such schemes ought not to be resorted to till every other possible means had been tried and found ineffectual. He therefore would now try the effects of voluntary enlistment, and would use no means but that of making the article of proper value to the purchaser. All that could be done was, to bring the advantages of the service home to the feelings and undertandings of those who might be disposed to engage in it. If, after all this, after making the condition of the soldier thus eligible, men could not be found, then there was no alternative but to have recourse to compulsory means, with all the evils attending upon it. Now, it might be made a question, whether it was possible to make the situation of a soldier eligible in comparison with the situations of other classes in such a country as this? It was true, you could not change your population, but then you might change the nature of your service. This was certainly in the power of government. But there were things which you could not do even in the service. You could not make the situation of a soldier a very safe, a very comfortable and easy, or a very profitable one. But there were advantages which might be offered to the soldier, advantages which, in every age and nation, had been offered with success. In the present plan, he would remove an impediment to the recruiting service, by limiting the service to a shorter period than a man's life, and leaving his discharge somewhat independent of the person who employed him. But then a question had been asked, if a service is eligible for seven years, why should it not be eligible for life? There might certainly be men who would choose to serve for life, but at the same time could it possibly be contended that men, generally speaking, would not be much more willing to enter into the service when they were assured that, in case they did not like it, they might leave it at the end of 7 years? If they did like it, they might still continue in it till they had served 21 years. He should think that there was scarcely any one who would insist much upon that argument when it had so often been the practice to give men this option with a view to induce them to enter the service. The thing was consonant to the feelings of mankind. The change in the terms of the service must, in the nature of things, have a most powerful effect in rendering the condition of the soldier more eligible, and consequently in inducing men to enlist. It might, therefore, be confidently expected that this measure would produce men. Now, an hon. general (sir James Pulteney) had argued that, as we had already a mixed kind of force, we must procure more men than if there was only one single kind: and this, he said, no one could deny. He did, however, deny it. For though you might get men between the two, which you could not get for one sort of service, it did not therefore follow that you could get more. He said that the soldier, by means of our mixed force, had an option given him either to engage for limited or unlimited service; and that thus every one who chose to serve at all, might do so in either of these ways most agreeable to himself; and, consequently, that many were induced to engage who would never have entered the service at all, had there been no such option. He said, that we offered the man one sort of service, limited both as to time and place, and another sort, unlimited in both cases. Did he consider this as all we had to offer? The men might say that they liked limited service in point of time, but that they did not like one limited in point of space. Unless men disliked limited service in point of space, what induced them to enter the regular army at all? Yet men did enter the army, and that too from the service said to possess so many attractions. Yet it might be said, why does the person who would wish a limitation in point of time, dislike a limitation in point of space? Why, he might think it disagreeable to stay at home. He might wish to go abroad; he might wish to be a real soldier, to engage in such actions as those of which he had heard so much, and to see those heroes who entitled themselves to the applause and the gratitude of their country. But, though he desired no limitation in point of space, yet it might be a most valuable object to him to have a limitation in point of time, instead of entering upon a service of which he could not see the end. He might eagerly desire to come back to his own country, after a certain term of service, in order to describe what he had done and what he had seen, in order to talk of "Antres vast and deserts idle." He might have some rustic Desdemona, to whom he would wish to detail his "hair-breadth 'scapes i' th' iminent deadly breach," his "moving accidents by flood and field," while Desdemona, the daughter perhaps of a village landlord, after hastening to serve a customer with a tankard of ale, would return, and "with greedy ears devour up his discourse." This was a natural inclination, and the service would by this means be rendered much more attractive to multitudes. Why, then, when you had these motives to offer, it was in the highest degree impolitic to stop and counteract thei operation, by rendering the service, which was unlimited in point of space, also unlimited in point of time. The hon. general would, therefore, perceive that his alternative was deficient, for unlimited service in point of space might be a boon, while unlimited service in point of time was a check. The effect of this plan then, sooner or later, would be to rouse that feeling of ardour and heroism, which undoubtedly existed in great numbers of the people of this country.—It was our duty to put no bar in the way of the full effect of this spirit, by rendering the service unlimited as to time; for the ardour of many must be very much damped by the circumstance that they can see no end to their service. He would not dwell any longer on this point, which must be so plain and obvious to every one. Of the effects of this plan of limited service in point of time, he had the fullest and most confident reliance, as a permanent resource for procuring supplies of men for the army. Then, the next point was to enquire into the inconveniencies and evils which it had been said would attend this measure. These might be comprised under 3 general heads; 1st, the effect which it would produce on the character of the army; 2dly, its effects with regard to the colonial service; and 3dly, the loss of those numbers that would be discharged at the end of the terms. Now, as to the first of these heads, namely, the character of the army, it was one to which we must be disposed to listen with seriousness and attention, not from any belief that there was any thing in the argument, but merely on account of the high importance of the subject. After a view of all the services to which his attention had been directed, and of the particular distinctions in the character of this country, he must say, that the objection, as to the effects of this plan on the character of the army, had no foundation. But then, how did this couple with the other objection relative to the discharge of the men during a war? The expedient to cure this was to make the men serve for a term of years, or during the war. But how did this relate to the character of the soldier? If a man knew that he was to be discharged at the end of 7 years, it appeared he could not be a proper soldier; but if he served 5 years, or during the war, he might retire at the end of the 5 years with the character of the most efficient soldier! But the fact was, that this uncertainty, for which some were contending, was the thing which would strike at the very root of the military character. In considering limited service, as it had existed among different nations, the hon. general had left out the monarchy of France. Now, why a monarchy should be omitted, which had lasted 1400 years; which existed in a military and populous country; which, in point of military regulations, had been a model to Europe; he could not conceive. If he left that out of the account, it put an end to all authority on the subject. The effects of the institutions of that monarchy were as well known as if the French revolution had not put an end to it. That it enlisted for a term of years, there was no dispute. The only question was, whether it enlisted men with a view to serve during the continuance of a war? Now, he was prepared to say, that he had no doubt whatever that the men were to be discharged even during war; and when they were not discharged, it was prevented by a direct order issued by the government; and of such an order, an arbitrary government might readily enough avail itself on particular occasions. This had been done during the American war. Now, he had always thought that a breach of a law was an evidence of its existence. Before the year 1765, the term of the French service was 6 years. In that year, the term was increased to 8 years. No mention whatever was made of peace or war, and so it stood on the ordonnance. But when war came, the government said that it wanted soldiers, and the men were retained. Though this abuse had been occasionally resorted to by an arbitrary government, yet, from the nature of the regulation, it appeared that the retaining of the men during the war was not considered as essentially necessary. But as far as the regulation went, it distinctly confirmed the statement which had been made by him. That the government followed its convenience in breaking through its engagements, as many goverments did, but as our government could not do so, was certain. Now, as to the discharge of the soldier during a war, nobody could deny that this must often be inconvenient. So likewise it was often inconvenient to pay money at the exact time at which it was due, and some would not pay at all; but it would be very odd if persons were to argue from this that there ought to be no regulations for enforcing the payment of just debts. The whole experience of the European services was against the hon. general, and those who thought as he did. In the Austrian service there were various modes of recruiting, and at short periods. He would ask whether gentlemen had ever heard of such a people as the Swiss? There never were better troops, and yet all the regiments were engaged only for a term of years, and were discharged even in time of war. What then became of all that we had heard about the military character? But then the gentlemen argued in a curious way, for they said that the Swiss were not English; and if the instances had been taken from the French or the Swedes, or any other people, they would have exactly the same objection. They said that we were theorists. If they understood the term theory, as applying to any thing which had never before, under exactly similar circumstances, been tried, then all governments must be theorists, more or less, in every thing that they did. If, indeed, he had been talking of the Chinese, the Tartars, or the Negroes, they might indeed, with some justice, say that the instances did not apply; but in the great family of Europe, where the degrees of civilization were nearly equal, and where the military character was nearly the same, the difference was not so great as to prevent the justice of the comparison from being sufficiently striking. If they called this theory, they must call every thing so where the example was not exactly similar in point of circumstances, situation, and every thing else. But the truth was, that the resemblance was sufficiently obvious to answer all the purposes here intended. He must therefore say, that the whole experience of the different military regulations in Europe was against their notions of the effect which limited service would have on the character of the soldier. He might, therefore, consider that point as set completely at rest. He had many direct authorities in his favour on this point, which, however, he would not at present particularly mention. Now, as to the inconvenience that would attend the discharging of men during war, he could not help complimenting the gentlemen on the other side on the extension of their views in the contemplation of distant evils. Because when he looked back on their measures, he found them all of a temporary nature. He would ask, whether they were not merely calculated to answer the purposes of the moment without any regard to the future? Compulsion might, perhaps, have been proper in the circumstances of the case. He meant to say nothing as to that; but certainly the expedients were entirely temporary. He could not look back without recollecting how often he had lamented in that house the evident disposition which constantly appeared in it to adopt temporary shifts and expedients. Its language had been, "Oh! save us just now; save us from this present danger, and pay no regard whatever to the future, let that provide for itself." This was imitating certain philosophers who enjoyed the present too much. But now the gentlemen said, "For God's sake! take care that your measures do not prove mischievous 7 years hence." They abandoned their former feelings, and were now wondrously apprehensive of what might happen in future: but at all events posterity could not be injured by this plan; because, among the advantages of it, one was, that in this view the possible evil could only arise in exact proportion to the actual good. If many men were not got, then there would be but few to discharge—[a laugh from the opposition]. This was a proposition so plain, that he could not conceive what the gentlemen found in it so highly diverting. And here he had heard very singular reasoning, which shewed the nature of the objections and the want of consideration on the part of the objectors. This was particularly apparent in the arguments used respecting the effects of the periodical discharging at the end of 7 years. The fact was, that this would have no effect that could justly cause the smallest alarm before a very distant period, so that he could scarcely give the gentlemen any credit for their fears. What did they suppose we should lose by this plan? Fifteen years must elapse before we lost one-twelfth of these men, supposing that they took their discharges as early as possible. From this he had gone with his calculation to 28 years, and this period must elapse before the loss could amount to any thing that was at all alarming. He might have calculated farther, as this was a mere matter of calculation; but having taken so considerable a portion of a century, he thought it very needless at present to carry the calculation any farther. This he said on a supposition that the period was to be 7 years only; but when we took in the additional guard which was now provided on this point, they must be very anxious indeed who could feel any apprehensions. Now, he had said before, and would say again, that the discharge of the men at the end of these periods, must be considered as a sacrifice. This was following the improvements of modern life. As reason and civilization advanced, men saw the advantages of such sacrifices. All the improvements in our agriculture, in our commerce, and in many other things, proceeded upon this principle. What distinguished the merchants of this country from others? What distinguished our agriculture from others, but that enterprising spirit which taught them to sacrifice a present advantage for the hope of a greater future one? The opinions of military officers had not so much weight with him in this case as in many others. An officer looking at his fine regiment, his grenadiers, with none under five feet ten in the front ranks, could not, perhaps, bear to think of parting with them, and this feeling would be stronger in proportion to his attachment to his profession. The same feeling, too, would be felt by a planter, when he saw the axe applied to some of the finest plants, though this was absolutely necessary for the benefit of the grove. If an instance might be taken from agriculture, he might mention that of the turnip husbandry, which, though introduced at the beginning of the last century, had made very slow progress, and even as yet was by no means general, because it involved a sacrifice on the part of the owner. The advantages, however, were ten-fold greater than the sacrifice. First feelings, therefore, on this subject were nothing. What had prevented the rapid progress of this husbandry, and many other improvements, was the vulgar maxim of saying, "Get all you can, and keep all you get." This was the conduct dictated by first feelings, till experience and more extended knowledge taught mankind that, by keeping all they got, they did not get what they might. This was precisely the state of the present question, and he exhorted gentlemen not to look to what we lost only, but to consider also what we might gain, and that this measure was substituted instead of those temporary efforts, under the evil effects of which this country was at this moment labouring. He advised them to consider the nature of the limited service, and the extent of the periods; but he exhorted them to take counsel from those who favoured the doctrine of limited service generally, rather than from those who were enemies to it altogether. It was impossible that the terms could be absolute during the existence of any war; for the fact was, that wars now came so fast in succession, that arrangement on these terms would scarcely be any boon to the soldier at all. If there was no limit to the service but that contingency, it would be impossible for the soldier to calculate upon any time for his discharge, and on going abroad he would be almost as much deprived of the hopes of returning home as he was at present; and upon this principle the plan would do nothing, for the advantages to be derived from it would be lost. But now, by fixing the discharge at a certain period, the advantages would be clear, and the danger, even supposing that all who were entitled to it should demand their discharge at the earliest period, so inconsiderable, that the sacrifice would be prodigiously overbalanced by the benefits to be derived from it.—Now, as to the other point, which was that of the colonial service, the inconveniences here would not, by any means, be so great as might be supposed. This point might be reduced to a narrow compass. The inconveniences might be met by different regulations for that service, by appointing troops of a different description for it, and by other means. The danger was trifling, while the period was only 7 years, as it was before; and when, as now, the period might be 10 years, the danger was greatly diminished. Here the instance of the East-India Company's troops was peculiarly applicable, and it was of the strongest sort, on account of the distance to the East being so much greater than that to the West Indies: besides, in that service the men were only enlisted for 5 years. The most perfect good faith was kept with them, and the India Company found the benefit of recruiting for this period. They continued enlisting troops on this condition, till the government put an end to it on account of its interfering with the ordinary recruiting of the army. Had he not experience on his side then? Could he despair of success in an instance where the adverse circumstances were not by any means so strong? These were the heads of the inconveniences that were set against the hopes which might, upon the soundest principles of reason, be drawn from this measure. This was the only change from which he could see the least chance of procuring the proper numbers to supply the army. This change too would so much enhance the value of the service, that multitudes who would not before have entered the service, would now resort to it. The character of the service would thereby be raised, and a prodigious facility given to our recruiting. The great objection to the army, amongst persons who had a regard to character, or to the respectability of their situations, was, the people of which it was in some measure composed, in consequence of our recruiting it with convicts and persons of bad repute. It had been denied that distress principally drove men to our ranks; but this was a resource which it was unfit for this country to depend upon. By these things the army had been brought into disrepute, and the person who had engaged as a soldier, was considered as having degraded himself, and as gone for ever. From the description of people that was introduced into the army, the discipline was necessarily more severe: and this very severity itself prevented respectable people from enlisting, when otherwise they would have done it. These were the evils that called loudly for remedy. The experience of our own service was against the gentlemen on the other side, when they said that limited service would lower the character of the army, for they might have witnessed many instances to the contrary. As to the inconveniences of the colonial service, these ought not for a moment to be put in competition with the advantages which would be derived from the plan of limited service. Then came the parting with them in time of war. He had, by calculation, clearly found that the inconvenience in this respect would be very trifling; besides that the evils, small as they were, must be at a great distance. These were the considerations which had induced him to resort to this plan; and he was, in some measure, driven to it from necessity, by the failure of all other expedients. We could not change our population, but we might change the nature of our service; and this was what was proposed. Now, one word as to the present situation of the army. It would be observed, that this plan was only doing that generally, which partially had existed for many years back. He protested against the argument, that because little effect was produced on this small plan, little could be expected on a larger. The plan of limited service, as it stood at present, had little effect, merely because it was partial. The effects to be expected from such a measure as this must arise from its notoriety and solemnity. It must be rendered generally interesting and impressive, and, in order to be so, it must be universal. We are not to consider whether each individual is to calculate accurately for himself what may be the advantages of the service; the point is, in what estimation the service may be held by others. At present the soldier was sometimes considered as a person gone, as one who was completely lost. Now, the point was to raise the character of the soldier and of the service; and in order to do this, in addition to the limited period of service, it might be matter for future consideration, whether some civil privileges might not be granted to the soldiers who had served a certain time. Even the elective franchise, though it could not properly be given them in boroughs, or in the counties in Scotland, which were much on the same footing as boroughs, might be given them in the counties in England. Individuals, perhaps, might not calculate on these advantages, but then all these things went to raise the character of the army in the general estimation; and this would always be a powerful inducement to enlist. He had only stated these advantages and disadvantages very generally. It was first to be considered that the character of the service was to be raised, in order to procure the proper supplies for it. He had stated how this was to be done. He had then adverted to the necessity of discharging the men at the end of a certain period, even during a war, and had mentioned the instance of the East-India Company's troops, which proved that there was no great danger in this, nor in the influence of this plan upon our colonial service. He thought this of no great magnitude. The whole, in short, proceeded upon the enlightened principle of sacrificing a smaller good at present, in order to receive a much greater at a future period. It proceeded upon that enlightened avarice, if he might say so, which overturned the whole maxim, to which he had before alluded, and taught us that, by keeping all we got, we did not get all we might. Having thus generally stated the nature of the object in view, and the means which it was proposed to employ, he would conclude with moving, that the clause be added to the bill.

Sir *James Pulteney*, in rising to reply to part of what had fallen from the right hon. gent., meant to confine himself strictly to those points which the right hon. gent. had done him the honour to notice from his speech on this subject on a former occasion. He had formerly argued, that the plan repealed by the right hon. gent. was preferable to that which he himself had proposed, in so far as it was likely that more men would be got for a service limited both in space and time, than for a service limited in point of time only. The right hon. gent., however, had contended, that the love of glory, and a desire to see the world, and to visit different climes, were such powerful inducements to prefer service limited in point of time, as must greatly preponderate in favour of that service. It might be so with a few, but he was sure that, generally speaking, most men were partial to that service which was limited as to space, particularly from a dread of colonial service in the West Indies. Bounty, he was fully persuaded, was a greater inducement with most men than a love of glory. He was far from wishing to underrate the courage of our countrymen. We must take men, however, as they were, and the inhabitants of the country were but men. He had formerly stated, and he now repeated it, if the right hon. gent. was so conscious of the superiority of his plan, let him try its effects on the second battalions, and see what it would produce. Another point much insisted on was the experience of other countries, and particularly France. He had formerly stated, and he again with confidence repeated, that it was not at this moment the practice of any one great power in the world to enlist for a limited time of service, at least during a war; and, except the Swiss, it had not been attempted to be argued that it was. If he were to take an instance of the evils to follow from such a practice, he would quote the very one which had been dwelt on by the right hon. gent.—the instance of France. He would wish to know, why he should take up that system at the very time that France had abandoned it, abandoned it, too, from dear-bought experience, from the seven years' war, in which they had been utterly unsuccessful, and during which their armies had been held in contempt through the whole world, most probably from being formed on this system. He could not agree, that the limiting the period of service would have no bad effect, in changing the character of the soldiery. Limiting its endurance at all, would unquestionably produce this effect; whether for 7 or 10 years would make little difference. When he came near the period of his discharge, and contemplated his return to private life, it would be found that he was more of a citizen than a soldier. In the opinion which he formerly gave on the subject, he had an inclination for a service for a limited number of years; but he by no means then contemplated the idea of discharging them during a war. The right hon. gent. had gone into a calculation to shew, that the evil of discharge was less than had been supposed. However this might be added to the evil which must attend the colonial service, he was convinced that the number, whether more or less, must be severely felt; and it was not in the number only that this would be seen, but in the fact of their being our best troops, who had served 7 or 8 years, whom we were called on to discharge; those to whom the rest of our soldiers looked up; and that they were to be discharged, too, during a war. As to the general amelioration of our army, the right hon. gent. seemed to expect, that they would be a different sort of men from those of whom the army was now composed; no such change, he was well assured, would take place. Nothing had been proposed by the right hon. gent. which would induce men of a different kind from the present army to inlist. Nothing could be more theoretic, or more unfounded in fact, than the idea that limiting the period to a term of seven years, would make a great change, either in the kind or number of those who inlisted. If, however, government were resolved to try the measure, he hoped they would allow the regular recruiting to go on at the same time.

Mr. *Yorke* said, he had given way with pleasure to his hon. friend, because, as he differed himself so entirely from the right hon. secretary, he thought that it would be desirable to hear an opinion from such an authority. The house, he was sure, ought not to decide on this important question, without hearing and attending to the opinions of all the experienced officers that were members of it. He had listened with great attention to the able and eloquent speech of the right hon. gent. without being convinced, or induced to alter any part of his former opinion. The discussion then pending was a question to leave out an usual clause in the Mutiny bill, for the purpose of introducing an innovation that was not likely to produce any practical good effect, and might be attended with much mischief. He was one of those who thought, from the delays that had occurred between the opening speech and the production of the measure, that his majesty's ministers had abandoned the project, or resolved to put off the consideration of it for the present, because he thought that otherwise they would not, upon what appeared to him shallow pretences, have refused to the house such lights as could be derived from the written opinions of experienced officers, one of which, if he was rightly informed, had been given in lately. He had hoped, that they had re-consulted those general officers, and were disposed to act upon their opinions. But as they had not, he, upon a feeling of duty, felt himself called upon to enter his protest, in that stage, against this dangerous innovation. He did so, not according to the distinction made by the right hon. gent. relative to the sworn servants of the crown, and those on the side of the house on which he was speaking. He, as a member, sworn of his majesty's council, was bound, if called on, to give his advice to the best of his judgment, as he gave his opinion there as a member of that house. A great objection which he felt to this measure was, the manner in which it was attempted to be ingrafted on the mutiny bill, because it was wholly unnecessary in the first place, and unconstitutional in the next place, for his majesty's ministers to attempt to introduce it in this manner. It was unnecessary, because, as the right hon. secretary had observed on another occasion, that house ought not to legislate on subjects that did not require legislation. He should ask that right hon. gent. why introduce the matter into this bill, if the undoubted prerogative of the crown were sufficient? On what pretence, then, engraft this clause on the Mutiny bill? The measure now in agitation might be done by an order of his majesty, without any interference of the kind. Was there any fear or doubt of government? Was there any doubt on the part of the soldiers of his majesty? Then why introduce any thing respecting their service into a legislative act? There were within his knowledge, and not in the very best of times, but two instances of similar attempts; one in the reign of queen Anne, under the administration of lord Bolingbroke, and the other during the American war, in lord North's administration. It was taking advantage, both of the parliament and of his majesty. It was like packing extraneous matter into a money-bill, which must pass. As to his majesty, it was depriving him of his prerogative. He had a right to exercise his prerogative, and to withhold his consent to the measure; but how could he do so, when it was engrafted on a bill, which, in the nature of things, must pass? There were, besides these, many objections to the measure itself; some of which he should state. He had no very confident expectation, that any thing he could say would have much effect with the present ministry, after the instances he had witnessed of their taking up measures in a crude and undigested manner, and pertinaciously persisting in them, contrary to the opinions and remonstrances of so many members of that house, and of the country. He did not even expect, that they would agree to any delay in the business, notwithstanding the declaration which the right hon. gent. himself had made, that he did not look to it as of immediate necessity, but as a permanent benefit. In this situation, and as great doubts were entertained on the propriety of the measure, he could not see why it might not just as well stand over till next session, when it might be in their power to bring it forward in a more complete and less objectionable state. Though he did not expect, that any thing he might say would have great weight with ministers; he did not, however, despair that he should be able to persuade some of the committee to pause, before they should adopt a measure of such mischievous tendency to the army; before they would sanction an innovation in the system of that army, to which, in these perilous, alarming, and critical times, they were, under Providence, to look for security and protection, and that at a time, too, when the army was admitted to be sufficient for the occasion. This subject, he insisted, depended upon fact and experience. Though he had heard the ingenious speech of the right hon. gent. with attention, he had not been able to discover a single fact, or a single calculation, on which his measure was to be grounded. It was not sufficient for that right hon. gent. to say, that he expected his measure would be successful; he ought to have produced facts to justify that opinion. There were documents upon the table to which he should refer for facts, as to the measures that had been taken, at different periods, to remedy the defects in the army. The object of his majesty's ministers was, not to improve the state of the army, which never was in a higher state of discipline, nor more respectable in amount. The cavalry and infantry, including 14,000 or 15,000 men for limited service, amounted to 150,000 men. The number wanted on the 26th of June, 1805, to complete them to their full establishment was 44,846. But, as the establishment varied often, and many men had been added by the Additional Force bill, he thought that the number now wanted could not be above 30,000, to complete the establishment of the regular army. There must, of necessity, be a large floating deficiency in an army of such an amount. The casualties, on an average, of the years 1803-4-5, were 17,000 on the whole military force, which, after deducting for casualties in the militia and local corps, left for the regular army, casualties to the amount of 13,000, or one-twelfth of the whole. Any measure that should be brought forward, ought to be such as to provide for the existing deficiency and the casualties; and could the right hon. gent. suppose, that his measure would raise 33,000 within the year? From the Revolution to the present time, the army had been recruited, as it was now, by inlisting for unlimited time and space, except in the two instances he had alluded to; and that, he contended, was the true principle upon which the army ought to be kept up. The attempt now proposed had been made in the year 1713, the year before the accession of the House of Hanover, by the introduction of a clause into the Mutiny bill, giving the soldiers of the existing army, and those who should afterwards inlist, the right to demand their discharge after 3 years' service, upon giving 3 months' notice to the colonel in the former case. This system lasted, then, but 2 years; for when the Whigs were in power, after the accession of the House of Hanover, they left the clause out of the bill, which was a strong proof of the notion our ancestors had of fanciful theories. He should not impute to the right hon. gent. any disorganising views; but certainly, if lord Bolingbroke, as had been said, and as he believed, had any design of defeating the succession of the House of Hanover, he could not have taken a more effectual step for that purpose, than to disorganise the army that had fought under king William and the duke of Marlborough. The same system had been introduced in 1775, and continued to the end of that war. The men were raised for three years, or during the Rebellion. In 1779, the recruiting, which had, till then, been carried on under the authority of the king's prerogative, was sanctioned by the introduction of a clause, similar to the present, into the Mutiny bill. What the effect had been, he should shew from a comparison of three different periods. The first period he should consider was, the three first years of the present war, and that he should consider in three distinct views: 1st, the effect of the ordinary recruiting; 2d, the effect of the ordinary recruiting, combined with the numbers that had volunteered from limited service; and, 3dly, the whole number of men that had been raised for limited and unlimited service. The first view gave an average of 12,780 per annum; the second, an average of 19,310; and the third, of 28,470 men per annum. He took this occasion to deny that the measures taken to raise these men had cut up the regular recruiting. He admired the wit of the right hon. gent.; but the subject under discussion was no joke; and, when the house ought to look to that gent., as secretary of state, both for information and argument, they had to expect something besides lively and witty flashes of imagination. The right hon. gent. ought, according to the humble saying, to be "witty and wise." The next period he should consider was, the three first years of the last war, when his majesty's ministers had acted upon a much wiser system than lord North, by raising the men in the usual way. The average of men raised per annum by the regular recruiting was 25,955. In the three first years of the American war, when the whole number raised were for limited service, the average of the three first years was 11,631 men per annum. By these statements it appeared, that the greatest number of men had been raised in the three first years of this war, when the regular recruiting had been backed by subsidiary measures; that the produce next in amount had been obtained when the recruiting had been made wholly for unlimited service; and that the smallest number had been obtained when, in the first years of the American war, the limited service was exclusively resorted to, insomuch, that 50,000 more men had been raised in the three first years of the present war, than in the correspondent period of the American war. He had great respect for the talents of the right hon. gent.; but, unless he could state some facts in support of his plan, he could not accede to it. In point of effective men, those raised during the present war were, in general, better men than those obtained last war, and, in all cases, than those in the American war. If the right hon. gentleman's argument was worth any thing, if he meant any thing in his statement, he must have meant, that his system would be sufficient to keep up the army to its establishment, and to supply the ordinary casualties; but the right hon. gent. ought also to look to the extraordinary casualties that might take place in the event, which he hoped would not happen, of the enemy being to be met here or in Ireland, by the loss that would be the consequence of a great battle lost, or of a great and bloody victory gained. That should be in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers. If the measure which they now brought forward had failed in the American war, why, in the name of God, were they then called upon to sanction it? The right hon. gent. had stated some of the inconveniencies of the measure; many of which he could not get over. But what had been the state of the army in the American war? He proposed to consider that question in three views: first, the state of the army in North America and the West Indies, in 1779; 2dly, the casualties therein in the years 1778, 1779, and 1790; and, 3dly, the amount of all the troops that had been sent out to supply that army. The army in 1779 was an establishment of 25,299, in America and the West Indies, wanting 11,249 to complete it, being nearly one-third. The casualties, including desertion, &c. amounted to an average of 17,855; and, with all the efforts that could have been made with the system in full activity, the number of troops sent out, including 13 new regiments, did not exceed 19,161, leaving a balance, after deducting the casualties, of 1296, been only as a supply for an army that was fighting for the brightest jewel of the British crown, and for the dearest interests of the nation. When they had such an experience, therefore, of the system, he asked gentlemen, who might not have made up their minds, previously, to vote on one side of the question, whether they ought not to pause, before they should again consent to adopt it? He came then to consider a paper that had been presented that day, which, when it should be printed, would give gentlemen much useful information. By this paper it appeared, that the numbers wanted in 1781, to complete the army to its establishment, exclusive of cavalry, which at that time did not exceed 5,000, was 25,279; in 1782, was 22,000; and in 1783, was 26,000, being one-fourth of the whole, then 101,116 men; whereas, the number now deficient, of a force of 150,000, was only one-fifth; a circumstance for which they were indebted to the salutary operation of those measures that had been so much abused. He would ask any man, whether the system proposed would afford a prospect of supplying the ordinary and extraordinary casualties of the army? In the debates on the peace in 1783, it had been stated, in that and another house, in justification of its terms, without a contradiction, that the army wanted 30,000 men of its complement. But this was not all: the limited service occasioned a mutiny in the army, which exposed the country to the most serious dangers: the expectation of being released from military duty occasioned discontents; and most gentlemen would know, at least as a matter of history, that, at Portsmouth, a spirit of this destructive kind prevailed in the 77th regiment, and that important garrison was placed in the most alarming situation. Such was the state of the army at the conclusion of the American war. The navy and the finances were disorganised after the American war; and when party spirit should subside, justice would be done to that great man who had brought both back from their disorganised state. As to the right hon. gentleman's assertion, that the measure would have no effect on the character of the soldier, he was convinced, when the soldier had a definitive time to look to for his discharge, he would feel uneasy, and, consequently, not perform his duty with alacrity. That had been the case with the militia, when inlisted for three years, until, in the year 1781, a change was made in engaging them during the war, which made them look to the service as to a profession. He was surprised to find, that the right hon. gent. stated only, as he had before opened, his plan, without any explanation of the mode in which he expected to get rid of the inconveniences of it. The next object to be taken into our view was, the particular inconvenience in our colonial service, which must inevitably result from this plan. His majesty's ministers, however, had not stated to the house, or to the committee, with any degree of precision, what were their dreams on this subject. The right hon. gent. had stated, in his opening speech, that in case of a regiment entering on foreign service, the men whose terms were near expiring, might be drafted into second battalions. There would, however, be numberless inconveniences resulting from this plan in the minutiæ of every regimental arrangement; and the right hon. gent. migh depend upon it, that if men had about 6 or 8 months to serve, and that they were ordered out to India, that circumstance would occasion a considerable degree of discontent among them. The army in the East Indies presented another obstruction. By the time the men had arrived, and had been seasoned to the climate, and prepared to face the enemy, so considerable a portion of their time would be expired, that they could be of very little use to the service. He should have considered it a dereliction of his duty, if he had not called upon the house to pause before they agreed to a measure that was not supported by a single fact. He might ask the right hon. gent. to state the means by which he expected to supply the casualties of the troops even in India, where the peace establishment cannot hereafter be less than 25,000 men. He was not able, he confessed, to follow the calculations of the right hon. secretary; but this much he observed, that the casualties of our army, from the discharges that would take place under this clause, would, in a few years, be so great, that our military force would not be sufficient to maintain our position among the powers of Europe, and that some other plan should then be resorted to for the purpose of recruiting our army. Could the right hon. secretary suppose, that, if a serjeant said to a man that he would inlist him for only the term of 7 years, and that he was afterwards kept for 2 or 3 years longer in the service, could he expect that, in such circumstances, more men would be got for the army than at present; or even could he think, that so great a number of men could be obtained, as were induced to inlist under the present system, by which all idea of quitting the service was banished from their minds? He really had no hostility against his majesty's ministers; but he thought that he should ill discharge his duty, if he did not deliver his sentiments, whatever they might be, on so important an occasion as the present. Government must, of course, have better information on the subject than he had; but, for his own part, he did not know of any expedition that was now going forward against the enemy; and if the fact was so, that there were not, at present, any great military exertions in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers, he would advise them to try the ordinary means of recruiting for at least another year; then, if it was found that those means failed, it would be competent to ministers to come down to parliament, to state the fact to the house, and to bring forward any plan which they might, by that time, have more deliberately weighed in their minds. Having thus conscientiously delivered his sentiments, and having entered his protest against this innovation on our military system, he washed his hands of the measure; and, whatever might be the dangerous consequences of it, ministers would be responsible for their own impolicy and precipitation.

Colonel *Craufurd* rose, principally for the purpose of replying to that part of the speech of the right hon. gent. who had just sat down, which regarded colonial service. He would admit that it would always be necessary to keep a considerable part of the regular army in the East Indies, perhaps not less than 21,000 men. The waste of that army he would calculate in the proportion of one to seven, so that, upon the average of seven years, about 3000 men would be requisite to make up for the consumption. It would be necessary to send frequent supplies of men to keep up the strength of these corps. The expence, therefore, of sending home the men who chose to take the benefit of the conditions under which they entered would be very inconsiderable, neither would the inconvenience be so great as the right hon. gent. seemed to imagine it was. For his part, he could not say that he very much admired the humanity of gentlemen who would not allow the men who were fighting the battles of their country, who were risking their lives daily by the severity of a climate to which they were before unused, and by the dangers which are inseparable from a soldier's life; he could not really have the most favourable opinion of the minds or dispositions of gentlemen who would not allow one-fourth of these men to have a chance of returning to their native country. The number to be sent home would never amount to more than something from 700 to 1000 men annually. Should men be banished for life like felons merely because of some trifling inconvenience, after they had honourably served their country? Some regiments had been, to his own knowledge, 26 years abroad: should none of these be allowed to return, unless they were sent home as cripples for the remainder of their days? Of the West Indies he should say but little, as every one knew, that some alteration was necessary in that quarter. It had been asked, what would be done with men who might be sent out on any sudden emergency to repel any attack of the enemy, on our islands for instance? The shortness of the term for which it would be necessary to continue their service there, however, was so obvious, that he could not think it was any thing like a serious objection to the proposed plan to say, that it would occasion any considerable degree of inconvenience with respect to these regiments. Some of the other points in the speech of the hon. gent. had been answered on a former night, or else had been anticipated in the speech of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) that night. He should, therefore, avoid taking up the time of the house by any repetition of the answers to those points. But this much he would say, that, for the honour, the glory, and the safety of the empire, some great permanent change in our military system was necessary. The ordinary means of recruiting were inadequate to furnish the necessary supply. Comparing the army as it stood in July 1804, with its amount in March 1806, there was an absolute decrease in the infantry, and of that a very large proportion was not applicable to foreign service. If at this time last year, government had had a disposeable force of 100,000 men, would Buonaparte have dared to quit the coast and march across the Rhine? With such a force, what was there to prevent us from landing at Boulogne, burning the flotilla, and becoming masters of that particular part of the country? It was to make up for this lamentable defect, that the present government was endeavouring to create a disposable army. The principle of limited service was not that innovation that was supposed. In the two administrations, in which the noble lord (Castlereagh) was concerned, it was distinctly recognized, first in the Army of Reserve act, and next in the Additional Force bill. The unlimited service was one of the chief objections to entering into the army, and the frequency, the severity, and, above all, the publicity of corporal punishment was another. So far from apprehending any relaxation of discipline from a less frequent use of corporal punishment, it was his opinion that the moral character of every regiment would be much improved by it. There was also another objection to entering into the army, which would be in a considerable degree removed by the plan detailed by his right hon. friend. The service, as it was constituted at present, was the most arduous, and at the same time, the worst paid. The proposed pension would obviate much of this objection, for there were but few situations in which a poor man could hope to sit down with a certain income for life after 21 years' service. What a miserable system was that of the noble lord and his colleagues, by which the military strength of the country was tied hand and foot, and we suffered the enemy to do every thing in our presence without punishing him; but that, however, was nothing to the purpose. There was a great difference produced in the soldier's character, by enlisting for 7 years, or for the continuance of the war. In the latter case, he would naturally be anxious for peace, the very worst quality a soldier could possess. But that even this mode of enlistment would not produce the mischiefs the opponents of the principle of limited service seemed to apprehend, he had only to refer to the American war, in the progress of which no less than 78,000 men had enlisted only for the time it should continue, and the moral qualities of the seventy regiments into which they had enlisted, were fully equal to those of any of the regiments of which the present army was composed. Every one who heard him was acquainted with the brilliant details of that glorious campaign in Egypt, in which British gallantry was as conspicuous as in the proudest period of our history, and yet he could appeal to many officers now in the house, whether a considerable part of that army was not enlisted for limited service? It had been asserted that the practice of enlisting for limited service did not prevail among any of the great military powers of Europe. Were he not fearful of fatiguing the house, he would read the ordonnances which had been from time to time published in France, and he would prove from them, that from the year 1684 down to the French revolution, the principle had been recognized, and resorted to in that country. Indeed, the great marshal Saxe, no ordinary authority on such subjects, had expressly recommended that no man should be enlisted for more than five years. It was true, as it had been observed on the other side, that when general Washington took the command of the American army, the period of service was only for a year; but it was not to that, short as it was, that he attributed its want of discipline, but to the notions of equality that it had imbibed; notions, perhaps, inseparable from the cause for which they were contending. It was these notions which made the men disobedient to their officers, and not the limited service. To those who apprehended danger from discharging the men in case of invasion, he would observe, that in that event not a single man would be discharged. So far from it, his majesty would be entitled to call for the services of every man in the kingdom capable of bearing arms. The right hon. gent. appeared to rely much upon the mutiny which broke out about the end of the American war in a regiment enlisted for limited service; but that mutiny, he would contend, was produced by a gross and flagrant breach of faith in the government. See the facts of the case. The men were enlisted during the war. Preliminaries of peace had been signed, and yet, in the interval between these and the ratification of peace, the regiment received orders to embark for the East Indies. How was it possible for men, so circumstanced, to receive the benefit of the terms upon which they entered? It was also to be observed, that it was not so much a vast increase of numerical strength, as an addition of military character that we wanted; for while other nations had occasion to send almost their whole army into the field, our history shewed that at all times of foreign war we fought only by detachments, and wanted, for that reason, but a small well-chosen band. If the safety of the country should come to be at stake, we had a most powerful resource, more than any nation of slaves could have, namely, that of the exercise of the royal privilege, calling on a nation of free men to rise in arms for the defence of their privileges, their own liberties, and every thing that could be dear to men. Another consideration seemed to be urged with particular confidence by the right hon. gent. as to the difficulties in which the country would be placed, in the event of not having a sufficient army for the defence of the country, in case any material part of our force should come to be discharged under the operation of this clause: but the right hon. gent. should have in view, that we had other means of defence more than sufficient to counterbalance any evil of that sort. Before, however, he described these means, he would tell the right hon. gent. he ought to know that we had it not in this country in our power, at any time, to collect a sufficient force for our military wants without the aid of volunteers—[a cry of hear! hear! from the opposition]. The hon. officer proceeded, and begged to set gentlemen right upon the point to which they appeared to refer. He never was by any means hostile to the volunteers, however much he might have been, like his right hon. friend, misrepresented; although he objected to many of the details of the volunteer system, he never was or could have been so preposterous as to object to a volunteer force; for what man could suppose, that in a country like this, its defence could be sure, unless a great part of its population, who were not likely to enter into the regular army, were not forward to form themselves into volunteers in aid of that army? But to return to the plan under consideration; he conceived that great good would result from it, even if it were capable of doing no more for the army than to supply the casualties; for the men who should leave the service on the expiration of the time specified in the clause, would be of great utility: scattered through the country, they would serve to augment our efficient military strength, and might, at a future opportunity, be most usefully employed as recruits and drill serjeants. In the present state of Europe, it was highly desirable to diffuse the military spirit accompanied by military knowledge; and what instruments were so likely to accomplish this end as the men he alluded to? The prospect of such advantages was enough in his mind to entitle the plan of his right hon. friend to the acquiescence of the house. As to the objection grounded upon the omission of his right hon. friend to apply this project to the present army, he thought it of no weight whatever. But if he had contemplated such an application, his objections would have been very serious indeed; for it would expose the country to much mischief, to alter the conditions of men who had already engaged upon understood, and settled terms. If, for instance, the change of those terms now were to commence, the country would, at the expiration of the time prescribed, be exposed to the danger of having all the present army entitled to claim their discharge at once. But no danger of any such magnitude could possibly arise upon the application of the proposed condition to an army gradually accumulating. Posterity, therefore, would not be liable to the mischiefs which the vivid imaginations of some gentlemen were so fond to dilate upon; and what inconveniences could result to us? At least, for ten years we were safe from any of those inconveniences which gentlemen on the other side professed to apprehend; and what greater advantage could we confer on posterity than to carry the country through the difficulties and dangers in which it was at present involved? That the operation of the project before the house would materially contribute to this effect, he was perfectly persuaded. For what could conduce more to maintain the efficiency of our military strength, than that which had an obvious tendency to diminish desertion? Upon some of the notions advanced in the course of this discussion, with regard to the motives which operate upon the minds of the soldiery, it was impossible to argue, for they rested upon no foundation whatever. To those gentlemen who were fond of ridiculing theories, he would say that no theory was more untenable, or more absurd, than that which assumed that any soldier, with the apprehension of punishment operating upon his mind, would, by desertion, expose himself to that punishment, when he had the prospect before him of a release from the service, if he chose to leave it within a limited time. They must be much mistaken in the character of the soldier, who supposed that such a prospect would have no influence upon them. Indeed they must be quite irrational, unreflecting persons, if such a prospect had no effect. But the lower orders of the people who entered into the army, seemed to be much misunderstood by some gentlemen in that house. Those people were by no means the thoughtless, insensible, mere animals, which those gentlemen seemed, from the nature of their arguments, to assume. On the contrary, his firm belief was, that the calculation which this project served to encourage, would reconcile many to enlist who would not otherwise have endured the idea. And when once men got into the military life, he had not much fear that a desire would arise to any extent among them to leave it. The probability was, indeed, that but few would quit the service at the end of the first 7 years, when, from their efficiency, it would be most desirable that they should remain. Those, however, it was to be remembered, who wished to leave the army after 7 years, it would be in the power of their officers to retain for 3 years longer, if they thought fit; and was it not likely that such men would rather prefer enlisting for a bounty for 7 years more, than remain for 3 years without any bounty? With respect to the discontent and uneasiness said to exist among the army in consequence of the agitation of the proposal before the house, he could assert that nothing could be more unfounded. He therefore had no hesitation in saying that it was extremely unbecoming in any member to offer such an assertion. Before such an assertion was publicly made, the right hon. gent. (Mr. Canning), who so confidently used it, ought at least to have taken the trouble to enquire into the fact. Even if the thing did exist, it would have been unadvisable to notice it in the way the house had heard; but as it was untrue, the assertion was highly reprehensible. The right hon. gent. had stated that jealousy must naturally be expected to prevail among the present soldiery, as the benefit of this plan was not to extend to them. But no such jealousy did, or could exist; for the advantages which the alleged cause of jealousy proposed to confer upon the present army were many and important. What! was it nothing to hold out to the old soldier, after leaving the army, a more comfortable subsistence than he had heretofore enjoyed, or had any reason to calculate upon? and the additional allowance to the men who had already served the time of 7 or 14 years would be important in a soldier's estimate. The pot of beer at the end of the week would be to the soldier an acquisition of value, although so insignificant and so much the subject of ridicule with the right hon. gent. The situation, then, of those soldiers who had served 7 or 14 years, would be improved by the plan under consideration; and such as had served 21 years, he understood it was in the contemplation of his right hon. friend to have immediately discharged, and granted, during the remainder of their lives, a shilling a day for subsistence. Could it then be rationally supposed that such a project was likely to excite discontent in the army? or rather was it not natural that they would feel the warmest wish for its success, and the highest gratitude for the benefits it was meant to confer? The case quoted from the American war was not, in his judgment, applicable to the proposed plan for limited service, at least not for the object quoted to discountenance this plan. And as to the difficulties likely to arise from the adoption of this plan to the supply of our army in India, he thought them extremely overstated. To be satisfied of this, gentlemen had only to reflect that, according to the arrangements at present, a regiment seldom returned from India within less than 20 or 25 years, and the soldiers generally remaining, of course, until such return, many of them came home cripples and invalids. What encouragement did such spectacles hold out to recruiting? But in the proposed change, the soldier would come home at the expiration of his time of service, whether the regiment to which he belonged returned or not. The same observations would apply with regard to the West Indies. And as to both, no inconvenience could arise in the conveyance of soldiers, when our commercial intercourse with the colonies was considered. Merchant shipping could never be wanted for the purpose of such conveyance either to or from this country; and from our second battalions at home, which he would always recommend to have kept up, substitutes for the soldiers coming from the colonies could be immediately sent out. If, however, the proposed change should be found productive of any disadvantage with regard to our colonial force, regulations might be made to remedy it. It was not pretended that this project would not serve to provide for the ordinary casualties of the army. But how, said a right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke), are the extraordinary casualties to be provided for in case of actual war in this country? Before, however, this question was answered, suppose the right hon. gent. were asked, what provision did former ministers make for these extraordinary casualties? None whatever, unless it was pretended that the Additional Force bill, which was now happily about to be repealed, and which did not actually produce 6000 men in the year for the army, could supply those casualties. But was it not in fact a prominent part of the able system the house had heard stated by his right hon. friend, to make a provision in case of war in the country for the casualties alluded to by the right hon. gent.? Independently of the right which his majesty in such a case possessed, of calling out every man for the public defence, was it not proposed by his right hon. friend that 200,000 men should be previously trained and fitted to fill up any vacancies that might occur in the army, and provide for extraordinary casualties? Such was the force meant to be in reserve, and certainly nothing of the kind was devised before, nor was any ever proposed for the purpose, excepting the Levy en Masse act, which was brought forward by the right hon. gent. and which, in fact, was quite an impracticable scheme. Under the fullest consideration which he had been able to give to the subject, the hon. officer concluded with declaring, that the system of his right hon. friend was, in his opinion, the wisest that had ever been proposed to this country;—that it promised to be effectual for all the objects it professed to have in view;—and that it would furnish the necessary supply to our present army, while it would provide an efficient army of reserve for our future security.

Sir *James Pulteney* thought it necessary to correct an error, into which the hon. officer seemed to have fallen respecting the army which served in Egypt. The greatest part of that army consisted of men who had enlisted for unlimited service. There was not above a regiment or two, whose constitution was otherwise.

Colonel *Craufurd* said, that most of the 20th, 40th, and 80th (Irish) regiments were composed of men who had enlisted for limited service, limited as to space and time only.

General *Loftus* said, that he had listened with the greatest attention to the right hon. secretary for the war department, and that he thought it but right to give the plan a fair trial. He originally had great objections to enlistments for limited service, but the clause by which it was proposed to retain the men for 3 years, if it should be necessary, after the expiration of the first period of service, reconciled him, in a great degree, to the measure. His objections to it were greatly diminished, if not entirely removed by this alteration; and he would, therefore, decline making any opposition to the clause which it was intended to introduce.

General *Norton* said a few words in a low tone, the purport of which we understood to be in opposition to the measure. He thought the question already sufficiently understood and discussed, and he wished to come to a decision at once.

Mr. *Canning* rose, and said:—I cannot reconcile it, sir, to my sense of duty as a member of parliament, to suffer a question of such magnitude to be hurried to a decision in this extraordinary manner. Instead of that precipitancy which now appears to be intended, we surely ought to proceed with more than usual caution in a case which involves so important an innovation in one of the most important establishments of the country. Ministers must either have a most extraordinary confidence in themselves, or expect an unlimited confidence from others, if they imagine that the house can be prevailed upon to concur in a measure of such magnitude, and to sanction changes so hazardous, with no better reasons than they have yet assigned, and no more satisfactory explanation than they have yet condescended to give to the objections which have been stated. I cannot but consider the manner in which this subject has been brought forward, as being almost as great an innovation in the constitutional practice of parliament, as the measure itself is in the system of our army. This, I believe, is the first instance in our parliamentary history, in which it has been attempted to introduce a fundamental change in an established system, merely by a clause introduced in a committee upon a bill, and that bill one which must of necessity be passed within a limited time, at the hazard of leaving us without an army. The mutiny bill has already been renewed three times in the course of the present year: the last which we passed will expire on a given day; and we are plainly told, that we must abridge our deliberations on this bill which is now before us, in order that it may receive the sanction of the legislature, before that which it is to replace expires. I desire the house to consider, whether this was a fair and fit situation in which to place us, for the discussion of a question requiring so much caution and deliberation. I have always understood it to be the practice of this house, when any matter of great importance, and especially any matter that goes to affect the fundamental establishments of the country, was to be submitted to its consideration, to multiply the stages of discussion, by originating the subject of the bill in a previous committee of the whole house. In that committee, it may be matter of debate, whether any measure upon the subject shall be received for discussion; and after that question has been deliberated and affirmed, then remain all the ordinary stages in which the bill itself is liable to discussion. But I am confident that this is the first instance in which the opportunities of deliberation have been diminished in proportion to the novelty, magnitude, and doubtful policy of the measure; in which a project for effecting a complete revolution in one part of our national defence has been proposed to be passed into a law through fewer stages of deliberation than a turnpike bill. I beg pardon, the first it is not; my right hon. friend (Mr. Yorke) has already referred to the solitary and disgraceful precedent of the last year of queen Anne, when a clause of similar purport was introduced into the mutiny bill, apparently without the notice or knowledge of the parliament of that time. But with this exception, the right hon. gent. will not easily find any thing in history to countenance his practice; and I am sure he will not find any thing to justify it. The right hon. gent. has reduced parliament to the dilemma either of foregoing the due exercise of its deliberative functions on a measure so momentous in its consequences, or of suffering the army to disband, while we are considering on the best mode of maintaining it. And if this observation applies to this house, where we have the bill now before us, and where, I trust, we shall persist in keeping it as long as we continue to entertain doubts of its policy, how much more forcibly does it apply to the House of Lords, where, in exact proportion to the difficulties which are felt here, and the time which is taken to remove them, the means and opportunities of that discussion which the lords are equally entitled to give to every subject of national interest, must necessarily be abridged and taken away! How much more forcibly does it apply to the third power of the constitution, to the crown; to whom it is probable that this bill, changing the whole tenure by which the army of the crown is held, must be presented for that approbation which is to pass it into a law, within a period so near to the expiration of the present mutiny bill, that the king can hardly have a moment to pause, much less to exercise his judgment and discretion! I admit that this last objection would not generally apply to a measure introduced into the house by the king's ministers, because the introduction by them would generally imply the approbation and recommendation of the crown:—that this is not the case in the present instance, we have but too much reason to apprehend—I should rather say perhaps we have great reason to hope; because I should trust that there might be a chance of some interposition on the part of the crown, if not in the legislative enactments, at least in the practical execution of this measure, such as might remedy, in some degree, the consequences, if it could not entirely prevent the first effect of the rashness and precipitancy of ministers;—I say I should hope this, if it were not that the clause which we are discussing, is so framed (and I must say I think most improperly so framed) as to take away all discretion from the crown hereafter, in the executive regulation, no less than in the legislative provision; to curtail and abridge the royal prerogative, in that particular in which it has been the practice (and I think the wisdom) of all states to leave the executive government in possession of the fullest controul, namely the discipline and internal economy of the regular army. I am not now arguing the expediency or inexpediency of the limitation of service: I am not talking of the merits or demerits of the project itself; I shall come to that by-and-by: but I am at the outset protesting against the course which ministers have followed, which is such, that even if the measure itself were in my judgment unexceptionable, I should still object to the mode of its introduction. If limited service be ever so desirable an experiment, still why incorporate it in the mutiny act? Why make it the subject of legislative enactment at all? Why not pass the mutiny act according to its usual form, for the purpose of giving to parliament the constitutional controul over the crown and its army? (which the mutiny act alone enables the crown to raise and maintain), which it alone enables the crown to pay; and under that controul, why may not the mode of raising and maintaining the army be safely left, as it has always hitherto been, to the executive government? If there be one political truth more undeniable than another, it is this, that no good has ever arisen from the interference of public assemblies with the military force of the state. Any attempt on the part of such assemblies to become popular with the army, is sure to lead to difficulty, and in the end, not seldom to confusion. The plain proof of this is what we know to be historically true, and what we feel at this moment in our own instance, that every such act of interference must be accompanied with a donative or largess, as a sort of compensation for our intrusion; we have at this moment an estimate on the table, of an additional charge of 300,000*l.* annual expenditure—the first fruits, and, we may depend upon it, the very least part of what we may expect from this restless and meddling spirit of regulation; and this price we pay for liberty to confer what is represented as a benefit to the army—the change of the term of service. How, if some years hence, when this device shall have failed, and it shall become necessary to repeal it, how shall we find funds sufficient to accompany and atone for such an alteration? I think, sir, we have seen symptoms that this truth is felt, and that its consequences extend beyond the army even, to the other services of the country. I grudge nothing that is given in bounty or in kindness; but I think the recommendation to such acts is best and most safely lodged with the crown; and I am not willing to purchase, at an unnecessary expence, a right of interference which I think dangerous in its exercise. The right hon. secretary (Mr. Windham) has contended, that in new-modelling the army according to his plan, parliament will be doing no more than it has been accustomed to do at all times, but especially since the beginning of the present war. What, he asks, has been the business and occupation of the administration which preceded the present, but to frame measure after measure, and to propound law after law, for the augmentaion and regulation of the military force of the country?—Undoubtedly for the augmentation and regulation of that part of the military force, which is more immediately of the cognizance of parliament; which cannot otherwise be raised than by parliamentary measures; which is obtained from the country by different modifications of a compulsory process, none of which the crown could possibly be enabled to originate or to apply, without the specific authority and detailed regulation of parliament. The militia, the army of reserve, the additional force, are all of this description; constituting the defensive and limited force of the country, and that which may fairly be called the parliamentary army, in contradistinction to that regular army of the crown, which the crown has at all times raised for itself, subject to the controul of the annual mutiny bill. All these measures therefore which the right hon. gent. cites as precedents, are in fact directly in contrast with that which he now recommends. They were in fact enabling statutes in aid of the prerogative of the crown; to give to the king a power of doing that which was necessary for the safety of the state, but which he could not do without the direct assistance of parliament. This is, to limit or take from him a power which he already has, and to subject him to restrictions and disabilities, at once encroaching on the prerogative, and prejudicing the service of the country. The right hon. gent. opposite appears to doubt the truth of this construction. I ask, in what possible way any statute can operate upon the prerogative of the crown, except in one of these three;—either as giving some power, which the crown had not before; or as explaining and confirming some doubtful or obsolete prerogative (as was the case in the bill for calling out the levy-en-masse), at the same time prescribing the mode of its exercise; or, thirdly, as directly limiting, restraining, or abolishing some power, which the crown had hitherto been in the habit of exercising without dispute? In which of these three ways does the present measure operate? Does it give to the King, as a new power, the right of raising men for limited service, or has not the crown always had and often exercised that right of limitation? Does it revive or explain any prerogative of doubtful construction? Does it even leave the power and prerogatives of the crown as it finds them? Has not the crown at present, and has it not always had, in addition to the power of limiting the service, that of enlisting men for an indefinite time, subject to discharge at its own pleasure? and will not the clause now under consideration, if sanctioned by the legislature, take that power completely away? And for what object, and from what necessity is this alteration of the constitution projected? Cannot the experiment be tried as well by that authority which has always hitherto exclusively regulated the terms of enlistment and the internal economy of the army; leaving with that authority the discretion of trying it at such times, and to such extent as may be most favourable to the experiment; (leaving the discretion also of suspending that trial, if its result should be found less beneficial than is expected):—cannot, I say, this experiment be made in this way, with as much advantage, and with much less danger, than by pledging the whole legislature, not only to try it, but to abide the issue of that trial, without any alternative, and without the possibility of retreat? Does not the right hon. gent. feel, that a regulation by the crown would be equally effectual; while, if necessary, it could be recalled, without inconvenience? Does he not feel that a partial experiment in the first instance, will be amply sufficient to ascertain the merits of his plan; while, if unsuccessful, it might be abandoned or suspended, without difficulty? Does he not feel, that by making this great change, the work of the whole legislature, and the rule of the whole service, while he adds nothing to the facilities of experiment, he enhances incalculably the dangers of failure? And if this be the case, I do not ask what necessity, but what pretence, what decent apology can the king's ministers offer, for laying the foundation of their plan for remodelling the army, by dismembering the ancient prerogatives of the crown? These, sir, are the grounds on which I should object to the mode in which the measure is brought under our discussion, even if from the measure itself I entertained sanguine expectations of good, instead of anticipating, as I confess I do, abundant evils and dangers. I object to establishing that as a system, which is confessedly to be tried as an experiment: I object to limiting the king's prerogative, for the undesirable purpose of putting the management of the recruiting and the detailed economy of the army into the hands of parliament: I object to this, even if the experiment is to succeed and the system to become permanent: but if there be the remotest chance of failure, and of a necessity for recurring to the old system again, I object doubly to a pledge on the part of parliament which must embarrass, beyond all calculation, the difficulty of a retreat. But the right hon. gent. and his friends are confident that the experiment cannot fail. One of his friends, indeed, the hon. colonel (colonel Craufurd) is much more sanguine than the right hon. gent. himself, and rebukes the right hon. gent. for having admitted that no immediate good was to be expected. The hon. colonel is of a very different opinion; and, with an estimate upon the table, of 330,000*l.* annual expence, to be added at one stroke, immediately,—with the admission of the right hon. author of the project, that he looks for no immediate advantage,—the hon. colonel has the boldness to contend that the advantages are immediate, and the inconveniences and burthens, if any, contingent and remote. I can hardly presume to decide between such great authorities, especially when I find them differing upon a point which they might be supposed to have settled in the course of their daily official communication. But I confess I am inclined in this, though perhaps in no other single instance, to adopt the opinion of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), and to give him credit for the remoteness and precariousness of any possible advantage from his plan; while the paper on your table, containing as it does but one item of the expence to be incurred, is of itself a sufficient proof that some part of the burthen at least is to be felt immediately. The right hon. gent. very ingenuously told us, that he wished he had looked a little more narrowly into the calculations of expence: I wish he had—perhaps it was in some degree his duty to do so; and he would at least have been enabled to make good his argument against his hon. friend (colonel Craufurd) and to correct his inaccuracy in one instance, as he disclaims his sanguineness in another. But as to the powerful effects and inducements which belong to the limitation of the term of service, there is no difference of opinion between the right hon. gent. and his friend. It is to fill the ranks of the army, and to fill them with a better description of people. To this we presume to answer, that if limitation of service be so alluring, we have already tried the force of that allurement, by limiting not the term only, but the space; by inviting men to serve not for a few years only, but for those few years at home: the trial has been not wholly without success; far from it;—but it has not had such striking and splendid success, as (compared with the general term of enlistment) to prove, that the limitations are so all-powerful as the hon. gentlemen represented them; and above all, it has not, according to the hon. gentlemen themselves, produced a materially better description of men to the service. "Oh!—but," say the hon. gentlemen, "that is because you limited too much. The men that we want to get at, are those who wish to serve for a short time, but to serve abroad. You have no receptacle for men of that sort."—Well, then, let us have one; with all my heart—but do not let us make up our minds to have no other sort: for, assuredly, however possible it may be that a reasonable proportion of such men may be found, it is a little too much to expect, that with an army to such an extent as we have at present, with an auxiliary force for home defence, in great part consisting of volunteers, (not one man of either of which establishments has required the inducement of this peculiar species of limitation),—it is, I think, a little too much to expect us to agree, that no other than this limitation can possibly be effectual. But I suppose it is amongst this bettermost description of men only, that the peculiar taste prevails. It is amongst them that we are to look for the persons who, according to the right hon. gentlemen, like very little service, but choose to have that service foreign; like the man who, describing the sort of weather that best pleased him, declared that he would have "but little wind, but that little high." These are the persons whom the right hon. gent. describes as likely to enter into the army for the sake of seeing the world; who, leaving their village Desdemonas at home, would embark for the West Indies, for the purpose of returning like so many Othellos, with a collection of stories to woo them with upon their return. Unquestionably this theory is a most delightful one; but I still have my doubts as to the extent, at least, of its possible operation. I cannot help thinking that that class of society, from which the ranks of our army have hitherto been chiefly supplied, must, even after the refinements of the right hon. gent., and all the lectures of the hon. colonel, on the necessary and practical operation of those refinements, still continue to be the only very efficient source of the supply. Upon this class—I mean the lowest and labouring class of the community, the peasant and the inferior artisan, I suppose it is not contended that these fancies will work very powerfully: and as to mounting higher, in order that you may obtain a more numerous recruitment, it seems to me that that notion proceeds upon a false estimate of the relative proportions of the different classes of society. Society has often been compared to a pyramid; but I never yet heard that the point was nearest the earth, and the broadest surface at the top. If that were the true view of it, the hon. colonel would be right, and the higher you mounted, the larger superficies you would have to act upon; but if the lowest class be, as it is, infinitely the most extensive, I do not see that much would be gained by looking in preference to a higher level for your supply. I really believe, sir, after all, that even when this system is in its fullest operation, the hon. colonel must still be content to draw his recruits from the plough, and from the fair, rather than from St. James's Street and the Royal Exchange. But if, after all, we are wrong in this supposition; if there be such a race as the right hon. colonel supposes, of such peculiar and characteristic disposition; of such small, and at the same time delicate stomachs for military service; whom none of the modes of service hitherto invented, have been able to satisfy: I am far from contending, that this variety of the military species may not be worth comprehending in any general plan of military establishment. By all means, let us have all that we can get; but do not let us, in attempting to catch this rare and nondescript creature, weave the meshes of our laws too close to answer any more useful or general purpose. But by all means let there be a class of this sort of service; let there be certain regiments raised with this particular term of enlistment; let the second battalions, as has been more than once suggested by the hon. genral (sir J. Pulteney), be appropriated to it. For this, no act of parliament is necessary, no new power need be given. The crown may raise regiments, or appoint battalions for this purpose; and wherever these singular individuals are to be found, wherever the right hon. gent. or the hon. colonel has heard of them, in whatever part of the country they are latitating and circumcursitating, there the king's recruiting writ may run and secure them, if they are to be had, for his majesty's service. But where is the necessity of sacrificing every other chance to try this one, which may as well be tried without it? The right hon. gent. meets this question with an argument the most singular and the most hardy that can well be conceived. He admits that the trial of this principle has been made; and he admits, or rather contends, that its success has not been all that could be desired: "but," says he, "this failure has proceeded from its having been tried partially: make it the general rule of your service; recruit solely on this principle; leave nothing in competition with it; rely upon it alone, and be assured it will not fail you." Why, sir, this might be very well, if the interests hazarded upon the issue of the experiment, were any thing less than the safety and existence of the empire; and I could understand the argument, if its application were to circumstances directly the reverse to those which are now under our consideration. If the principle of our service had hitherto been the limitation of the term; if the innovation now proposed were to enlist for a term indefinite; if this new method had been tried partially, and had not answered, I could perfectly understand any advocate for indefinite service, who should say: "No wonder this experiment has not yet succeeded; it has not had fair play: and so long as the limited service is suffered to bid in competition with it, its complete success cannot reasonably be expected."—But it certainly is not an equally obvious truth, that the existence of the indefinite service affords a competition which must be fatal to the trial of the experiment of the limited term. I therefore cannot conceive a more unreasonable demand than that of the right hon. gent., that we should consent to abolish a mode of enlistment, which, if not so alluring in theory, has been found effectual in practice, in order to try, with better chance of success, (for which we have nothing but his word,) an experiment which, having failed when we risked but little upon it, he contends we ought now to risk every thing upon it, and try it again. Such being the only temptation which we have, according to the right hon. gent.'s acknowledgment, from the experience of our own country; we have naturally been desired to look abroad for the encouragement which was not to be found at home. Here, I think, however, the assertions of the hon. gentlemen have been somewhat mitigated, and their tone of confidence somewhat lowered since the last discussion upon this subject. We no longer hear the general and sweeping declarations that all the great military powers have uniformly acted upon the system which the right hon. gent. recommends; that we have stood alone among nations, and that it becomes us as soon as possible to conform to the general example. Ancient France is, I think, to-night, the solitary instance upon which the hon. gentlemen rely, to which indeed is added the example of Switzerland, with respect to the troops which she has been in the habit of hiring out to foreign powers. As to the Swiss, it requires, I think, but very few words to shew that the mode of raising troops (however brave and valuable those troops may be), to be employed in the service of other powers, cannot fairly be cited as a precedent for an army upon which the defence of their native country is to depend. It is perfectly manifest that it might be utterly impossible to induce men to quit their country for life, especially men amongst whom the love of their country exists in so strong a degree; and as to the foreign power in whose pay they served, it is equally manifest that the acceptance of their service for a limited term, proves no predilection or partiality on the part of that power for such a species of service, inasmuch as the troops were to be had on no other. The example of ancient France has been as confidently relied upon by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) as before; but the remarks of the hon. general behind me (sir James Pulteney) have, I think, not a little diminished the force of the argument; and the illustrations of the hon. colonel (Craufurd), who intended, I suppose, to sustain the proposition of his right hon. friend, have done what little was left undone by the hon. general, to demolish it. It is allowed on all hands that faith must be kept with the soldier; that whatever period you fix for the termination of his engagement, at that period when it arrives, under whatever circumstances, under the pressure of whatever necessity, the soldier must have his discharge if he claims it. It follows that no example can fairly be stated in favour of this plan, which does not shew not only that such engagements were made, but that they were kept sacred and inviolable; and one instance, even one solitary instance, of the violation of such an engagement on the part of any government which is held out to us as an object of imitation, ought, in my opinion, to operate not as a light to guide us, but as a beacon to alarm and warn us of our danger. How then stands the example of ancient France? It was stated on a former night by the hon. general, and then sturdily denied, that the engagement of the French government with their soldiery had been violated at the beginning of the American war; that by an ordinance then published, the right of claiming discharges was suspended. To-night this fact has been admitted; but the admission was accompanied by the right hon. gent. with a whimsical sort of triumph, because forsooth there was but this one instance to be found of such a violation of faith, and because this was a formal ordinance; as if the formality with which faith was broken in this instance, was a sort of proof how sacredly it had been kept before. But the hon. colonel has not been contented that the matter should rest there, and in order to satisfy us how unwillingly the government of France ever consented to the violation of its engagements, he has quoted the indignant expressions of Marshal Saxe against officers who did not keep their engagements with the soldiery. Marshal Saxe's indignation, virtuous as it was, probably was not without cause. So here is another instance of the same breach of faith; or rather, in all fair reasoning, a complete proof that, even in Marshal Saxe's time, it had grown upon into a practice. What then is the true result of this single example of ancient France? why, surely, that if in that extensive and populous country, a country at all times capable of affording a great proportion of its population to the profession of arms, the government has nevertheless found it impossible to keep its word with the soldiery, it is wild and hazardous in the extremest degree to act upon the supposition, that in a country comparatively limited in population, and that population called upon as it is to supply such an extent of manufactories, such a prodigious commercial marine, and a navy which absorbs alone such numbers as bear no small proportion to the armies of the continent, it would be possible in all instances to keep faith with the soldier, if unfortunately this clause should pass into a law. That if we foresee the smallest probability of being driven by any necessity to a violation of our engagement, we ought not to enter into it; that we ought not to run after the example of France in her policy, at the risk of being obliged to imitate her bad faith, is surely not necessary to be argued in a British house of commons. Having succeeded no better in his history from abroad than in precedent at home, the right hon. gent. has betaken himself, as usual, to analogy, and derives his analogies, as usual, from objects which at least amuse, if they do not enlighten. He admits in some degree the hazard of diminution to the army in the first instance, by keeping faith with the soldier; but this diminution is to be repaid with interest. He is not surprised that a colonel of a regiment, or the captain of a fine company of grenadiers should feel loth to part with any number of his men at the expiration of a limited period. Just so, says the right hon. gent., it goes to one's heart to thin a fine grove of young and growing trees, till we reflect that, by taking some away, the remainder will grow finer and taller. The right hon. gent. hardly needs be informed that this simile is not perfectly accurate, unless he means that the remaining grenadiers are to increase in height and corpulence in proportion as their comrades are removed. Still more unfortunate is the right hon. gent. in the field of turnips into which he has wandered, though led there by an apparently happy ambiguity of words, which might have misled a less ingenious speculator. Does not the drill husbandman hoe his turnips, says the right hon. gent.; and what should prevent the drill serjeant in like manner from hoeing his battalion? The remaining turnips thrive and swell—but here again unluckily is the same mistake of size for number; and I cannot help fearing that the right hon. gent.'s system of husbandry will turn out nearly as unprofitable as that of the theorist, of whom the story is told in La Fontaine, who contrived to have nothing but the leaves of his turnips to carry to market. I very much fear that the right hon. gent., when, at the eve of any war, or in the middle of any campaign, he is fulfilling his engagements with the soldiers whose services are expired, will find that he is depriving his battalions of all that forms their substance, their solidity, and their strength, and that what he suffers to remain will be comparatively but the leaves of the turnips. To this apprehension, however, the right hon. gent. opposes the confident persuasion that the men will not claim their discharge when due. The hon. colonel, to be sure, rather differs from his leader in this, as in other respects, and thinks that they will; but he thinks, that being discharged, they will do a good almost more than equivalent to their military service, by instigating others to take the places which they have quitted, and that their precept will countervail their example. It would really be a great advantage to us in these debates, if the right hon. gent. and his friend would argue a little more precisely as to their own objects, and would agree upon the expectation which they would wish us to entertain; especially when they are so eager in rejecting the imputation of theory, and desire to be considered as reckoning upon nothing which has not experience and example in its favour. But I am willing to take the hon. colonel's view of the subject as that which their own examples go nearest to establish. The Swiss, I presume, did return home at the expiration of their service; and that the prevailing habit in France was to claim the discharge which became due, is fairly to be inferred, as well from the ordinance of 1788, as from what the hon. colonel has informed us of Marshal Saxe's opinions many years before. What do we learn from the hon. colonel to have been Marshal Saxe's opinion upon this subject? He prescribes that faith shall be inviolably and invariably kept with the soldier, that the discharge when due shall be given to every man that claims it; and does he then reckon upon their not claiming it? No such thing; on the contrary, he follows up this recommendation with a proposition, which shews at once his persuasion that the discharges will be claimed, and his sense of the difficulty which will arise from granting them in time of war. And what is that proposition? The hon. colonel tells us that he suggests something very like the present system of conscription in France. This I confess, sir, is the very thing which I have all along apprehended as the ultimate and most undesirable end of the right hon. gent.'s refinements and theories. The right hon. gent. is offended by the word theories as applied to his system. He will permit me at least to class them with the meditations of Marshal Saxe: and as the Marshal was not ashamed to characterize them by the name of reveries, I shall, unless I am positively prohibited, take the liberty of applying the same term to the speculations of the right hon. gent. If that may not be, let us contrast the whimsical, fanciful, visionary reveries of this same speculative marshal, with the solid practical judgment and profound military knowledge of the right hon. gent. Marshal Saxe did not reckon upon the re-enlistment; the right hon. gent. does:—but I think the right hon. gent. must at least agree with Marshal Saxe, that if the re-enlistments do not take place, and if good faith is kept as to the discharge, and if the mere prospect of that discharge has not been found sufficient here, as it was not found sufficient in France, to keep up the army by voluntary enlistment to the establishment requisite for war; the right hon. gent., I say, must see, as Marshal Saxe did, that some other means then must be resorted to; and in the state of things which the right hon. gent.'s system will have produced, after it has been a few years in full operation, I should be glad to know what expedient for that purpose the right hon. gent. himself has in view short of conscription. The right hon. gent. has told us very truly, that there are but three ways by which a military force can be raised; either by voluntary enrolment, or by compulsory; or by a mixture of the two. The compulsory enrolment he deprecates; *cuncta prius tentanda;* he would resort to it only in the last extremity; but my complaint against the right hon. gent.'s system is, that it tends directly and inevitably to bring this extremity upon us. It is against all experience that voluntary enrolment alone should suffice for all the military purposes of a great nation; there is no instance in the world in which it has been found sufficient. Recognizing this truth, we have in this country had recourse to a mixture of compulsory service; we have applied compulsion in its most mitigated form, and to home service only; for foreign service we have recruited by voluntary enlistment, but finding the difficulty of filling our ranks by those means, we have not hitherto thought it wise to increase that difficulty by multiplying threefold the opportunities of quitting the service. This the right hon. gent. now proposes to do. He proposes, in addition, to discourage, more or less,—in some instances he has suspended, and in some he has abandoned, the modes of compulsory enlistment. I ask him, if his theory should fail, what refuge has he left him but conscription? I say that his attempt to square every thing to a theory will lead to the necessity, at some time or other, of employing rude force; that his delicate and fastidious refinements will be the parent of a severe and undiscriminating necessity. It will be too late to retread our steps when the hour of that necessity arrives. In God's name, let us not precipitate it; at least, let us not be persuaded to do so, by such arguments as we have heard this night! What argument in fact have we heard upon this subject, to solve the obvious difficulties which are in every body's mind, but more especially that difficulty which of itself is conclusive against the adoption of the right hon. gent.'s system, as a general system, and which I have reserved to this period of what I had to say, as that which distinguishes the case of this country from that of any other; and as that to which, unsatisfactory as the answers from the other side of the house have been upon every other point, they are so peculiarly and singularly unsatisfactory, as to provoke not remark only, but indignation! The house will readily apprehend that I allude to the colonial service. It is plain, that if the example of all other countries, if the example of France, were as distinctly encouraging as they have been shewn to be the reverse, till the extensive colonial possessions of this country, and the great proportion of our army which it is necessary to employ in their defence, would alone be sufficient to discourage the adoption of the system by this country. I will not take up the time of the house by pointing out the obvious difficulties and dangers arising from this system to the defence of our colonies;—but mark the answer, and the only answer which has been attempted to be given to them!—The right hon. gent. expressed a hope, in which the hon. colonel faithfully followed, that the danger might not be quite so great as it appeared; and that before it actually occurred, means might be found to remedy it: and this is all!—After so many years debate, after so many months of official deliberation, the right hon. gent., in bringing forward a plan for the complete alteration of the established military system of the country, is no otherwise prepared to meet the objection which every man in this house, and out of this house; which every man who has either written, or spoken, or conversed, or thought upon the subject, has had uppermost in his mind, than by a vague and distant hope, that at some time or other, somebody or other may, in some way or other, discover something or other, which shall, some how or other, remedy some one or other, of the manifold inconveniences and dangers which we all concur in apprehending!—As to the right hon. gent. himself, he washes his hands of it: it is not to him that we are to look for the solution of the difficulty; and with this explanation parliament is to be satisfied! Sir, to such a plan as this, introduced in such a manner, supported by such arguments, fraught with such difficulties and dangers; a plan unnecessarily invading the prerogative of the crown, and unadvisedly committing the faith and discretion of parliament,—I cannot but give my most decided and unqualified opposition. I do not thereby mean to pronounce any opinion against the expediency of trying the experiment of limited service.—The crown has already the power to try it. Let the right hon. gent.—let the king's ministers exercise their constitutional right to advise the crown to make the trial, if they shall think fit: but let them not insist upon making parliament a party to their experiment. No practical advantage is gained by our interference; and by abstaining from interposing, we shall at least avoid many practical disadvantages which may result from it.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* rose, in reply to the right hon. gent. He said, that before he entered into any discussion of the principles of the bill, he must first answer some interlocutory objections that had been made. As to the complaint of its being hurried forward with such precipitation, just as the mutiny bill was going to expire, he must remind that right hon. gent. (Mr. Canning) and his friends, that, a few days ago, they had contended that the discussion should be delayed two days longer, as they had wished the discussion not to come on before Monday next. If he and his friends persisted in fixing it for the present night, and not putting it off, it was merely that parliament should have as much time for the discussion as could be given before the expiration of the Mutiny bill. If they had fixed it for Monday, the complaint would have been, why did not you bring it in sooner; why did not you give us more time to discuss it? This was a tolerable sample of the general style of the right hon. gentleman's arguments. If the measure had been introduced in the Mutiny bill, it was because such was the constant usage of parliament. The right hon. gent. next found fault with popular assemblies, and parliament's meddling with the army of the crown. Where was it that he made that objection? In a house where the Mutiny bill is annually passed, for the avowed purpose of subjecting the army of the country, in some measure, to parliamentary controul. "But," said the right hon. gent., "we spent our time much better when we were in administration; we never interfered with the army of the crown; but we provided a constitutional and a parliamentary army to be a balance to it, and at the same time to assist it with recruits." For his part, he must say, he never heard of a parliamentary army before, except in the year 1641; and as for the distinction which had been made, of royal army and parliamentary army, it was what no writer, no speaker, nor no man at all acquainted with the principles of the constitution, had ever taken notice of. Every army in this country was royal, and every army was also parliamentary. The right hon. gent. seemed to consider the disposable force as the king's army, and every other description of force as a sort of balance to it. The militia, indeed, from its composition, and the description of its officers, might be, in some degree, considered in that light; but as to the additional force raised by the parish bill, nothing could be more ridiculous than to call them a parliamentary force, which was to be a balance to any other, as they were offered by persons appointed by the crown, and taken from the king's army. An hon. general (sir J. Pulteney) had, on a former night, roundly asserted, that no other nation in Europe had ever adopted the limited service recommended; but that night he was pleased to retract something from his assertion, and only said, that the general practice of the European nations was against it. The hon. general had not stated the case fairly, when he represented, that, if old France adopted the system, her armies were the worse for it, and that in the 7 years war they had been every where defeated. The hon. general should not have confined himself to the 7 years war, but should have also taken the war preceding it. In that war he would have found, that though the French lost the battle of Dettingen, they won that of Fontenoy, and were, in the whole of the war, most conspicuously successful. Even in the 7 years war, the conduct of the French armies was by no means treated with that levity in the writings of the king of Prussia, that it had been by the hon. general. As the *ordonnance* subsisted from 1710 to 1787, it was not fair merely to take 7 years of that period as a criterion, when for 77 years they had acquired and supported a high military reputation. The argument which his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) had drawn from the Swiss, was, in his opinion, a very strong one, and completely unanswered. If it were said, that the moral excellence of the soldier's character was destroyed by the thoughts of leaving the service and returning to his home, he should ask, do not the Swiss also feel a strong desire of returning to their native country, and have not the Swiss been at the same time good soldiers? Has not even the circumstance of their joyful return to their homes and families, been made a means of encouragement to others to inlist? When the young men of the country saw the soldier return to his home with more reputation, more happiness, more of every thing that could give satisfaction to mankind, they wished to embark in the same career. As for the measure proposed being a novel theory, he should only say, that it had been urged in that house 25 years ago, and it was no less than 16 years since his right hon. friend had stated the advantages which might be expected from changing the term of service. In the system proposed, he thought great advantages would be derived, both from the soldiers who stayed after their term was expired, and from those who left the service. Every one who left the service would shew to his townsmen, or neighbours, the liberty that was granted to soldiers to return to their homes, and this, he thought, would immediately have a strong effect in recruiting the army. It was strange, that those who had so often argued that there was something in real service, and in the regular army, which attracted persons who inlisted for home service, should, upon the present occasion, contend that it had no such attraction, and that every one must prefer the home service. It was no wild speculation or theory, to calculate upon the common sense and common feelings of mankind. There was no doubt but, that any body who had a horse to dispose of, would rather sell him for twenty guineas than for ten; and there could be no doubt, but that the military profession must be rendered more attractive by being made more eligible. A right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke) had asked, was it necessary to extend our military system? Had we not an army which, both in discipline and in numbers, was every thing that could be wished; which was fully efficient for every purpose? For his part, he could not allow that we did possess an army efficient for all the purposes of the country. It must be remembered, that in the unfortunate campaign on the continent, the country was placed in such a situation, as to witness the defeat of its allies, without a British soldier having an opportunity of striking a blow in their defence. If it be said, that the country had, at that time, an army fully efficient, what must be thought of those ministers who did not apply the means they were possessed of for the annoyance of the enemy, and the support of our allies? That most disastrous campaign was decided without a British arm being raised, or a musket fired, in defence of the continent of Europe. What would the great duke of Marlborough have said, if the ministers of that day had told him, "you are certainly the best general in Europe, and our army is very fine, and efficient to all the purposes of the country; but we cannot give you any force, either to protect our allies or to attack the enemy?" It has been often said, What occasion has this country for a great army, when its fleets ride triumphant in every sea? He felt considerable confidence in our navy, and shared in that pride which every Briton must feel at the brilliant victories our fleets had obtained over the enemy; but at the same time he must say, that by our naval superiority alone we should never be able to prevent France from extending her conquests over the continent of Europe. O! but, say others, we have plenty of money; we can afford to subsidize nations, and hire foreigners to fight our battles. In answer to that he must observe, that all history shewed that such are not the means by which greatness and national honour are to be defended. This country had, at many periods, made great and astonishing exertions. When William III. was at the head of the confederacy of Europe, this country acquired considerable renown. Again, in the reign of queen Anne, when the duke of Marlborough commanded our armies, although the native British troops that he commanded were a small portion in number to their German allies, yet they ranked high in military reputation, and contributed powerfully to the common cause. In the seven years' war, a few British regiments, under the command of prince Ferdinand, contributed essentially to the victory at Minden. It was this way the country acquired renown, "*Sic itur ad astra.*" It was by the valour of her troops, and not merely by the power of subsidising foreigners, that, in the best times of her history, she had gained so high a character among the nations. These wars had been undertaken, in a great measure, to preserve the balance of power; and, however this idea might be ridiculed, our ancestors saw, what we have felt, that this balance of power could not be destroyed without the most serious evils resulting to Europe, and without our being exposed to the domineering influence of France. The situation in which the country was placed was this: it must either trust entirely to its navy, its commerce, and its ships, and patiently submit to see the power of France extending over every nation in Europe; or else, it must think, at some future period, of being able to afford some relief to nations that are oppressed, and of preserving its connection with the continent of Europe. If this was the determination of the house, it was evident, that the only means of accomplishing these things was, to improve our armies; but if the country should prefer what he considered the ignominious alternative (which he, for his part, would never consent to) of separating itself from the interests of other nations, and endeavouring to preserve an insulated greatness, he conceived that such a conduct would be still more dangerous, than it would be to follow a more generous policy, and one more befitting the character of the British nation. He should also have an objection to the alternative, even upon constitutional grounds. It was known, that the character of the House of Brunswick was to resist every attempt that might be made against the constitution of this country, and especially any attacks which might be made by France, or with French assistance. The character, however, of any other family which had reigned in this country had been very different. If, then, it could ever be supposed, at some remote period, that any sovereign of this country could act on the principles that some sovereigns had acted on, when there was a compromise between England and France, that one was to rule by sea, and the other by land, the assistance of France might be requested against the liberties of the subjects of this realm. Although he did not state this as a case very probable, yet he thought the bare possibility of it made it an object worth consideration. As to the navy, he had such a high opinion both of the skill of its officers, and of the great reputation it had gained (a reputation which would do more than any thing else to preserve its superiority), that he felt confident that France and Spain could never equal it. He therefore differed much from some of his honourable friends on the subject of invasion. He by no means dreaded invasion. He thought we had, in the first place, a powerful security in the superiority of our navy; and, in the second place, in the spirit of the British nation, which, he was convinced, was abundantly sufficient to triumph, ultimately, over any army that could invade this country. When he was asked, then, why do you want a greater army? have we not soldiers enough to defend the country? he should answer, "we have enough, and more than enough." So far from thinking the number too few to defend the country, he would state most distinctly, that if he saw any prospect of recovering for Europe what had been lost in the late unfortunate campaign, he should have no objection to risk a part of the army we possess in the attempt. He thought, that we should think of acting offensively in the war, as far as our powers extended. Although the disposable force of this country bore but a small proportion to the French armies; yet, it did not follow, that we should not be able, at some future period, to give a powerful and effectual assistance to some of those nations which France, in her ambition for extending her power, may hereafter choose to attack. He was always an eager and ardent friend of peace, and he was still a friend of peace. He indeed wished for such a peace as could be made on tolerable terms; but then the character of the peace he wished for was, that it should preserve our connections with the continent of Europe, and not give up any thing which the point of honour forbade us to give up. If such a peace were made, he hoped the nation would not uselessly retain the passions of war in a time of peace. As to what regarded the point of honour, he considered it still, as he had often stated it, as a matter of the highest importance among nations, and one of the few legitimate grounds of war. In the consideration of the force that the country required at the present time, it would not be sufficient to talk of what it was in the time of king William and queen Anne, and say, that it is now double or treble what it was at that time. The question was, what was sufficient for the circumstances in which the country was now placed, and for the objects it had in view? If its objects were, as he conceived they ought to be, to be able to render, at some future day, important services to the continental nations, it was evident that our army ought to be increased; and he knew no better means of doing it, than by adopting the system which was proposed by his right hon. friend. The military measures which had been proposed in the course of the war, were merely temporary measures. When a great alarm of invasion had been spread, it was natural to call upon all hands to repel it. The object, at the present day, was not so much to repel invasion, as to recover for the country that military rank and influence which it had, till very recently, preserved in Europe. He was more sanguine in the immediate advantages of this measure, than was his right hon. friend, who introduced it, although, perhaps, not quite so sanguine as the hon. colonel (col. Craufurd): he did conceive, that the great obstacle to the recruiting service, at present, was, the prejudices of parents, who conceived that their children were utterly lost and ruined, if they entered into the army, whether in the cavalry or infantry. If this measure could remove this prejudice from the minds of fathers or mothers, it would remove the greatest obstacle that now stood in the way of the recruiting service. It would not only get a better description of recruits, but would make the recruiting service operate on a much more extensive description, by taking in the inhabitants of the country, as well as the population of the manufacturing towns. He was sorry the navy had been at all mentioned; but, with respect to the allusion which had been made by the hon. gent. to a late regulation, upon a principle similar to that now proposed, namely, inlisting them, instead of for life, only for a term of years, or during the war, he was surprised that the hon. gent. was not acquainted who were the authors of that arrangement; he would, however, inform the hon. gent. that it was made by his own friends, the late administration, as the last act of their official authority, and it certainly was the best of their whole administration; and, so far as it went, it was an irrefragable proof of the efficacy of the principle, as well in procuring a numerous and rapid supply of recruits for the marine service, unparalleled upon any former occasion, as in obtaining them from a better order of men. In answer to the arguments of the hon. gent. against extending the same principle to the army in general, he could only say, the principle, so far as it had been tried in the case just alluded to, and according to the most general opinions of persons whom he considered the first military authorities, not only in the present day, but some years back, he considered, was a good and an eligible one; and having heard no other plan, as yet proposed, at all likely to produce similar effects, he should, therefore, adhere to and support this. Much clamour had been raised against this principle, as new and untried; and the alarm was loudly sounded, to warn his majesty's ministers, against its adoption, lest they should render themselves unpopular to the whole country; but, highly sensible as he was of the excessive solicitude of those who used such arguments for the popularity of those ministers, he must beg leave to say, that however unwilling they were to oppose their own opinions against those expressed by the majority, or any great portion of the people of England, still they felt it their bounden duty, at a crisis so ardent as the present, not to temporise upon a measure of such vital importance to the security of the country, under any apprehension of risking a temporary unpopularity; for, if they were to suffer their conduct, in concerns of such importance, to be swayed by such considerations, they might do that which would be popular with one party to-day, and unpopular with another to-morrow, and, in the mean time, sacrifice to popular caprice, or selfish considerations, the real interest and security of the empire, instead of doing that which was their indispensable duty, independent of all minor considerations; namely, adhering firmly to those measures which appeared best in their conviction, regardless of any risk to which their popularity might be exposed: nor did any man, in his mind, deserve the name of statesman, who would not, under such circumstances, firmly adhere to this principle. On the contrary, that minister who would abandon it under such circumstances, would swerve from his duty, and act the part of a fool and a coward. In times like these, they ought not to temporise. If they were to be content to go on from day to day, from expedient to expedient, trusting to chance, and consulting every fluctuation of popular opinion, their task would be easy. The course was before them, like virtue and pleasure in the Grecian writer: the path to which the one led, arduous and difficult; the other, smooth and easy. But, if they wished to be really useful to their country, they must often risk both their power and their popularity. Holding a firm and systematic attention to public good, they might sometimes find it necessary to act against the momentary influence of both; but, if they hesitated to do so, they would be political cowards. They would violate their duty, both as the servants of the crown, and as members of parliament, if they were deterred, by such considerations, from giving their opinions, and pursuing what they thought right.

Mr. *Perceval*, after apologising for an attempt to trespass on the house at so advanced an hour, promised to do it very briefly, and to confine himself to the question: in doing this, it would be impossible for him to follow the right hon. gent. through the wide and desultory field of argument he had adopted. To some points of his speech, however, it would be necessary to advert. Nobody, at least that he had heard, had made any such assertion, as that it was not necessary to increase the army. The question was not about the necessity of increase, but the mode of effecting it; and the point now for the house to consider was, whether the measure proposed was not much more likely to diminish than to increase the public force. Such was the effect, however, which, he was convinced, it was most likely to have.

He was glad to hear from the right hon. gent. such a declaration as, that it was necessary, even in time of peace, to keep up a considerable force, under the existing circumstances of this country and of Europe, considering the kind of enemy with whom we had to contend; and he was the more glad to hear this declaration, because it was so diametrically opposite to an opinion formerly declared by the same right hon. gent., who said that our army ought to be reduced to the lowest possible peace establishment; and that we ought to consider Buonaparte merely as a rival in commerce. He complained much of the predicament, into which the introduction of the proposed measure into a mutiny bill would throw the legislature, as by the introduction of a clause, having for its object the disposal of public money, if the other house of parliament should exercise a privilege with that clause, which they had been often in the habit of assuming, the inevitable consequences would be, that the bill would be thrown out by this house, the existing Mutiny bill would expire, and the army of the country be, *de facto*, disbanded. The house, then, was pushed to the unfair alternative, of either adopting those propositions without discussion, or, in taking time to discuss them properly, incur the risk of disbanding the army. He was, therefore, of opinion, that the Mutiny bill ought not to be clogged with those clauses; but that they should be the subject of a separate bill, and thereby ample time allowed for discussion. The right hon. gent. had affected to ridicule the arguments of those who had before complained of delay in bringing forward those propositions, and now complained of the precipitancy of urging them to a decision: but he would ask, was it not much more ridiculous for those who had so tardily protracted their own proposition, to endeavour to atone for their delay by an unwarrantable precipitancy, in hurrying the house to a decision upon a measure without time to discuss it. Such was the consequence of that miserable botchery of legislature, so disgraceful to ministers, in twice successively coming forward with a Mutiny bill for a month, instead of taking, as he had advised the secretary at war, two months for the last Mutiny bill at once, which would have afforded ample time to discuss those propositions! But he not only complained of the precipitancy with which the house was pushed to a decision; but that they were called on to decide, without being allowed that light upon the subject, which the opinions received from military officers of distinction, by his majesty's ministers, would have reflected. He argued, that the great majority of those officers were decidedly against the discharge of men in time of war; and that the opinions of marine officers, and still more especially of artillery officers, had not been consulted; although it was their unanimous opinion, that the discharging men at the end of seven years would be the ruin of their corps, who would only have completed their training by that time. The hon. and learned member then proceeded to compare the expences at which the country would derive the services of the soldier for a limited period, with those which it now paid for the services of the soldier for life. In the latter case, the highest bounty was but 16 guineas; upon the former, though the hon. gent. had not condescended to name any rate, yet it could not be presumed less than 12 guineas; and then 5 guineas for renewal of bounty at the expiration of 7 years. The weekly sixpences on the second 7 years, would amount to 9*l.* 2*s.*; then the renewed bounty for the last 7 years, reckoned at only 3 guineas; the weekly shillings would add 18*l.* 4*s.* more. The soldier, then, supposing he inlisted at twenty, would be aged forty-one years when he would be entitled to his discharge and pay for life, at 1*s.* per day; which, reckoning it only at eight years purchase, and adding it to the former sums, would amount to a bounty, or bonus, altogether, of 230*l.* per man; while, at present, the country derived the unlimited service of the soldier, for life, at a total expence of only 16 guineas; and supposing the soldier, in the former instance, to claim his discharge at the end of 14 years, he would then have stood the country in 80*l.* or 90*l.*; considering, therefore, the comparative expence as enormous, and the adoption of such an expence wholly unnecessary, as the country already possessed ample means of recruiting its armies without, he should oppose the motion.—The committee then divided on bringing up the clause: For the clause 254; Against it 125; Majority 129.

Upon our return into the gallery, we found the house in debate, which lasted till half past six o'clock. The ministers wished to have the clause read a second time. No less than seven divisions took place; four of which were upon a repetition of the motion, "That the chairman do now leave the chair." The business terminated by the speaker's suggesting, that an amendment should be proposed on Monday, *pro formâ*, so as to admit of a further discussion on the principle of the clause.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 2.

[MINUTES.] The Irish Revenue Collection bill, and the Irish Malt bill, were read a second time.—Mr. Alderman Combe brought up from the commons the Temple-bar and Skinner-street Lottery bill; which was read a first time.—Strangers were then excluded, and their lordships proceeded to resume the consideration of the evidence adduced on the trial of lord viscount Melville. The house continued to sit till 12 o'clock, when the further consideration of the subject was postponed till to-morrow.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 2.

[MINUTES.] The Surry Iron Railway bill was read a 2d time; as was also the Croydon Iron Railway bill; which were respectively ordered to be committed.—On the motion of Mr. Calcraft, a new writ was ordered to be issued for the borough of Honiton, in the room of the hon. Cavendish Bradshaw, who, since his election, had accepted the office of one of the tellers of his majesty's exchequer.—Sir W. Curtis presented a petition from the shipbuilders, mastmakers, blockmakers, boatbuilders, &c. of London, against the American Intercourse bill.—The Philanthropic Society Incorporation bill was read a 2d time, and ordered to be committed.—Mr. Vansittart obtained leave to bring in a Bill to abolish the fees of the Custom-house Officers of the Port of London, and to regulate the attendance of the said officers.—Mr. Vansittart observing that a paper relative to the Barrack Department had been omitted by a noble lord, in his motion the other night, moved, that there be laid before the house a copy of the letter from major Davis, assistant barrackmaster-general in the Isle of Wight, dated the 31st of January, 1806; together with a copy of the affidavit of W. Ward, transmitted therewith. Ordered.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, the house went into a committee of supply; to which the accounts, presented on Friday last, relative to the amount and issue of Exchequer bills was referred. A resolution, that a sum of 4,500,000*l.*, in exchequer bills, be granted to his majesty, for paying off exchequer bills issued for the service of the year 1805, now outstanding and not discharged, was agreed to; and the house being resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.] Mr. *Paull* gave notice, that, on Monday next, he would present a third charge against marquis Wellesley.

Lord *Temple* wished to know from the hon. gent., when it was his intention to move some specific day for the house taking into consideration the charges which he had already brought forward? It was the more necessary, that no time should be lost, as a direct charge of murder had been brought against the noble lord; and should the hon. gent. decline fixing any day, he himself intended to move for some specific day, on which the charges might be considered.

Mr. *Paull* answered, that all the papers, on which the charges were founded, were not yet before the house, though it was likely they would be presented to-morrow. When the papers were presented, he should propose an early day for their consideration, though, in this matter, he was resolved to consult only his own ideas. He also complained, that certain papers had been detained at the board of controul.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* expressed a similar impatience, that the charges against his noble relation should be, as speedily as possible, brought under the consideration of the house, and particularly that which conveyed an accusation of murder. He observed, that though the papers alluded to were not regularly transmitted to the board, yet they were to be found in the detail of Bengal transactions for 1803.

[PROPERTY DUTY BILL.] Lord *Henry Petty* gave notice, that, before the close of the present session, he should move for leave to bring in a bill to allow exemptions from the Property Tax to persons, in certain cases, having low incomes and large families. It would be recollected, that, when the Property Tax bill was under discussion, he had stated his opinion, that these exemptions could not be introduced into the bill in the same form as in former bills, without materially affecting the produce of the tax; and in this the house had concurred with him. It was desirable, however, that, in the cases to which he alluded, every reasonable relief should be granted; and he had the satisfaction to state, that the bill, which it was his intention to bring forward in the course of the present session, would give the exemptions, without being liable to any of the objections that applied to his former mode. He took that opportunity too of stating, that in consideration of the suggestions that had been thrown out by gentlemen, he meant to impose the duty on private brewing as an assessed tax, leaving out the excise clause altogether, which he had introduced only for the purpose of giving an opportunity to the party, in cases wherein it appeared to him that such opportunity would be desirable.

Mr. *Perceval* wished to know how the noble lord proposed to ascertain who were, and who were not, private brewers?

Lord *H. Petty* replied, that persons charged to the assessed taxes, were to be required to give in a statement in their returns, whether or not they were private brewers?

[MUTINY BILL.] Mr. Secretary *Windham* moved the order of the day, for the house to go into a committee on the Mutiny bill. The house having resolved itself into the committee, and the question for filling up the blanks, in the form of the oath to be taken by the soldiers hereafter to be inlisted, with the number seven, being put,

Lord *Castlereagh* rose. He thought that the whole of the clause relating to the limits of service should be left out. He took that opportunity of stating his objections to the clause, which the more he considered, the more forcibly convinced him of the paramount duty of pressing his objections upon the attention of the house. He should, however, avoid going into the detail arising out of the question, and confine himself in that instance to the prominent features of the measure. Every member must be aware of the painful difficulties, and the embarrassing situation in which the house was placed, by being called on to decide on a detailed military question, with little notice, and little detailed information. If the right hon. secretary, with all his advantages, was four months in settling the details of his plan, it was rather embarrassing for parliament to decide upon it only three or four days after the Chelsea bill had been laid on the table, which was absolutely necessary in order to form any correct opinion upon it; and there was an additional difficulty, as the blanks in the clause were not now filled up, and as much was matter of regulation. But it was unnecessarily embarrassing, because ministers withheld that body of valuable information which they possessed, and even changed their opinions on some points, before their resolutions had passed. He owned he thought that we came to the consideration of this plan under circumstances disgraceful to the character of parliament and to the government. The noble lord then proceeded to object strongly to the measure, as trenching on the prerogative of the crown. There was no occasion for bringing this to parliament at all, as it was acknowledged on the other side, that the crown might execute the measures which ministers had in view. In such a case it had never been the practice of parliament to proceed without a communication with the crown. When additional pay was granted to the navy in 1796, there was an act of parliament, indeed, on that occasion, but then there was a previous order of council, and, therefore, this could not by any means be stated as a precedent. This was depriving the crown in some measure of the power of the sword, which belonged by the constitution solely to the executive authority, under the controul of parliament. In no instance was it ever proposed to trench upon this power, except in the tory administration under queen Anne. He contended that his right hon. friend (Mr. Canning) had been much misunderstood by the right hon. secretary of state (Mr. Fox) the other night, in stating the difference between a parliamentary army, and an army peculiarly belonging to the crown. In such kinds of force as the militia and the additional force, raised for home defence, the parliament there might make terms and regulations, but such a thing was never attempted, except in the above-mentioned instance, with regard to the regular army. Now, he wished to consider in what situation the crown stood at present, and in what situation it would stand, should the present plan be adopted. The crown at present might levy men in any mode, and under whatever regulations it thought proper, within the numbers and the expence limited by parliament. If this measure passed, it would be impossible for it to raise men except for the term of 7 years, as directed by the schedule A. in this bill. It therefore limited the power of the crown prodigiously in raising men. Where was the necessity for this? It was said that the soldier would have the security of parliament for the performance of engagements. It was improper and invidious in this case to make a distinction between parliamentary security, and the security afforded by the crown; but unfortunately for this statement, the purpose might have been completely answered by directing an alteration in the articles of war, which were considered as law, and under which, after such alteration, the soldier might move his *habeas corpus*, and be regularly discharged at the proper time. He thought this then a most unadvised attack on the prerogative of the crown. But the means used were also highly objectionable. By looking at the journals of the house, it would be found, something similar to this was attempted in 1749, by Mr. Thomas Pitt; who, at a time when a great jealousy prevailed respecting the power of the crown, brought in a bill to provide that no officer should be retained in the service beyond a certain period. This was rejected by a great majority. But Mr. Thomas Pitt rested the matter on its own merits, whereas ministers now skulked behind the mutiny bill. By this means the house was deprived of the proper forms; and the house of lords was prevented from saying "No" to the measure, by its being tacked to a money bill; so that the lords could make no amendment without risking the loss of the bill altogether. But what was the situation of the crown when it came to exercise its negative power on this bill? It would not have the power to object to it, otherwise, by the loss of the bill, it would be left without an army, or at least without the means of controlling it. It was impossible, then, that the measure could be considered as having been submitted to the house with any degree of fairness upon its own merits. It was open to all the objections that existed to the tacking of measures which might be offensive to the crown, but which the commons wished to carry, to money bills. Upon the impropriety of such a proceeding, he read a quotation from Mr. Hatsell, who stated that such a conduct was highly irregular, and a breach of the rules and orders of parliament. He also read his observations upon the tory measure in 1704, when they wished to carry the bill against occasional conformity. Their proceedings, Mr. Hatsell stated, as tending to create confusion in the government, to force a peace, and to render our allies disposed to accept of such terms as they could procure for themselves, and as France would offer. These observations he thought very applicable to the present case. He concluded this point with saying, that the crown was degraded by the measure, as it could not even raise a black regiment for the defence of the colonies, except on the terms here prescribed. The noble lord then proceeded to observe, that he agreed in the propriety of raising a greater force than we had at present, though, at the same time, he contended that having now 25,000 men more than we ever had before, the events of the late unfortunate campaign were not owing to our want of a large disposeable force, as, besides the 25,000 men which had been sent abroad, it was intended to have sent 40,000 men, forming the finest army ever sent from this country, had circumstances turned out in a way that could have permitted it. But as more men were certainly wanted than we had at present, he would proceed to the policy of the plan itself. If he had proposed the plan, it would certainly have been supposed that he had committed a blunder, when he began his increasing the army by abolishing a plan which procured about 15,000 men annually, and by dismissing 6,000 veterans, and all those who had completed their twenty-one years' service. He commented on the wildness of the scheme, and the romantic disposition of the right hon. gent. with his agricultural arguments, which had been so well answered by his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Canning). But before he considered whether the measure would increase the army, he must observe, that we should stand worse with this plan, than with our three species of force. It was the policy of this country to have a great part of our force of such a description that it could be reduced in time of peace, and easily assembled again in time of war. The militia was of this nature, but the regulations relative to its officers made it impossible to carry it to a proper extent, and therefore it was in the contemplation of his late right hon. friend (Mr. Pitt) to have had another force, which might be officered in the regular way, and still have the advantage of being disbanded in time of peace, and readily assembled in time of war. But, under the present plan, when the soldier was engaged for general service, we had no alternative left to keep him even in time of peace or discharge him altogether. The plan therefore was a bad one, supposing it to be successful, which he did not think it would be. But, then it was said, that the soldiers would be of a better description, as they would have opportunities of seeing more service. But, he contended that, supposing regiments that went abroad, to stay ten years, very little of the entire mass could be accustomed to foreign service. But if he was of opinion that the plan was a misfortune, even if it succeeded, how could he suppose that it would be able to meet all the waste which it would be called upon to supply? He adverted to the experiment that had been made of limited service during the American war, on grounds more inviting than at present, and stated, that in one year during that war, 25,000 men had been procured, but that during the late war, 42,000 men had been recruited in one year. But we were not without the means of forming some estimate of the effects of limited service on the recruiting even at present. About 500 parties had been lately recruiting for general service, and they had in one year raised above 11,000 men for general service, and for life, while 260 parties, recruiting for limited service, had raised only 4,500 men. He further supported his argument by adverting to the recruiting for general and limited service from the militia at different periods, and especially to the recruiting from the Irish militia, where a bounty of ten guineas was offered by marquis Cornwallis for limited service, and of twelve guineas for general service. In that instance, 9000 had accepted of the 12 guineas for general service, and 300 only had accepted the ten guineas for limited service, and that too by the advice of their colonel. Now after this, what dependence could be placed upon limited service, considered as an inducement to the recruits? He contended that, in giving a vested right to the soldier to a future advantage, the crown must be degraded in his eyes, and the principle was, besides, fallacious even as to its own objects. The incentives which the right hon. secretary held out to induce men to enter the service, would have but little effect with inconsiderate people, who would prefer half-a-crown at the moment, to any prospect of future advantage. But the right hon. secretary was alarmed at the waste which his plan would occasion, and accordingly, in order to guard against it, reduced himself to greater and greater difficulties. By his plan a soldier who had served 8 years, might have a pension of 18*l.* though he served more. But, as to the discipline of the troops, there was no doubt that this would be superior in troops who served for life, than in the army which would be established upon his mercantile principles. But there were two bad effects of the plan which could not be denied by the author of it. He had often, while on the opposition side of the house, declaimed against the plan of re-enlisting men, yet his army would be liable to this objection in a high degree; and besides, how were the places of those men to be supplied, whose time was almost out, when a regiment was to be sent on colonial service? An hon. colonel (Craufurd) had said that they might be supplied from the second battalions; but this was resorting to the old abominable system of drafting. After all the discussion on this plan, then, we were only to come to this, that, in stating these evils, a hope was expressed that they might be remedied. The right hon. secretary had either very modestly or very boldly stated, that he would not enter upon a detailed calculation of the waste and the expense that would attend his plan. But as he had not done it, it was the more necessary that others should do it. His lordship then took the number of the army, including cavalry, artillery, and non-commissioned officers, at 250,000 men; which was as high a rate as could be on any hand expected from this plan. He had not a return, however, upon which he could calculate as to the army in general; but he had returns of the seven battalions of the guards, from which an idea might be formed, though a vague one, of the whole. An hon. friend of his had stated that the expence of every individual to the country would be 230*l.* per man more than at present. But a calculation of the expense of one man was not sufficient. According to his lordship's calculation, there would be a waste of 30,000 men in each year after the period of 14 years had elapsed, supposing that none enlisted afterwards; but supposing that one-half of them enlisted again, still there would be a waste of 15,000 men annually, under this plan, without reckoning the ordinary casualties. His lordship then entered upon a calculation of the expense. He thought that the right hon. gent. could not, with any hopes of success, reduce the present bounty one sixpence. Supposing, then, 16 guineas bounty to each man for the original recruiting, and 8 guineas for the subsequent periods, the annual sum would be 360,000 guineas, or 380,000*l.* Then he came to the increased pay, which he calculated at 162,000*l.* a year. But the most gloomy part of the whole was the subject of the pensions; for it would have very little effect as to the recruiting, and would be tremendous in point of expense. The pensions allowed at the end of 14 years, he contended, were a bounty for leaving the service, which would, for the most part, be almost irresistible. He supposed that, at the end of 14 years' service, the average age of each man might be about 40 years. By a reference to the tables of Halley, and to the insurance offices, he found that the average calculations upon a man's life, from that period, were 22 years. The amount of the expense, therefore, at the end of 22 years from the second period of service, would be 792,000*l*. His lordship then calculated the expense of those who should have their pensions after having completed their 21 years' service, and this proceeding upon the same data as to the value of their lives, he found would in the end amount to 684,000*l*. per annum. The whole would stand thus: bounties, 380,000*l*.; increased pay, 162,000*l*.; pensions at the end of 14 years' service, 792,000*l*.; pensions at the same rate after 21 years' service, 684,000*l*.; making a total of 2,018,000*l*., independent of any additional pay that might be in contemplation for the officers of the army. It might be said, that this would admit of a reduction in time of peace, but, unfortunately, the plan left the qualification of the men going on, even in time of peace, when they were exposed to very little service, which left no chance of a reduction. Upon a subject of such material importance to the welfare of the country he did not see how any principle of delicacy, or fancied danger, should deter him, as a member of parliament, from a performance of his duty, in considering the application which this system had to the other essential service of the navy. He would appeal to the noble lord at the head of the admiralty board, and ask him, whether it was right or just that the nation should be embarked in this new system of expense, to make future provisions for soldiers, and make no corresponding one for sailors? How would it be felt, or what impression was it likely to create, if the marines on board a ship were, at the expiration of certain periods, to be entitled to advantages which were withheld from the sailors, who completed the same period of service, were exposed to the same or greater hardships and dangers, and to whom the country was so much indebted for its security and safety. It was true, that they were liable, according to ancient usage, to be dragged into the service by compulsion, without being offered any additional inducement; but was it consistent with policy or liberality, that this argument of peculiar hardship was to be turned against them? If then, which he must suppose to be the case, the marines were meant to be included in the new arrangements to arise out of this system, the annual expense upon the country could not be calculated at less than three millions of money. These last observations, he said he thought it his duty merely to advert to, but not for any invidious purpose, or with the view of provoking any discussion of them at present. His lordship then proceeded to observe on the seriousness of such an additional expense upon the country: much to the credit, as he thought, of the present administration, they had in a late instance most wisely and manfully come to the resolution of raising so large a proportion of the supplies within the year, as an augmentation of 10 millions by means of an extension of the property tax, and that for the purpose of relieving posterity from the pressure of no more than half a million annually which would be sufficient to defray the interest of that sum of money; but posterity would have but little reason to applaud the spirit and liberality of the present times, if, at the same time that we were preserving them from the pressure of half a million, we should, by this extravagant and inconsiderate system, saddle them with a burthen of three millions a-year. He then concluded with a recapitulation of his arguments, in which he trusted, that he had satisfactorily shewn, that the plan was a wanton encroachment on the prerogative of the crown; that it could not make the army better than it was before; that there was no ground from past experience for supposing that a limited would produce more men than an unlimited service; that it subverted the relation in which the crown now stood with the army of the country; that it would be injurious to the discipline of the service; that it would create great waste, not only of the effective numbers of the army, but of that treasure also which the country could not bear if it should have to contend for its existence by the exertion of its own remaining resources; and finally, that being fatal in all these points, it would also materially abridge the power of the crown.

Mr. *Grattan* thought the noble lord might have been more moderate in his strictures on this plan, when some plan was confessedly necessary, and neither the noble lord himself, nor any of his associates, had any plan to offer. Something calculated to keep up and recruit our military force was, on all hands, allowed to be desirable; and the only question was, as to that which was most advisable to promote the object which all professed a wish to promote. Several recommended a reliance on the ordinary recruiting alone, which, it was now evident, could not be conducted without high bounties; but the opinion of the majority, with whom he certainly concurred, was, that limited service should be resorted to. Much encouragement to act upon this opinion was to be derived from experience. Notwithstanding the assertion of the noble lord, that all experience was against the experiment of the right hon. secretary, he asserted the contrary. For, in the American war, 78,000 men had been raised upon terms of limited service; and such a number surely served to shew, that these terms were not likely to be ineffective. These terms had, indeed, always proved productive. They were so in the last French war. But how did they succeed in the operation of those measures, in the support of which the noble lord himself was so forward? What were the Army of Reserve and the Additional Force acts, but measures of limited service? The manner in which the noble lord had argued on this occasion, in opposition to a principle which he had so often supported before, was certainly somewhat liable to the charge of inconsistency. The noble lord had gone into a long calculation, to shew that immense expence would result from the adoption of the proposed plan; which expence was to consist of bonusses to the army; and yet, at the conclusion of the noble lord's speech, he asserted, that this expence would have no effect whatever upon the recruiting of that army. An increase of pay was to be the consequence of 7 years' service; a still greater increase, of 14 years; and further advantages were to be the reward of remaining 21 years in the service. Still, according to the noble lord, this improvement of the soldier's condition was to form no additional allurement to those disposed to engage in the military life. If the noble lord's statement were just, that, in general, men were rather inclined to prefer unlimited to limited service; that the one was productive to a great degree, and the other to a very little, there was an egregious error in the calculation of those ministers who drew up the Army of Reserve and Additional Force acts: for, instead of granting a bounty to such men as volunteered from limited to unlimited service, government should have had a drawback from them. But, to be serious, it was impossible that the limitation of service should have no influence in obtaining recruits, or that men should not be more willing to engage for 7 years, than for an indefinite period. Among other calculations, which seemed to rest upon very questionable *data*, the noble lord had estimated the life of a man at the age of 40 so high as 22 years. He was ready to admit, that the noble lord must have had much difficulty to encounter in such calculations; but yet it must be felt by every man, that when the noble lord was calculating upon grounds very little better than loose conjecture, with a view to deprecate a system for which he offered no substitute whatever, he ought, at least, to have kept within the bounds of moderation. If the noble lord had made any proposition in lieu of that which he condemned, he would have been much more entitled to attention. But the noble lord offered nothing. Ordinary recruiting, the noble lord had, for years, repeatedly maintained was inadequate to supply the wants of the army, and therefore he could not recommend it in the present instance; nor did he say that the ballot ought to be revived, or a requisition attempted. Even the Additional Force act the noble lord would not enforce; for, to enforce it would be to produce no men, but money, as the noble lord knew. The question was, as to the choice between requisition and inducement. What would the noble lord desire? He would not surely support requisition; nor would he attempt to support unlimited bounties; yet, if those bounties were not tolerated, recourse must be had to other inducements. Parliament must resort to the one or to the other; either to unlimited bounties, which operated as a premium for desertion, or limited service, which held out allurements to the recruit, by conferring a benefit upon the soldier.—In one part of the noble lord's speech, it was remarkable that he talked much of the length of a man's life, which, according to his estimate, generally reached to 60 years. Here, however, it was the noble lord's object, to enlarge the amount of the expence to be incurred by the right hon. secretary's project. But yet, when he came to that part where it was desirable to him to depreciate the operation of this project, the noble lord maintained, that, 7 years being equal to the general estimate of a man's life, the people would be as little influenced by the mention of that period, as if it were proposed to them to inlist for life. Upon such an estimate of a man's life, and the observation deduced from it, it was unnecessary to argue. Common sense must suggest to any man a sufficient answer to it. He would appeal to the plainest understanding, whether, if a tenant who held a lease for 7 years, were to apply to his landlord to exchange it for a lease of his life, the landlord would listen to the proposition? or whether, if a tenant held a lease for life, he would accede to the proposal of his landlord, to exchange it for one of 7 years? To state such a case, was enough to expose the futility of the remark alluded to. But to return to the subject of limited service, the principle was not only sanctioned by the measures to which he had already referred, but particularly recognized by that provision which granted a bounty to such men as volunteered from the limited to unlimited service. There was, however, much more in the right hon. secretary's plan than mere limited service, to procure soldiers, and to please the public. But the noble lord's objection seemed principally to apply to limited service. The noble lord himself, however, bore testimony to the effects which must arise from such a measure, when he stated that its adoption would tend to nothing less than to create a mutiny among the veterans in the army, and also to excite discontents in the navy. And why? truly because it proposed to confer what the noble lord considered as an extraordinary benefit on the army. But, upon this point, it was to be recollected, that although in the American war 78,000 men were raised for limited service, and in the last French war 40,000, still no symptom of discontent appeared among the veterans or the navy. But the idea of such discontent existing was quite preposterous. To suppose that any discontent could arise in the navy in consequence of any military arrangement benefiting the soldiery, would be to indulge a supposition by no means honourable to, or consistent with, the character of those who belonged to our navy. As to the veterans, the noble lord's argument stood thus: the army were satisfied without any addition to their pay or pensions; and yet, when an addition was to be made to both, they were, the noble lord stated, to become extremely discontented. So much with regard to the noble lord's allusion to the discontents likely to arise from the plan, and the new operation of the inducements which it held out. Now, as to the connection which the project under discussion had with the cause of liberty, the noble lord seemed to argue as if to give the soldier an interest in civil liberty, to furnish him with additional reasons for attachment to the constitution of his country, was to damp his zeal. What! that when the pay of a soldier was increased; when his period of service was limited; when he had the prospect of returning to the enjoyment of his country's rights, that he would be less eager in her cause! If that were really the case, that when all the motives were afforded which could serve to animate a soldier's mind, that an English soldier would be insensible; that he would be damped; the thing was incredible; but, if it were so, then England was to be defended by satellites, and not by soldiers; and the constitution was to rely, for its security, on an army insensible to its value, and unworthy of living under its auspices. If the English were really such a force, then the old excitement to patriotic valour, the *pro aris et focis*, had ceased to have its weight. If such degeneracy had taken place, an army of Persians, or Mamelukes, would answer as well for the defence of this country; for, according to this, our army was become mere machines, and ceased to be Englishmen; if such were the case, how much had all the provisions failed, which were taken to attach the military to the constitution of the country! in fact, to interfuse, as much as was practicable, the military with the civil character. With that view, military officers were permitted to sit in parliament, notwithstanding their dependence on the crown. This permission was always allowed, from the evident policy of cultivating an intercourse between the military and the constitution of the country. The officer, from such an intercourse, was, of course, more likely to excite, in the minds of the soldiery, a just reverence for freedom; and, when a soldier was furnished with a comfortable livelihood, that must naturally tend to enhance his estimate of himself and his country. Indeed, none was ever to be found, in the military character, by whom liberty had been always so highly prized, as by the old English soldier.—One of the objects of the right hon. secretary's plan was, to give the soldier a competent subsistence; and of this he particularly approved. Every sentiment of humanity, justice, and policy, called for the assignment of an adequate provision to the soldiery, after they had become unable to serve. This, too, holding out to them the prospect of having a permanent interest in the state, formed an additional stimulus to their zeal while in the service. To create this interest had always been the policy of wise states. The Romans would admit none into the army, but those who were possessed of property; because, without it, they did not suppose that men were likely to feel much interest in the state. In consequence of this, the population were divided into six classes; the lowest of whom, because destitute, were deemed unworthy to be trusted with arms. That wise people were, therefore, particular about the construction and character of their army; and so they continued until towards the period of their decline. They then changed their system; they entrusted their defence to prætorian bands, and their liberty was soon the victim. Their bands became bad soldiers, as well as bad subjects; and they soon waited on their emperor, to request his order to assassinate the senate. This institution having extinguished the liberty of the Romans, that people, because they soon felt they had nothing to fight for, speedily lost their greatness, their independence, and character. The consequences the Romans experienced, from committing their country to the protection of satellites, were twofold: first, their constitution was lost; secondly, their army degenerated, and became terrible only to their friends, while they became insignificant in the estimation of their enemies. Another reason for keeping up and improving the character of our army, arose out of a consideration of our present circumstances with regard to France. The flower of the French, said the right hon. gent., which is prepared to act against you, must not be opposed by the refuse of the English. I do not, of course, mean to call the generality of your army the refuse of your country; but, certainly, you may have a better sort; and, unless you combat the flower of the enemy with the flower of your own people, your case is perilous. But, if you will bring forward the force which it is in your power to collect, inspired with the disposition which Englishmen never fail to feel when contending for their country; fired with that spirit which is the natural result of their constitution, with the public mind, as it were, marching along their lines, there can be no doubt as to the issue of the contest. What any army are competent to, the British people are competent to, when properly marshalled; and the right hon. secretary's plan is calculated to produce that effect. The people are to be trained; and thus the casualties in the army, in the event of invasion, may be filled up. By similar means, the Fabian general was enabled to maintain himself upon the Sabine hill, until he found it convenient to come down upon the enemy. If the Romans were not a military people, Fabius could not have so acted, and saved Rome; and, if you are placed on the same footing, neither your independence nor your liberty are safe; you must, indeed, become either a military government or a military people; you have such an armed regular army in the country, at this moment, as leave your liberties, notwithstanding your volunteers, almost at the mercy of the crown, if a king chose to try the experiment. I know we have every security against any such attempt in the character of the present family on the throne; but I wish to consider the king in the abstract, without considering who may be king at the time. I would exhort you to take every means of interweaving the interests of the army with your civil rights. Such conduct is necessary to maintain the character of your army, and the safety and the constitution of your country. As to your constitution, indeed, if that were gone, your national safety could not long survive it; for the spirit which results from the one, is that, alone, which can preserve the other. If your constitution were no more, the conflicts to be expected between the crown and the people would speedily bring you to fight the battles of France in England. Therefore, the right hon. secretary has been wise, in so connecting the popular with the regular army, and so interesting the latter in popular rights, as to guard against such dangers as I have alluded to. This brings me to consider the assertion, that the interference of this house is an encroachment on the royal prerogative. But the annual discussion of the Mutiny bill is a sufficient answer to that assertion. The assertion I have alluded to, I maintain to be, in the highest degree, unconstitutional; and that the troops of the line are, strictly speaking, a parliamentary army. The Mutiny bill, indeed, on the face of it, recognizes the right and authority to which I refer; and any king, or any minister who should advise a king to deal with that army in any manner inconsistent with the prescription of parliament, would be guilty of a breach of the Bill of Rights. The noble lord, instead of augmenting the difficulties which the right hon. secretary had to encounter, should rather endeavour to remove them. The public mind should go along with the measure. (Hear! hear!) You should be more adverse to France than to one another; and this is not a time to be occupied about little objects. You must, said the right hon. gent., direct your minds to higher considerations, than those discontents which, we are told, may possibly arise among the navy, or among veteran soldiers. Let your difficulties be measured by your danger; and those difficulties must be great, that should obstruct your progress. Look at the perilous grandeur of the power that assails you, and reflect upon the means necessary to maintain your own elevation. Do not suffer yourselves to be drawn aside from the proper provisions for your security by financial calculations. You were told, that America could not support her expenditure, and must, therefore, submit to your arms. The same argument was applied to France. But the calculation was wrong with respect to both. The Americans and the French were victorious. When a great nation determines to sacrifice wealth, and maintain a great principle, there may be danger; there may be such a thing as death; but there cannot be defeat.

The *Master of the Rolls* said, he well knew, and greatly respected, the abilities of the right hon. gent. who spoke last; but he thought him mistaken in his view of the noble lord's argument. The right hon. gent. argued, that if the measure did not produce men, it would not be attended with expence: now, the objection was, that it would be attended with immense expence, without producing any men. The right hon. gent. commended the measure for merits which it did not possess: for, surely, it did not go to give any new civic benefits to the subject. The right hon. gent. also differed very widely from what the right hon. mover of this measure thought the soldier ought to be. If the right hon. gent. had heard the right hon. secretary's opening speech, he would have heard him say, that the character of the soldier ought to be distinct from every thing else. The right hon. gent. contended, that it ought to be united and blended with the character of the artisan. One general objection to the trial of this experiment was, that we had no experience to direct us; for, there was no example of any country trying it, in the same manner, to the same extent, and under the same circumstances. The example of France was cited, but with an admission, that there the principle was found inconvenient as soon as the American war broke out, and departed from by a precise ordonnance, that no man was to be discharged during the war. If an act of parliament could be violated with as much levity here, as a royal ordonnance was there, the consideration would not be so serious. He was sure the hon. officer opposite, when he said, the other night, that the country would have the benefit of this measure ten years before it would have any of the ill effects, did not mean, that, when the ill effects were approaching, the bill might be repealed. Before the public faith was pledged, it ought to be considered whether it could be kept, rather than lightly to give occasion for circumstances, in which the public faith and public safety would be at variance. As to the authority of the crown, the Mutiny act took no power from the king which, by the constitution, he had; but came in aid of his authority, by fresh powers. Without the power of the Mutiny act, the king could not keep the army together, nor govern it in time of peace; and, in many respects, there would be much difficulty in governing it, in time of war, by the mere force of the prerogative. But this bill went to take from the king a power which, by the constitution, he was entitled to exercise; namely, that of inlisting men on any terms of service he should think proper. The idea, that the same faith was not to be placed in a pledge from the crown and a pledge from parliament, was highly to be censured. The faith of the crown had been always most scrupulously adhered to, though, sometimes, particular officers may have been guilty of misrepresentation or misconception. When a trial was made under the prerogative, the antient system would be more easily reverted to, if the new one was found not to be satisfactory. In recent times, several species of inlistment had been tried by the authority of the crown: for life, for term of years, for service unlimited in space, and service more or less limited in that respect; and all these without prescribing any one cause, so that the general system of unlimited service was easily reverted to, when it was found desirable. But now, when the nation was told it was relieved from a slavery, by the discontinuance of service for life, and that a boon was given in the inlistment for term of years, how could the antient system be resorted to with justice or with safety, if, at the end of 10 years, it should be necessary? The difficulty of re-engaging men would be in proportion to the desire to have the men. In the denial of the production of the opinions of the general officers, the house was left to its own lights to judge of the question. He was particularly at a loss to conceive, how the right hon. gentleman's plan could be applied to the colonies. This was always the opinion of military men on this subject, so far as he could collect. The right hon. gent. ought to have shown how the plan could be reconciled with the service of the colonies. The right hon. gent. was averse to his plan being called theory; but it was the most fanciful of all theories, if it was to be considered without reference to practicability. What would the right hon. gent. have said to any of the constitution-makers seven years ago, if they had offered a particular constitution, saying, it is very good as it stands, but I know not whether it will be applicable to practice? When the exigency was put to the men, at the end of their term of years, they would not understand any thing but their discharge. The removal of the men whose term was nearly expiring, to the 2d battalions, when the new regiment was ordered to the colonies, was a renewal of the odious system of drafting; it would keep at home the veterans, exclusively fit for colonial service, and send out raw recruits, to whom the climate was particularly fatal. This was to render our best soldiers an indisposable force. The enormous expence was a most important consideration, when our finances laboured so vitally under the burthens brought on by this war. These burthens would make it a question, whether an actual increase of our disposable force was desirable, at an expence likely to be ruinous. But when that ruinous expence was to be incurred for a trifling and uncertain increase, there was reason to hesitate indeed. He wished the measure to be withdrawn for the present, and brought forward in a separate form, with the proper lights to direct the judgment of the house upon it. In its present shape, the measure would counteract the very good it was expected to produce. Suppose it did not add to the numbers produced by the ordinary recruiting, and the vast proportion of discharges were to come on in 7 years, how would they be provided for? It was possible that the produce might be sufficient to cover the discharges; but that, or the probability of it, should be made to appear. The discharges would operate when the men were perfect in discipline. It was true, the right hon. gent. calculated that the men would re-inlist; but the house could not take the right hon. gentleman's word for that, particularly when he gave the men the option of so great a benefit. A less numerous army, in a perfect state of discipline, was more desirable than a more numerous one, less perfect. When a man thought of going into the army, he did not calculate the time. Seven years was, besides, almost as much as a man's life, with respect to a removal from any occupation to which the soldier might wish to return, after having gratified his desire of military glory. When the period was near expiring, they would think of nothing but home. He saw no reason why a man might not be content to become a soldier in life, as well as a carpenter, a blacksmith, &c. unless the disgust for such long service was created by the supporters of the present system. The instance of general Washington's army, in the Americn war, afforded a most striking example. But the Americans resorted to the means from necessity; whereas, we were about to resort to it from design, and without necessity. It was only in cases of compulsory service that a limitation had been, hitherto, adopted; now, it was proposed to extend it to volunteers. He was of opinion that, after the removal of the ballot of the Army of Reserve act, and the Additional Force act, and competition incurred by them, the ordinary recruiting would do a great deal, and he wished the experiment to be tried. It was not so much the engagement for life that kept men out of the army; but the things that had been connected with it. He wished the right hon. gent. would consent to withdraw the measure for the present, for the purpose of trying what we could do without it. If the right hon. gent. would not consent to that, at least that it should be sent back to the place from whence it came, to be brought forward again in a more digested form. If they would do neither of these, he must make use of the rights he had, and give his decided opposition to the measure.

The *Solicitor General* said, he felt as much disappointed that his right hon. friend had not treated the subject in a constitutional point of view, as his right hon.

and learned friend had expressed himself to be, that the hon. gent., who preceded him had not adverted to the calculations of the noble lord. He had expected from his learned friend a check to those novel doctrines and distinctions which had been that night introduced. The form in which the question was brought before the house had been objected to; it was said likewise that it ought not to be a subject of legislative consideration, and a noble lord had asserted, that the discussion of it in parliament was attended with danger to the royal prerogative. He would ask the house what they were discussing? The mutiny bill. In that bill, it was declared lawful for his majesty to make articles of war for one year only. In that bill, it was declared lawful for his majesty to establish courts martial for one year only. In that bill, the bill of rights was recited. In that bill was contained a declaration limiting the power of his majesty to quarter his soldiers on his lawful subjects. And now in the clause under discussion, the oath to be taken by each recruit was, to serve his majesty for at least 7 years, and yet it was asserted that the prerogative of the crown had been infringed! Unless the gentlemen opposite were prepared to say that all the doctrines hitherto maintained on this subject were erroneous, it would be impossible for them to defend their position. His right hon. and learned friend had said, that if the measure now under discussion had been carried into effect by the crown, it might easily be undone; but that being accomplished by parliament, it would be difficult for parliament to retread their steps. He had argued, that if parliament once promulgated the great advantages which the soldier would derive from enlisting for a limited time, no man would in future be found willing to enlist for an unlimited time. And yet his learned friend had afterwards said, that the consideration of limited or unlimited time would, were the proposed measure to be adopted, be a matter of indifference to the recruit. It seemed, therefore, that the recruit was thought to be so completely ignorant, that he could not judge on this subject for himself, but that he must avail himself of the sentiments of parliament, and of parliament alone, for if his majesty expressed that opinion, the house were told (notwithstanding that a noble lord had said, that the army ought to look up to his majesty, and that the soldiers should suck in with their very existence the conviction that the favour and countenance of the crown ought to be their chief reward), that the army would not listen to his majesty's representations. He wished much to know how the gentlemen opposite could reconcile their declaration, that, in the first place, it was ungracious to give this boon to the army, through the medium of parliament, and not through that of the throne, with their other declaration, that it was in reality no boon, as it would not succeed in inducing men to enlist? With regard to the objection which had been started, that this measure should not have been contained in a clause in the Mutiny bill, but should have formed a distinct act of parliament, he replied, that any novelty in military armies was usually included in the mutiny bill, and that this especially belonged to its character. If such an alteration were proposed in our military system as the abolishing of capital punishments, he would ask, ought that not to be contained in the Mutiny bill? If the constitution of courts-martial were to undergo a reform, would not that be prescribed in the Mutiny bill? Now, as to the policy of enlistment for a limited term considered constitutionally, he differed entirely from those who contended that it was a dangerous innovation. He had always understood, that in the best times of the British history, jealousy had been ever excited against standing armies, because the men had been enlisted for an indefinite time. The preference given to the militia was grounded expressly on the circumstance that they were enlisted for a limited time. For a while they took up the character of the soldier, afterwards to resume that of the citizen. Nor would this jealousy of the one class of men, and preference of the other, be surprising, when it was considered how inestimable were the privileges which a recruit resigned on entering into the army, and how different must be the character of the man who surrendered them for ever, and the man who surrendered them only for a short period. He was unwilling to intrude any authorities on the house upon this subject; but he could not refrain from quoting the opinion of that most respectable and venerable judge, whose sentiments on every subject, and more particularly on those subjects immediately connected with the care of our free constitution, were such as entitled him to the most profound attention. Judge Blackstone, in the first volume of his Commentaries, says, that "in a land of liberty it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the profession of arms. In absolute monarchies, this is necessary for the safety of the prince, and arises from the main principle of their constitution, which is that of governing by fear: but in free states the profession of a soldier, taken singly and merely as a profession, is justly an object of jealousy. In these no man should take up arms, but with a view to defend his country and its laws: he puts not off the citizen when he enters the camp; but it is because he is a citizen, and would wish to continue so, that he makes himself, for a while, a soldier. The laws therefore, and constitution of these kingdoms, know no such state as that of a perpetual standing soldier, bred up to no other profession than that of war: and it was not until the reign of Henry VII. that the kings of England had so much as a guard about their persons. Nothing, then, according to these principles, ought to be more guarded against in a free state, than making the military power, when such a one is necessary to be kept on foot, a body too distinct from the people. Like ours, it should wholly be composed of natural subjects; it ought only to be enlisted for a short and limited time; the soldiers also should live intermixed with the people; no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses, should be allowed. And, perhaps, it might be still better, if, by dismissing a stated number, and enlisting others at every renewal of their term, a circulation could be kept up between the army and the people, and the citizen and the soldier be more intimately connected together." What was it that had happened since this luminous author published his Commentaries, that should diminish this jealousy of a standing army? Was it because the standing army was three times as numerous? Was it because it had been necessary to establish barracks? Was it because a great military despotism had been expanding itself over Europe, or because, every advancing year, the vestiges of liberty were progressively destroyed amongst the surrounding empires? It was in this circumstance that the difference must ever consist between our own troops and those of the enemy. The corporeal advantages of the former, their superior skill, discipline, and power of sustaining fatigues and privations, could be but small. In one view they indeed possessed the advantage; the superiority of the cause in which they were engaged. The armies of our enemy fought only to extend the glory and to satiate the ambition of a master; our armies fought for their own rights, and those of their country. If our soldiers triumphed, it was the triumph of justice and freedom, over injustice and despotism. If they fell, they fell the martyrs to patriotism, and the love of liberty. In another point of view he highly approved of the plan of his right hon. friend. While, on the one hand, it made the soldiers citizens; on the other, it made the citizens soldiers. It had been objected to this plan, that the execution of it would be attended with considerable expense. Adverting to the calculations of his learned friend (Mr. Perceval) the other evening, he contended that they were formed on erroneous grounds, and that his learned friend was not justified in saying that the present administration had economy on their lips, but extravagance in their hearts. The calculations of his learned friend had for the moment made him forget that humanity and liberality which he well knew belonged to his real character. The gentlemen opposite seemed to think that his majesty's ministers had succeeded to a luxurious situation. He only wished that some of them had been present (as it certainly was their duty to be present) in the discussions of the property tax, that they had heard the various claims on the humanity of his noble friend, first for the small annuitants, then for widows, afterwards for persons with large families, &c.; that they had witnessed the painful situation of his noble friend, compelled by the imperious sense of his public duty to resist every demand, however strongly urged; that they had been in the house to see his noble friend (to quote an expression of cruel mockery) "reposing upon a bed of roses." For his part, heavy as he felt that the burthens were which had been imposed on the community, he was convinced that the very poorest would cheerfully part with a portion of their scanty pittance, to reward the valour of those who fought to defend that, without which, property, and life itself, were not worth the preservation.

General *Norton* spoke against the clause, and suggested an amendment, that troops in the home islands should be attested to serve not only during the term of seven years, but until 6 months after the termination of any war in which their time should expire; troops in the Mediterranean or West Indies to serve for 12 months, and in the East Indies for 18 months after the termination of such war.

Colonel *Craufurd* replied to some of the calculations of increased expences to the service which would be annually produced by this arrangement, which he contended would only be an increase of 637,000*l.* instead of 1,633,000*l.* stated by the noble lord (Castlereagh); which was an error of above a million.

Sir *W. Lemon* congratulated the house on having heard the most constitutional speech from the Solicitor General, which, in the course of 30 or 40 years, he had ever heard in that house. The greatest grievance which could attend a free country, was a great standing army. If such must be maintained, the most constitutional way in which it could be established, the better. On that ground he approved of the speech of the Solicitor General.

Lord *Lovaine* wished to be informed, if the present army of the country was not established on constitutional principles?

General *Stuart*, notwithstanding the arguments which had been offered by several learned gentlemen, and by an hon. Irish orator (Mr. Grattan), who spoke early in the debate, could not agree in the good consequences that were anticipated from this plan. It was said, it would not only procure a rapid supply of men, but those of a better description. He did not conceive the army could have a better description than that of soldiers; and as to better orders of men, he thought the common day-labourers made better soldiers than tradesmen or clerks; he spoke from the experience of ten years as a commanding officer; and he could not coincide in the opinions of the hon. Irish orator.

Mr. *Grattan* felt it necessary to say a word or two in answer to the hon. general who had just sat down, and who had thrown some of his scattering shot towards that side of the house. The hon. general, though he did not deliver his sentiments in the style of an Irish orator, seemed to betray some symptoms of an Irish understanding; but he could wish the hon. general had evinced a little better acquaintance with Irish order. But notwithstanding the confidence of the hon. general in the opinion he avowed, he (Mr. Grattan) begged leave to decline his authority, either as an Irish orator or an Irish officer.

General *Stuart* replied, that though he did not profess to be an Irish orator, he hoped he should always maintain the character of an Irish soldier.

Mr. *Bankes* spoke at some length against the principle of discharging men during the war, and considered this the great and radical objection.

Lord *Garlies*, after complimenting the master of the rolls on his very argumentative speech, declared his main objection to the measure to proceed from the bad effect it must have on the naval service. It might happen that we had an expedition going on, combined both of naval and military force, and that one part might be entitled to demand their discharge, while the other could not. He would ask how it could be possible to reconcile the one to the idea of being bound to continue in their service while the other was discharged?—The question being then very generally called for, the house divided: For the question, 206; Against it, 105; Majority, 101.—The blanks were then filled up, and the bill passed through the committee without any further discussion. After which, the house having resumed, the report was brought up, and ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 3.

[MINUTES.] The Temple-bar Lottery bill was read a second time.—The Irish Revenue Collection bill, and the Irish Malt bill, passed through committees, and were reported.—The Earl of Moira presented a petition from Mr. Justice Fox, which was read short by the clerk, praying that the house would take his case into consideration, and do what should seem meet to them therein. Ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Alexander and several other members of the commons, brought up the Irish Sugar bill, and the Irish Additional Force Repeal bill, which were read a first time. Lord Eldon rose to move the order of the day. Earl Stanhope wished previously to offer some observations to the house. Earl Bathurst moved that the house should be cleared. Strangers were immediately excluded, and the consideration of the evidence adduced on the trial of lord Melville was resumed.—The discussion continued till ten o'clock. Several questions were referred to the judges, who were to deliver their opinion, in answer, on the following Thursday, to which day the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 3.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Pattison moved that the evidence taken before the committee on the Norwich Paving bill should be laid before the house. After a few words from Mr. Fellowes and Mr. Hurst, this motion was negatived. Mr. Fellowes then moved that the bill be read a third time. Mr. Paterson opposed it on the grounds that from the reduced state of the town in point of trade and opulence, and the pressure of a variety of pecuniary burthens, this was not the proper time for it. After a few observations, however, from Mr. Fellowes, Mr. W. Smith, and Mr. S. Le Fevre, the bill was read a 3d time and passed.—Sir John Anderson presented a petition from the London Dock directors against the East London Water-works bill. Ordered to lie on the table.—On the motion of lord Temple, it was ordered that the house should, at its rising, adjourn till Thursday.

[AMERICAN INTERCOURSE BILL.] Lord *Castlereagh*, though the second reading of the American Intercourse bill stood for Thursday, hoped that it would not come on so soon, as parliament ought not to be pressed to decide upon it before it was in possession of the requisite information. He thought the house should be in possession of the instructions given to the governors of the West-India islands, by the late administration, which he considered as consonant with the soundest principles of the navigation act. He also wished to have those instructions which had been subsequently sent; and concluded by moving, that the instructions sent to the governors of the West-India islands, relative to the American intercourse, of the 5th September, 1804, should be laid before the house; as also copies of any instructions subsequently sent.

Lord *Temple* had no objection to the papers; but as to the postponing of the second reading of the bill, if he did that, it would be on account of the state of the public business, and not on account of any argument urged by the noble lord. He contended that the bill ought to pass with all convenient speed.

Mr. *Perceval* observed, that though it did not pass this session, the West-India colonies would only be in the same situation that they had been in for the last thirteen years. He did not, therefore, see any particular necessity for pressing the bill forward with any great haste. He did not see the propriety of the noble lord urging it on by that command which his situation gave him over the house, before the proper information was produced.

Mr. *Plumer* said, that it was irregular to say that the noble lord had a command over the house.

Mr. *Perceval*, in explanation, said, that he did not see where the irregularity was in saying, that the noble lord's situation and eloquence gave him great influence in the house.

Mr. *Plumer* observed, that if the hon. and learned gent. had not used the word command, he would beg his pardon.

Mr. *Rose* wished to know whether it was the intention of the noble lord to postpone the second reading of the bill beyond Thursday. He adverted to the petitions that had been presented, and the great interests that were concerned in this business. If a committee was granted him, he undertook to finish the evidence up stairs in three days. He had, during the last few months, seen the most extraordinary measures that ever he had observed in parliament; but this was the most extraordinary of them all. His lordship had expressed his doubts whether he would postpone it upon the arguments of the noble lord near him. This was the most extraordinary language, and such as was seldom heard in that house.

Lord *Temple*, in explanation, said, that his doubts as to postponing it arose from the state of business before the house; and he had expressly said that this was the ground of his doubt, and not any argument of the noble lord. As to the merits of the case, the right hon. gent.'s proposition for a committee would have been perfectly proper had the bill been a measure of repeal. But it was merely a matter of regulation, enabling the government to do that by law which had been for several years past done without law, or against it. However, he would postpone the second reading of the bill till Friday.—The papers were then granted.

[ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.] Mr. Secretary *Fox* rose to give notice, that he should on Tuesday next bring forward a resolution respecting the final Abolition of the Slave trade. He conceived it would be too late in the present session to propose any bill upon the subject; but as it was one of those important subjects upon which his majesty's present ministers had pledged their opinions to the house, he thought it high time to evince their determination of carrying those opinions into effect.

General *Tarleton* wished to know the specific tenour of the right hon. gentleman's intended motion.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, he had no wish to conceal from the hon. gent. the purport of his motion; but he had not yet shaped it into any specific form of words. His object, however, was, that the house should pledge itself to some resolution for entering, as early as possible, into the consideration of this subject, with a view to the abolition of the slave trade, but without settling any particular period for that purpose.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA—OUDE CHARGE.] Lord *Temple*, pursuant to the notice he had given upon a former day, now rose for the purpose of moving a specific day, for taking into consideration the charges of high crimes and misdemeanours against the marquis Wellesley, laid upon the table by an hon. member, on the 28th of last month. He hoped it would not be necessary for him to preface his motion by observations to any great length. But as the hon. member, who had brought forward those charges, had named no particular day for moving the house to their consideration; feeling, as he did, the nature and importance of those charges, to be such as called for their full investigation with the least possible delay, he now rose for that purpose. Gentlemen, who had looked into those charges, must have felt them to be of the most weighty nature. They directly imputed to lord Wellesley, not only every species of public delinquency that could brand the character of a public officer, but every charge of private depravity that could stain the personal reputation of an individual. He had no doubt, that the hon. gent. who brought forward those charges, had done so under a self-persuasion of their truth, and a belief that he should be able to substantiate them in evidence. He would not pay the hon. gent. so bad a compliment, as to suppose he would bring forward such charges against any man, much less against the noble lord, unless he was himself persuaded they were founded in fact, and without being prepared with evidence which he himself conceived competent to sustain them. But the hon. gent. must allow that, notwithstanding the strength of his own persuasion upon the subject, it was still possible the noble lord might possess a confidence in his own innocence, superior to every accusation of such a nature, and must feel extremely impatient for the opportunity of his own vindication; more especially, when those charges included one of a nature more atrocious than all the rest, and such a one as called for the most immediate investigation, namely, the charge of a foul, deliberate, and cruel murder. In this charge was also included another person, not a member of either house of parliament; for whose account, also, much anxiety must be felt, though he had not the honour even of a slight personal acquaintance with him, namely, Mr. Henry Wellesley. But, from the nature of the charges altogether, and more especially the last, it became absolutely necessary, that an early investigation should now take place. If the hon. gent. had named any day for such an enquiry, it would not be his wish to take it out of his hands: for the present, however, he should move, "That the Article of Charge, of high Crimes and Misdemeanours committed by marquis Wellesley, in his transactions with respect to the nabob vizier of Oude, which was delivered in at the table, and read upon the 28th day of May last, be taken into consideration upon to-morrow fortnight, the 18th day of this instant June." If the hon. gent. should then have any motion to submit to the house upon the subject, he would have an opportunity of doing so. If not, he (lord Temple) should certainly propose a motion on the subject.

Mr. *Paull* adverted to the precedent of Mr. Burke's proceedings against Mr. Hastings; and said, that that right hon. gent., after 5 years' deliberation, and repeated motions, had, upon the 4th of April, 1786, laid on the table 7 articles of charge against Mr. Hastings; on the 12th of April, he laid 4 more; and, on the 7th of May, 3 more; and, notwithstanding the right hon. gent. had taken 5 years to deliberate upon his purpose; that he had the benefit of the reports of the secret committee, of various papers he moved for, and of evidence examined at the bar for the proof of his charges; yet it was not in less than 6 weeks afterwards, that he moved the house to any proceeding upon those charges. Now, he had given notice only the preceding day, that he had witnesses to examine; and had, also, moved for a number of papers, many of which were absolutely necessary in support of the charges alluded to by the noble lord. Let those witnesses be examined at the bar; let those papers be produced in proper time; and he should not have the smallest objection to proceed to the investigation on the day proposed. Indeed, it was his intention to have moved for that day, if the testimony and documents had been fairly before the house; but, until they were, he should not be induced to move one step to the right or to the left, or to move one degree quicker or slower, in consequence of the noble lord's motion, or of any importunity from the friends of lord Wellesley.

Lord *Archibald Hamilton* could not let pass some expressions which had fallen from the noble lord, without making a few observations upon them. The noble lord had complained, that the charges of the hon. gent. went to impeach the private character of lord Wellesley, for acts merely of public and official conduct; and that he had applied to the noble marquis, personally, every atrocious epithet, of tyranny, cruelty, oppression, plunder, and even of murder, for acts done in his public and official situation. But he must conceive it impossible, that such could have been the purpose of the hon. gent.; and as to the charge of murder, he did not conceive it to be put by the hon. gent. in the way it was imputed. But really, if, in bringing forward charges such as those now on the table of the house, and every tittle of which his lordship conceived to be warranted by the documents already brought forward in support of them, a member was to be restrained in the use of such language, and such epithets, as were usual in expressing opinions extremely natural to his feelings, upon such circumstances as those charged, lest the private character of the party accused should be supposed to be implicated in his public conduct, it would be impossible for any man to devise a becoming language for bringing before that house criminal charges against public delinquency in any man.

Sir *John Newport* expressed some surprise, how the noble lord who spoke last, if he had read the charges upon the table, could so far mistake that particular charge, which related to murder, as to say the crime was not roundly and specifically charged against the noble marquis, in conjunction with others. The hon. bart. here read an extract from the charge; which stated, that the said marquis, in conjunction with Henry Wellesley, had, with numbers of armed men, surrounded the mansions of certain zemindars and rajahs, the subjects of the nabob of Oude, and within his dominions; and did attack, slay, and destroy, several of the said rajah's zemindars, and their attendants and adherents; and did sack and plunder their said mansions of their property; thus completing the measure of his oppression and tyranny, by a foul, deliberate, wanton, and cruel murder. If this, then, was not a charge of murder, couched in as strong words as had ever appeared in the language of an indictment, he was at a loss to conceive what words could describe it more strongly.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* rose, to express some surprise at the declaration made by the noble lord who spoke last but one; namely, that he thought the charges against the noble marquis, his relation, borne out by the documents already laid upon the table; and more especially as the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) had said, only the moment before, that he could not sustain those charges, without several other documents, which he had moved for; and also, the examination of several witnesses at the bar. It was very extraordinary, therefore, that the noble lord should pronounce so decidedly upon the truth of charges (which, however, remained to be proved), that his hon. friend, who brought them forward, declared he was not able to sustain without much more evidence. With respect to the charge of murder, however, it was one of too foul and atrocious a nature to be suffered to go forth unexplained, or remain as a stain upon the character of his noble relation, without placing the circumstances, upon which it was founded, in a proper point of view. There were certain officers, called zemindars and rajahs, resident in that part of the nabob's territory which was ceded to the company in 1801, and rendered liable to pay certain tributes, in the way of land-tax upon that territory, annually, to the company. The first year's tribute they did pay, he believed, regularly; and the regulations of the company, which were the laws of the country, were promulgated and established in that territory; but, upon the 2d payment being required, instead of complying with the law, they combined to resist it: they assembled together their armed forces, under the chief command of an officer named Amas Ali Khan; they retired to their forts; they set the laws at defiance; they refused to pay any tribute; and it was found necessary by the governor-general, in support of the laws, to reduce those men by force. So formidable were they, that it required the whole of the Bengal army, with the commander-in-chief at their head, to effect this service. They were attacked in their forts, and, in the course of their obstinate resistance, some persons fell; some blood was spilt; and this was what the hon. gent. imputed to the noble marquis as a murder. It was an act of public power, done in support of the laws of the country, like what would have been done against any class of British subjects, in similar resistance to the laws passed by that house; and the house would judge how far it was just to describe such a measure by the epithet of murder.

Lord *A. Hamilton* explained, that when he said the charge was warranted by the papers on the table, he could not be supposed to mean that it was proved. This was quite a different thing.

Mr. *Golding* said, a charge of murder was as well warranted against the lord lieutenant of Ireland, for the death of the rebels, slain in the suppression of the late insurrections in that country; or against the magistrates of London, and the ministers of the time, for the death of those killed in the suppression of the riots in 1780.

Mr. *Fox* submitted whether this was a time to enter upon the merits of the case; and expressed his hope, that the subject would be dismissed for the present.

Dr. *Laurence* said, that it was impossible, in a case of this kind, to fix a particular day. The house could not, with any propriety, proceed to the consideration of the charge, till the whole of the evidence was before them. Papers had been moved for, which had been suppressed by the late board of controul, and had not yet been produced.

Lord *Castlereagh* complained of the illiberal manner in which he had been treated by the hon. and learned gent., who said that he had suppressed papers, when he had only exercised a proper discretion, thinking that the communication would be injurious to the public service. He thought the learned gent. ought rather to have made a specific motion on the subject, and then he should be prepared to defend himself. These papers would not certainly justify the expression in the charge.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that the papers in question related to troops and forts, and other matters of public notoriety, and were, therefore, the worst grounds in the world for the exercise of this discretion. As he was on his legs, he must say, that the word "murder" was improperly applied.

Lord *H. Petty* agreed with his right hon. friend (Mr. Fox), that this was a most improper time for entering on the merits of the case; and hoped, therefore, that the subject would be dropped.—The motion was then put and carried.

[EXEMPTIONS FROM TAXES.] Lord *Henry Petty* rose, and stated, that a very general misconception prevailed as to the exemptions to be allowed to persons having small incomes and large families. The measure which he intended to propose on that subject, was completely distinct from the Property tax; and his object was to frame it in such a manner, that it should not be liable to the same objections as exemptions under the property tax. He might not have been misunderstood in that house; but a wrong impressiom had been conveyed to the public by other channels. It was painful to him to be misconceived on this point; and he now stated the matter again, in hopes that the wrong impression would be done away. The proposed relief would be afforded on a footing entirely distinct, and not liable to the objections which had been stated against any farther exemptions to be afforded under the Property tax.

Mr. *Long* wished to know, whether the proposed relief was to be afforded in the Assessed taxes?

Lord *H. Petty* was not prepared to state precisely; but the relief would be, at least, partly on the Assessed taxes, and would be in proportion of all children above two.

Mr. *Wilberforce* stated his satisfaction at this proposed regulation.

[CORN INTERCOURSE BILL.] Sir *J. Newport* rose with peculiar satisfaction on the present occasion; as he was convinced it would be sufficient merely to state the measure, of which he had given notice, to ensure the full concurrence of the house. This measure, in which he was supported by the authority of his majesty's ministers, went to lay open the intercourse in grain between Great Britain and Ireland; and, he trusted, it would be merely a prelude to that free interchange of every other commodity between the two countries, which was so much to be desired. With regard to grain, an article of the first necessity, there could be no doubt that one part of the united kingdom should assist another whenever occasion demanded it; and the only way of preventing an undue rise in the price of the commodity in any part of the country was, to remove every limit and obstruction in the way of its interchange. The measure, which he should propose, would place all the ports of the united kingdom exactly on the same footing, with regard to importation or exportation, as the different ports of Great Britain were at present, with regard to one another. It was earnestly to be wished, that the union between the two countries should become every day more close; and that the channel which divided them should no longer be considered as a barrier, but as a bond of union, and the medium of mutual and beneficial intercourse.—He then moved for leave to bring in a bill, for making the Intercourse in Grain, between Great Britain and Ireland, free and unrestrained.

[MUTINY BILL.] Mr. Alexander having appeared at the bar, with the report of the committee on the Mutiny bill, on the question that it be brought up,

Mr. *S. Bourne* rose, not for the purpose of discussing this subject at present; but to give notice, that, on the 3d reading, if no member anticipated him, it was his intention to move an amendment, that no men should be discharged in time of war. As he was on his legs, he would observe, that, 3 months ago, the right hon. secretary for the war department had received the orders of the house, to bring in a bill for the discontinuance of the Ballot, and for the better Defence of the Realm. As this was a late period of the session, he wished to ask the right hon. gent. whether or not it was his intention to bring forward this bill?

Mr. Secretary *Windham* expressed his intention of bringing this bill in on Thursday. In answer to some observations from sir W. Elford, relative to the Ballot for Militia, the right hon. secretary said, that it was not his intention to propose the abolishment of the ballot; but that when regiments had been reduced to the proposed establishment, vacancies occurring in them should not, for the present, be filled up by ballot, but by recruiting.

Sir *J. Pulteney* gave notice, that on the 3d reading he should propose an amendment for confining the limited service to the 2d battalions.—The report was then brought up and agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 5.

[MINUTES.] The Irish Customs bill, the Irish Revenue Regulation bill, and the Irish Malt bill, were read a 3d time and passed, and a message sent to the commons to acquaint them therewith.—The Property Duty bill, and the Irish Additional Force Repeal bill, were read a 2d time.—The duke of Montrose moved for some accounts respecting the Commerce of Dominica, with reference to the Tortola Free-Port bill, which were ordered.—Earl Spencer adverted to the order which stood for the next day, with reference to the motions which his noble friend (lord Grenville) had given notice of his intention to bring forward, relative to the Administration of Justice in Scotland. His noble friend, in consequence of indisposition, would be unable to be in his place the next day; and, therefore, he wished to postpone the order till the next day se'nnight, when his noble friend would probably be enabled to attend. The order for summoning their lordships for the next day was discharged, and renewed for the next day se'nnight.—The order for the attendance of witnesses, relative to the case of Mr. Justice Fox, which stood for the next day, was, on the motion of lord Walsingham, discharged, and renewed for Wednesday next, on which day the lords were ordered to be summoned.—Strangers were ordered to withdraw; and their lordships resumed the consideration of the evidence adduced on the trial of lord viscount Melville. The judges attended, and delivered their opinion, in answer to the questions referred to them on Tuesday. The discussion afterwards continued till half past eleven o'clock, when the further consideration of the subject was deferred till the next day.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 5.

[MINUTES.] Mr. D. Davenport took the oaths and his seat for Cheshire, in the room of Mr. Egerton, deceased.—The Customs Fees Abolition bill was brought up, and read a first time.—The house resolved itself into a committee on the Scotch Distillery acts. Mr Vansittart stated various inconveniences, that arose from the present mode of collecting the duties on distilleries in Scotland; and concluded by moving, that they should be collected in the form mentioned in the resolutions which he was about to propose. These were handed to the chairman (Mr. Hobhouse), who took the sense of the committee, whether, as the particulars were to appear on the Votes, he should then read them. The sense of the house being against reading the particulars then; the resolutions were agreed to, and the house resumed.—Mr. Foster rose, pursuant to notice, to move for papers relative to the Corn Trade. He accordingly moved for several accounts respecting the quantity of corn, flour, &c. imported and exported, between Great Britain and Ireland, for the last 12 years; the drawbacks and bounties allowed, during the same period, for exports and imports of corn, to and from Great Britain and Ireland, and the American colonies; together with the average prices; which were ordered accordingly.—Lord Castlereagh moved for so much of a letter, dated the 4th of December, 1800, of the court of directors to the Bengal government, as related to the transactions in Oude. Ordered.—Mr. Paull moved for the production of the correspondence of the Bengal government with col. Scott, respecting the arrangements made by marquis Wellesley, pursuant to the treaty of Lucknow concluded in 1801. These papers had before been moved for; but there were thirteen omissions in the correspondence, all of them, in his opinion, of importance. Lord Castlereagh, after what had passed the preceding night, trusted that he might be allowed to state how the matter stood. Strictly speaking, the late board of controul was not a party to the return at all, for it had been made by the present board; therefore, if there was any thing improper in the discretion exercised, the present board was responsible. But he had no objection to state what would have been the course, had they continued in office. They had determined to keep back part of the papers; but left them in such a state, that their successors might judge for themselves. However, he had stated, confidentially, to the hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Creevey) his views upon the subject: they wished to withhold that part which related to the private character of the nabob vizier, which they considered it as disrespectful to him to publish. They, therefore, set aside five letters. There were, also, four or five paragraphs kept out of different papers, because they were to be found in other papers presented, and the reasons were stated in marginal notes. He had no objection, however, to the production of the omitted paragraphs, if the hon. gent. wished to have them. Lord Morpeth said, that they had thought of withholding some papers, as being private and confidential; but if the hon. gent. was of opinion that they would support his cause, he might have them. As to the letters respecting the private character of the nabob vizier, he thought that extracts from these would answer his purpose. Mr. Creevey agreed in what had been said by his noble friend.—Mr. Paull said, that he had come to the knowledge of these papers from the dispatch of the directors; and contended, that such as he called for would not injure the character of the nabob. He thought, therefore, that the whole should be produced. He did not stand up for the character of the nabob vizier; but a more correct and dignified conduct had never been displayed by any European prince. From the oppression and tyranny which he had suffered, he had, to be sure, resorted to means to kill care; and if, by these means, he was unfitted for the management of his affairs, it was an additional reason why the papers should be produced. He then read one of the omissions from a letter in his hand; which one lord Castlereagh pointed out in the printed papers. But Mr. Paull insisted, that the tendency and bearing were different in the letters. Sir Arthur Wellesley had no objection to the production of the papers in question, on the part of marquis Wellesley. They would even be of advantage to his noble relation; but his cause did not need their support; and, therefore, he thought that those relating to the private conduct of the nabob ought to be suppressed, because it ought to be considered that he was a mussulman, and the publication might do him a great deal of injury in his own country. After a few words from Mr. Wallace, the motion was put and carried.—Sir John Sinclair called the attention of the house to the subject of the state of the highways and broad-wheeled waggons. He was of opinion, from the statements of an ingenious mechanic, and other circumstances, that various improvements might be made in this respect. He would, therefore, move for a committee, to consider the acts relative to the highways and broad-wheeled waggons, with a view to form proper regulations on this point, and report to the house. Mr. Curwen seconded the motion, and a committee was accordingly appointed.

[Affairs of India—Oude Charge.] Mr. *Paull* gave notice that, on the 10th of June, he would move the consideration of the Oude charge. The speaker observed, that it was his duty to say, that the 18th of June had already been appointed for that purpose; and though an order might be postponed, it could not, according to the practice of the house, be accelerated. Mr. Paull said, that the house had not been brought into this dilemma by him.

Mr. *Fox* requested the speaker to read the question again: and, having heard it, said, that the thing was impossible: an order might be postponed, but not accelerated; and he did not know what the hon. gent. meant.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* said, that, as the noble lord was not in the house, who moved the consideration of the charge on the 18th, he would propose, that the hon. gent. should, in the mean time, call his witnesses, and examine them at the bar.

Mr. *Paull* then moved, that the 18th be inserted instead of the 10th of June

Mr. *Fox* said, that the 18th had already been fixed upon; but the hon. gent. might move, that his witnesses should attend on the 18th.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* observed, that the noble lord, who proposed the 18th, did it with a view to have a decision on that day. For his part, he only wished to have a decision this session. The hon. gent. might call his evidence on the 10th, if consistent with the orders of the house; and it might be considered on the 18th. He hoped, at all events, that the matter would not be delayed beyond the present session.

Mr. *Fox* observed that, whatever might be the wishes of the hon. general, they could not supersede the established rules of the house. Evidence might be laid on the table; but oral evidence could only be taken when the subject was under consideration. The order then was, to consider it further and further, as there should appear occasion. Though the hon. gent. moved that his witnesses should be called on the 18th; yet it was not to be understood, that they were therefore to be heard. He concluded by declaring, that though the forms of the house could not be violated, yet that every facility ought to be given to the business, that the time of the house, and the interests of substantial justice, would allow.

Mr. *Paull* said, that no one had ever, in a similar situation, proceeded so rapidly as he had done. There should be no delay on his part.

Mr. *Francis* wished to know whether the hearing of evidence was equivalent to the taking a thing into consideration? If printed evidence was received before the period of entering upon the consideration of a subject, why should not oral evidence? If we could get over this difficulty, the evidence might be heard in the mean time.

Mr. *Fox* replied that, by the forms of the house, oral evidence could not be received, except when a subject was under consideration, and this was the case: he apprehended, for these, among other reasons, that proper limits might be set to the evidence, and that the members might have it as fresh as possible in their recollection.

Mr. *Paull* then moved, that the following gentlemen be ordered to attend the house on the 18th, viz. lord Teignmouth, general sir Alured Clarke, gen. sir J. Craig, lieut. col. Edward Baynes, major-general St. Leger, col. Alex. Kidd, and H. Strachey, esq.

Sir *Henry Strachey* said, that Mr. Strachey was under orders for India; and that it would be hard, if he should be detained by order of the house.

Mr. *Paull* said, that this gentleman had been private secretary to the governor, during the transactions at Furruckabad and other places, and must, of course, be well acquainted with them. But he would still waive the order as to him, if it would occasion him any serious inconvenience; it being understood, however, that he was to attend, if he should not have quitted the country. Upon this, Mr. Strachey was struck out of the motion; which was then agreed to.

[Corn Intercourse Bill.] The house, on the motion of sir J. Newport, resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration the propriety of a motion for leave to bring in a bill to establish a free intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, in the mutual export and import of certain species of grain between the two countries. The house accordingly resolved into a committee.

Mr. *Foster* rose and observed, that there were some difficulties in the way of such a bill, which, unless satisfactorily obviated, would present insurmountable objections to its being passed into a law. At present, the corn trades of both countries were regulated under acts of parliament, respectively, which established, in each country, an average rate of price for the different species of grain; which average being attained in the home market, the ports were closed against exportation, and opened for importation; and below which price exportation was permitted, and importation precluded. This regulation was made with a view to prevent an excessive price of the necessary of life to the home consumer; and, at the same time, to allow every reasonable advantage to the agricultural interests in each kingdom. Now, by the proposed bill, as far as he was enabled to conjecture, although the price of corn in England should be above the average which admitted of exportation, yet the price in Ireland might be so much cheaper, as to admit the continuance of exports from thence; and, therefore, by the proposed bill, which, he understood, was to allow the free interchange of corn between both countries, without bounty or duty, the English merchant who wished to elude the law, and export British corn to foreign countries, would have nothing to do but consign it through the medium of Ireland; and, *vice versâ*, so might the Irish merchant elude the law of that country, by exporting through England. The only mode by which, in his contemplation, such mischievous consequences could be avoided, would be to restrain and regulate the corn trade of both countries by one general average from the mass of prices in both. The average in England was taken from a comparison of twelve districts; the Scotch trade was regulated by the British standard; and the Irish, by an average of the prices in every part of the kingdom. Now, by regulating the general export rate in all the ports of the united kingdom, from an average of the whole mass of prices, collectively, the evil would be obviated, which would, otherwise, be unavoidable, under the proposed bill.

Mr. *Weston* expressed his readiness to give to Ireland every boon and advantage, not actually inconsistent with the fair interests of Great Britain; and observed that, although so much had not been granted as was sought about two years since, yet he believed, that what had then been granted had been of considerable advantage to Ireland. He did not, at present, see any objection to the proposed measure, particularly if under the regulations and restrictions suggested by the right hon. gent. who had just sat down; but he hoped it would be considered as a boon to Ireland.

Sir *John Newport* was ready to admit, that what had been already done for Ireland, on this head, had been of mutual advantage to both countries, and of as much to this as to Ireland: the great exporting grain from this country to Ireland was barley; of which, in the last year, the quantity was 110,000 quarters; and the principal grain exported from Ireland to England and Scotland, was oats; of which the quantity was very great indeed, beyond the supply afforded by their own produce for their necessary consumption; and, therefore, the interchange of these grains, alone, would be a considerable accommodation to the agriculture and consumption of both nations. He was very willing thankfully to acknowledge, on the part of Ireland, any boon conferred by this country; but, at the same time, it must not be forgotten, that every such boon, so conferred upon the agriculture of Ireland, was given to the best customer this country had in Europe for her manufactures.

Mr. *Foster* begged leave to add a few words, in order to ascertain, beyond misconception, the object he had in view. In the way of the suggestion he had proposed, and which, he understood, was admitted, there were certainly difficulties, but not insurmountable ones. The average prices of corn in Ireland, by which its export and import were to be regulated, could be communicated to every outport in the kingdom in five days after quarter-day. Nearly the same expedition could be obtained, in a similar communication, to the outports of Great Britain, with respect to the average prices here: but, in placing both countries mutually under the same regulations, a longer delay must necessarily occur. Much of the difficulty, however, would be removed, by consulting the aid of experienced and practical men; which might be done during the progress of the bill.—Lord Archibald Hamilton said a few words in approbation of the measure; after which sir John Newport moved, that the chairman be instructed to move the house for leave to bring in the bill; which was agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, June 6.

[MINUTES.] The Irish First Fruits bill was read a 3d time and passed; and a message sent to the commons, to acquaint them therewith.—The Property Duty bill, the Irish Sugar bill, and the Irish Additional Force Repeal bill, passed through committees, and were reported.—Lord Auckland presented the report of the board of trade made in 1784, relative to the trade between the West Indies and America; which was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.—Strangers were ordered to withdraw; and the consideration of the evidence adduced on the trial of lord viscount Melville was resumed. Their lordships continued in discussion till eleven o'clock; when the further consideration of the subject was deferred till Monday, on which day the judges were again ordered to attend.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 6.

[MINUTES.] Lord Muncaster took the oaths, and his seat for the county of Westmoreland, in the room of sir Michael Le

Fleming, deceased.—A message from the lords acquainted the house, that the lords had agreed to the Irish First Fruits bill, the Irish Revenue Collection bill, and the Irish Malt Duty Regulation bill, without any amendment.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, there was ordered to be laid before the house, a report of the experiments made to ascertain the comparative strength of malt, barley, and bigg, in Scotland. He then brought up the report, and on account of the accuracy and importance of the experiments which it detailed, moved, that the report be printed; which was ordered accordingly.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee of the whole house, containing certain resolutions respecting duties on distillers in Scotland, and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report on the Dublin Paving bill, and the bill was ordered to be read a third time on Monday next.

[ABANDONMENT OF THE TAX ON PRIVATE BREWERS.] Lord H. Petty moved the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of ways and means, for the purpose of postponing it to Monday next. The order of the day being read,

Lord *Henry Petty* felt it necessary, before he should move that the house do resolve itself into that committee on Monday next, to say a few words with respect to the motion which it had been his intention to submit to the house in the committee this day, but which he deemed it expedient to postpone for the present. He begged it, however, to be understood, that any change that had taken place in his mind on this subject, had not arisen from any idea of abandonment of the principle of the tax, the equity and fairness of which were in his mind indisputable. The more he considered the tax on Private Brewers, the more his attention was directed to it; the more he had enquired into the merits of the question and weighed the grounds of objection to it, the more he was convinced of the justice of the principle, and of the policy of applying that principle, in such a manner as would render its operation impartial but efficient. With a view, however, to render the operation of the tax as equitable as the nature of circumstances would admit, he felt it to be his duty to give the subject a mature, deliberate, and even a slow consideration; and on this ground, but not because he thought of abandoning the tax, he proposed to defer bringing it forward till next year, when, if he continued in the situation which he at present had the honour to fill, he should think it his duty to submit this subject to the house in the Ways and Means for the ensuing year. He was not prepared then to say, whether it would be in the shape of an Assessed Tax, or of a Duty on Malt, with a drawback of the duty to the public brewer. In order to make up for the estimated produce of the tax thus to be deferred, he proposed to avail himself of the Assessed Taxes, upon which it was his intention to move an addition of 10 per cent. in the Committee of Ways and Means on Monday next. He thought it right also to state, in that instance, that the measure proposed for the relief of persons having low incomes and large families, was to be consolidated with the bill for this increase of the assessed taxes, if the house should agree to his motion. The noble lord then moved, that the house do resolve itself into the said Committee on Monday. On the question being put,

Mr. *Coke* expressed his astonishment and surprise at what had just fallen from the noble lord, 'that the more he considered the tax, the more he was convinced of its justice and expediency.' For himself, the more he considered it, the more he was convinced of its severity and oppression. He deeply lamented the necessity of opposing any of the measures brought forward by his majesty's present ministers, who had his entire confidence, and who, in his opinion, if the country was to be saved, were the only men that could effect that salvation. He had been thirty years a member of parliament, and had uniformly voted on the other side of the house, and conscientiously. It would be with regret, therefore, that he should oppose men whom he knew and loved; but he should be obliged by a sense of his duty to oppose this tax, as it appeared to him to be a boon to a certain class of men (the public brewers), but whether they deserved that boon or not by the quality of the article they supplied to the public, it was not his wish to discuss.

Sir *R. Buxton*, who had from the first considered the tax as objectionable, was glad to hear, that the measure of introducing the excise into private families had been finally abandoned. But he was extremely sorry to learn, that the noble lord intended to persist in the measure, and again to bring it forward next year; though he trusted that he would, in the mean time, see reason to alter his determination.

Lord *Henry Petty* was sorry to find, that what had been stated by him on first proposing the tax to the house, had been so grossly misrepresented, as well as that the subject of excise should again be adverted to, after he had distinctly stated to the house his intention, in case of his bringing forward the tax, to omit the excise clause altogether. Nothing that he had said, could warrant the misrepresentations that had been made at public meetings on this subject. No man was more averse than himself, nor had it ever entered into his head to carry the system of excise into private families. His object had been merely to give an option to families so circumstanced as to make such option desirable: he had, however, on finding that considerable difficulties were felt with respect to the introduction of the excise at all, determined to omit that part of the proposed arrangement. The principle on which the tax rested, was to make all descriptions of the consumers of beer contribute to the tax.

Mr. *Baker* had objected to the introduction of the excise in the first instance, and had felt much of his objections obviated by the giving up that part of the measure. He agreed with his hon. friend (Mr. Coke) in the wish not to be obliged to oppose the measures of his majesty's ministers; but he could not go the length with him in saying, that they were the only set of men that could save the country. He had been above thirty years in parliament; during which period, he had voted sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. He could not place in the present ministers the same implicit confidence with his hon. friend; and, from the experience of the last twelve years, he was sure, that some individuals amongst them were not intitled to that confidence.

Mr. *Long* thought the option of being excised or not, was no relief or accommodation whatever to the private man; for, if he did not accept the option, he must be liable to all the same penalties as the common brewer. With regard to the proposed addition of 10 per cent. on the Assessed Taxes, it deserved to be considered, whether the increase might not be pushed so far, as to counteract the very purpose in view, and to diminish, instead of increasing, their general produce. At the same time, this substitute met with his comparative approbation.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* was of opinion, that the tax in question was a good one, as putting the private brewer only on a footing of equality with the other consumers of beer. All that part of the measure which related to the excise, was intended to be dropped; but he must say, that it only meant that every person should have his option; and that if, on the principle, *volenti non fit injuria*, any man should choose to submit to all the inconveniences of the excise, instead of paying on the scale of the assessed taxes, he might be at liberty to enjoy his option. This was all that was intended by the word "accommodation" which had been used, and on which the right hon. gent. who spoke last, had dwelt. But, on the whole, whatever might be his opinion with regard to the tax, he was glad that it was postponed for the present. In the difficulties in which the country was placed, we could only make choice of the least of two evils, and it became necessary for the house to consider, principally, what tax might be the least objectionable. With regard to the addition to the assessed taxes, there was reason to believe that it would be productive in some degree. It would be found impossible to avoid pressing, either more immediately, or more remotely, on the poorer classes of society. Even the assessed taxes must have this effect to a certain extent.

Mr. *Wilberforce* observed, that had the tax been persisted in, he should have congratulated the house, that the part respecting the excise had been left out; but he now felt still more gratified that the noble lord had relinquished the measure, at least for the present; and he must say, that the conduct of the noble lord on this occasion had increased that respect which he had uniformly felt for his character. He had shown, that he remembered that he was the financier of a free country, and that the general stock of good will towards the government should not be diminished. Had the tax been persisted in, he should not have opposed it, as he had already resisted a preceding measure, which he considered as hostile to the manufactures of the country; but he should have regretted the effects which he feared it would have had in many parts of the country, where it was common for families to brew their own beer—a practice which he should ever consider as equally favourable to comfort and sobriety, and as deserving of every encouragement. In the main, he considered the proposed addition of 10 per cent. on the assessed taxes as an excellent measure; though it might, perhaps, be better to make the increase greater on some of these taxes than on others. A very considerable increase on the tax on men servants, for instance, would never bear hard on the poorer classes of society.

Mr. *Johnstone* expressed his astonishment and regret, that the noble lord should have abandoned a former tax, and relinquished the present, while nothing hitherto had been imposed for payment of the interest of the loan, except the trifling tax on appraisements and on tobacco, &c. He contended, that the principle of the tax was good; and that it only required courage and perseverance, on the part of the noble lord, to render it productive. He quoted the words of Dr. Adam Smith, who had, long ago, recommended a tax precisely similar; though he had proposed, that the duty should rather be imposed on the malt, than on the private brewer. On the whole, he conceived, that ministers had thought the relinquishment of the measure necessary for the support of the military plans of their right hon. colleague, and not produced by any conviction of its hurtful tendency.

Mr. *Tyrwhit Jones* thought that, had the tax been persisted in, the present ministers would have become as unpopular as any who had ever gone before them. He would advise the noble lord, however, to revert to the tax on iron, in preference to an increase of the assessed taxes.

Sir *W. W. Wynne* observed, that private brewers generally used double the quantity of malt and hops to that consumed by the public brewer, for producing the same quantity of beer; and, therefore, as much expence attended the private brewer, as the consumer of beer from public breweries. Besides, it was not always in the option of an individual to have recourse to public brewers: he could state that, in the whole principality of Wales, there was only one man of that description.

Mr. *W. Smith* considered the clamour that had been raised against the tax, as unnecessary and excessive. He thought, that if the people of that part of the country, with which the last hon. gent. who spoke was connected, put less malt into their beer, both their health and their morals would be improved by the change.

Sir *W. W. Wynne*, in reply, observed that they used malt and hops; which the public brewers did not.

Mr. *Calvert* was not aware of any peculiar pressure on the labouring poor, which had been produced by taxes lately imposed. The demand for labour had increased; and with it, the increase of wages; but the middle ranks of society had felt the pressure much more severely.

Mr. *Rose* thought, that the situation of the public brewer was not such as called for favour and protection, by imposing a countervailing duty on private brewers. The quantity of malt used by the public brewer was inconsiderable, when compared with that used by the private brewer. It had been found, that the porter brewers of London produced three barrels and a half of beer from eight bushels; while the private brewer required ten bushels to produce a hogshead. It had been calculated, that the public brewers produced as much from 2,400,000 bushels, as the private brewers from 7 millions of bushels. He could not, therefore, see how the public would gain, by throwing the production of beer principally into the hands of the brewers; as what might be gained by the increase of the duty on beer, might be lost by the defalcation of that on malt.

Mr. *Whitbread* declared, that the concern to which he belonged did not produce their beer in the proportions by the hon. gent. who spoke last. So far as he recollected, the hon. gentleman's statement was not even correct; for the quantity there alluded to was not 3½, but 3¼ barrels. But, even in that proportion, he asserted that the calculation did not apply to the house in which he was concerned. Surely, however, it must be seen, that the public brewer must know little of his trade, and make little of his capital, if he could not produce a better article out of a smaller quantity of malt and hops than a private brewer could.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* confirmed the correctness of this calculation; and observed, that the public brewer had great advantages over the private, in respect of the quantity from the same materials, arising from superior skill and machinery.—It was then ordered, that the house resolve itself into a committee of ways and means on Monday next.

[MUTINY BILL.] Mr. Secretary Windham having moved the order of the day for the third reading of the Mutiny bill, Mr. *Wallace* said, that his first and leading objection to the bill was, that it was a violent infraction of the undoubted prerogative of the crown, which the constitution of the country had invested with the power of enlisting forces for such a time of service as his majesty might think proper. What was still more, it even precluded the king from the exercise of his prerogative, in giving a negative to the measure, as it was tacked to the Mutiny bill, to which his majesty must give his assent, or leave his dominions without an army. He could not conceive what was to be gained by making that pledge different from what the soldier had from the crown, and that which he was to have from the parliament; but the mischievous tendency of degrading the crown, and taking away that responsibility which parliament ought to have over any bad and wicked ministers, who might be disposed to abuse the authority vested in them. He was at a loss which most to admire, the boldness of the right hon. secretary, in proposing so strange a plan, or his tardiness in bringing it forward. He had not done away by it any thing that was likely to affect the feelings of the existing army. There could, indeed be no doubt of their loyalty and attachment; but it should, at the same time, be considered, that the army was composed of men alive and quick to every sense of injury. According to the doctrine of the right hon. secretary himself, the men were brought into the situation of soldiers by a system of fraud, intoxication, crimping, and every sort of indirection. He says to them, "You have fought our battles, you have exalted the fame of the British army, you have covered the country with glory; but you shall not have the benefit of the present measure." Let the house then judge what must be the feelings of men who found themselves so treated. He should have less objection to the measure, if the new levies were to be placed in separate corps, where no jealousies would arise amongst them; but as the thing was to be constituted now, one man in the ranks of a corps would have a great advantage over his comrade. In the present state of the army, there was no ground for invidious comparisons; but under the new plan, it was quite different, as one set of men might quit the army at certain periods, or towards the close of their terms force their officers to relax their discipline, in order to retain them; whereas, another set were compelled to remain, and placed altogether on a different footing from their companions. Reasoning of this kind, he was aware might be represented as preaching discontent, but that should not prevent him from stating objections which must be obvious to every man. It was, indeed, a strange complaint to come from that side of the house, from gentlemen, the greatest part of whose lives had been spent in a perpetual and systematic opposition to every measure proceeding from the government. He, himself, could recollect one of those gentlemen doubting the morality of the people submitting to the law, and saying, that it would be a question of prudence or discretion; and if so, how could he or his friends now complain of the statement of objections which were in the mouths of every one? The distinction between the army and the navy on this occasion was not to be overlooked, and was very proper to be stated in debate, as it was difficult to find a reason why advantages should be given to the one and denied to the other. Upon a question of such moment it was to be lamented that the house was not in possession of the opinions given by military authorities on the subject. It might well be doubted, whether, in changing the condition of the soldier, you did not change his character. The right hon. secretary said, that by the advantages now held out, the army would obtain a better description of persons than usually entered the service; but upon what that expectation was founded, he knew not, for he believed it would not be contended that the army was not at present in as good a state as it was capable of being placed. He did not see any advantage that could arise from blending the characters of the soldier and the citizen; on the contrary, he thought they would be much better kept seperate, as they were in all other countries, which kept up large military establishments. Another reason why he objected to the measure was, that we had heretofore in this country tried the experiment of limited service, both as to time and space, and had not derived any advantage from it, as was fully evinced by the Army of Reserve, and the Additional Force act, both of which proved unproductive, whilst they injured the recruiting for the standing army. But what was to him the most objectionable of all was, that he saw no necessity whatever for recurring to a measure of the kind. It would be productive, as had been most clearly shewn by his noble friend (lord Castlereagh), and others, of great and unexampled expences, and would incur the risk of injuring, if not of totally destroying the discipline of the army. In foreign service, the men must be brought home at the expiration of their several terms of service, which would be attended with almost incalculable expence, and abundant trouble; besides, it would have this certain and very important disadvantage attached to it, that the army would continually be in a state of suffering, by being obliged to part with the very best men of which it was composed, of those also who had been longest in the service, who were the best disciplined and most inured to the climates, which men must be replaced by raw recruits, men who had seen no service, and who, from not being inured to the climate, were likely to suffer infinitely more from the ravages of that, than from the sword of the enemy; and then we should have to provide annually for a very extraordinary number of casualties, to the amount of several thousands a year, which would render it very difficult to keep the army at its full and complete establishment. He could not but feel, with his noble friend, the vast weight of this enormous expence, at a time when the country was so ill able to bear it, and when every expence that could possibly be avoided, ought to be so. It had been said, that if the plan did not succeed, it was easy to recede from it, but he thought very differently on that head. They would find, on the contrary, a very great difficulty in any attempt to recede from it.

Mr. *Wilberforce* declared, that he had not been able, till lately, to turn his attention to the consideration of this question; but upon considering it, he was convinced that it had been truly said, that it should not be considered merely as a military question, but as an appeal to the great principles of human nature, which gentlemen, who had not the advantage of a military education, might be competent to decide. In the consideration that he had thought it his duty to give to the subject, he had perused several of the military treatises which had lately been written, one by an hon. member of that house (General Stuart), and another professing to be a discussion of the present state of the English army, and both these treatises met with his decided approbation. This was a circumstance which he only mentioned, that the house might not suppose he rose to speak upon a military question, without having previously taken any pains to inform his judgment. It was allowed on all hands, that the great question at present, was to increase the regular army. Gentlemen might differ as to the degree of necessity for the increase, but to him it appeared that a considerable increase of our regular army was necessary, to enable us to resist the enemy. If this country once possessed a large regular army, its naval power would give it great advantages in the use of it. If the enquiry, then, were simply to find out the most effectual means of increasing the regular army, the argument of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) appeared perfectly fair, when he supposed that the same measures should be taken to induce men to enter into the army, as would be taken to induce persons to enter into any other occupation where hands were wanting. The greatest inducement that could be held out was hope. Hope was the great stimulus to every exertion; and mankind were so constituted, that their happiness was more in the pursuit of a distant advantage, than in the actual enjoyment of it when it should be obtained. It was upon this great principle of human nature, that the nations which had most excelled in military renown, had wisely formed institutions which facilitated the advancement of men from the lowest ranks to the highest situations. Although from the measure as proposed by his right hon friend, he hoped a great deal, and anticipated much good, yet he considered that the positive inducement to men to enter into the army must come from some other source. At present, whatever inducements there were to enter the military life, were balanced by the consideration that it is a step which can never be recalled, "vestigia nulla retrorsum." They were also opposed by the opinions of parents and friends, who considered a young man ruined and lost to his family and friends for ever, should he embrace the life of a soldier. He considered then, that the principal effect of this measure would be to remove the impediments which now stood in the way of recruiting, but that the positive inducements must come from some other quarter. He thought that the strongest inducement would be to see the means of promotion within their reach, and attainable in a short time. He thought there was many a man who would not set great value on a distant advantage at the expiration of 14 or 20 years, but that if some kind of promotion of honourable distinction could be obtained in a few years, would feel strongly induced to aspire to it. He thought that the possibility of speedy promotion from the lowest situations of life to a higher one, would of itself be the most powerful inducement. Even small distinctions had great weight with the generality of mankind; for such was the littleness of human nature, that it was almost always by comparison that people judged of their own situation and of their own happiness. If they saw themselves ever so little raised above those who had been their equals, they were highly pleased and elated; and on the other hand, it was often by comparing their situation with that of others, that many found out, or fancied, that they were miserable. Distinctions that would hardly cost the nation any thing would to individuals be of great importance. Military men were at all times fond of such distinctions; and therefore the stars, the ribbons, and the military decorations which were usually given to successful commanders, had always been reckoned among those things that formed "the cheap defence of nations." He should wish that the system of those military decorations, as a reward of merit, should be much farther extended in the army, so that every man might entertain a hope that an opportunity might occur, in the course of 1, 2, or 3 years, when he might signalize himself by some gallant exploit, to gain some of those envied distinctions. He had heard, that at one time the late administration had thought of instituting something like an order of merit among the navy, and he hoped the noble lord who was now at the head of the admiralty would carry that idea into execution. He was convinced that such an institution would hold out the most powerful motives both to great exertions, and to make the service attractive. He could by no means agree with the objection that had been so much relied upon, that such a measure as this should have been carried into effect by the crown, without consulting parliament. He was surprized, indeed, at the quarter from which this objection proceeded; for if ministers had acted differently, and, of their own heads, introduced a change so important in the military system of the country, and which appeared to those gentlemen so very objectionable, would they not, on much stronger grounds, have charged his majesty's ministers with presumption, in following entirely their own opinions, and not giving the country the benefit of having this important question fully discussed before it was decided on? The practical effect which he expected from this measure, would be in the general impression in its favour. Persons were much more apt to judge of their condition from the opinions of others, than from their own feelings; and when the condition of a soldier should be generally thought a good one, all the great objections which now exist would disappear. He thought it might perhaps be better to extend that system a little to the regular army now existing. It was somewhat revolting to the feelings of every humane mind, that a man, who entered in the army in some unguarded moment, should be told, that he should be kept there for his life; and it was almost an insult to common sense, to tell him, that as his act was voluntary the country would hold him rigidly to his bargain. It appeared to him, that the system was likely not only to increase the number of our regular army, but to improve, in a considerable degree, the quality of the soldiers. He considered that the tone and character of the British army would be highly improved by it. The strong reason which induced him to think so was, that in consulting the history of all military nations, he found, that beginning from the history of the Grecian states, and going down to the history of the present day, it was an universal truth, without a single exception, that the armies of free nations fought with more spirit, and achieved greater actions, than the soldiers of those nations that were not free. This was proved by the history of all nations; by none more than of England. It was not until Magna Charta had been obtained, and some degree of civil liberty established, that England, which a short time before had been conquered by the Norman invaders, was able in her turn to invade France, and make her enemies fear her on the other side of the water. It was from its liberty, that it obtained its military reputation, and its means of defence. It was a pleasing and grateful thought, that, when the Almighty bestowed freedom on a nation, that blessing itself ensured the protection of the country, as long as the animating principle was preserved. The soldiers of free nations were always remarked for a certain elevation of character, and noble daring, which did not belong to the character of other nations. The French never fought with such enthusiasm and success, as when their armies were animated with the name and hopes of freedom. If the present order of things, however, continued in that country, he should venture to say, that all their ribbons and legions of honour, would but ill supply the place of the inspiring principle of liberty, and that the character of the French armies must gradually decline; whereas, the energies of the British army would be considerably increased by extending to them the feeling, that British soldiers are free men, and that they fight for a free country. He also considered, that this measure would immediately operate to prevent desertion, and by improving the character of the army, tend gradually to diminish the severity of punishments. He could not agree with those who thought, that if this measure were once adopted, it could not be departed from. He, indeed, wished that the experiment should have a fair trial, which would require at least ten years; but if it were then found inefficient, another system might be pursued. As to the great discontent that many gentlemen had supposed would, in such case, prevail, experience had shewn, that this apprehension was ill founded; for, in the time of the American war, there were many enlisted only for the war, who served in the same regiments with soldiers enlisted for life, and no such discontents were then heard of. Neither could he see that any such discontents were likely to prevail in the navy, for the sailors were in fact only serving for a limited term, and expected their discharge at the conclusion of the war. He could not allow that the plan deserved the name of a theory or a speculation; it was built upon the general principles of human nature, and upon the known effects which the history of all nations proved to result from those principles, and in this sense it must be said to be founded on experience. The mere opinions of an individual might be erroneous, but the great principles of human nature were unchangeable. The hon. gent. concluded, by observing on the advantages likely to result from the improvement in the system of colonial service; and took that opportunity to state how strongly he was impressed with the idea, that it was the continuance of the Slave trade, and the state of barbarism our slaves were kept in, which principally occasioned the necessity of sending annually thousands of our soldiers to protect the whites in the West Indies, not so much from the foreign enemy, as from their own slaves; and it was this West India service which was at the same time the greatest drain to the British army, and the greatest discouragement to its being recruited.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* could not avoid shortly expressing his sentiments upon the important question then before the house. He thought that his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) had not been handsomely or fairly treated, when his plan had been so often called a whim, and a wild and fanciful theory. The word theory was generally applied to systems and opinions hastily adopted: but the gentlemen on the other side of the house had been complaining, week after week, and day after day, of his right hon. friend having taken so much time to consider and mature his plan, before he presented it to the house. In the full responsibility of the measure, not only his majesty's ministers in that house, but a noble lord, in the other (lord Grenville), would willingly take their full share. As for himself, though he had no share in the responsibility, yet when he heard his right hon. friend charged as a rash and hasty speculator for introducing it, he must say, that he so perfectly approved of it, that he should wish his political character in that respect to stand or fall with that of those who introduced this measure. A good deal had been said in the course of the discussions that had taken place on this question, of the opinions of the general officers not being laid before that house. The opinions of officers were given upon a question referred to them by the commander in chief, and which was different from that which was now under discussion. The question which had been referred to them was merely between limited service and service for life. There were, however, in the present plan, so many auxiliary inducements combined with the proposed limitation, that the question then to be considered was totally different from that which had been referred to the general officers. As to the motives which induced men to enlist, he believed the non-commissioned officers could speak better than the generals; but every man of common sense, and who was at all acquainted with the character of the English nation, might form a good judgment on that subject. He considered that the casualties of the army, reckoned at 15,000 annually, would not be near so great in future, as the principal part of it, arising from desertion, would be in a great measure done away. He was much more sanguine in his expectation of immediate success than his right hon. friend, and conceived that it was in his character a trait of that generous policy, which, according to the practice of our ancestors, legislated as much for the good of posterity as for the present time. Some gentlemen had said, "we were well enough as we were." Whoever would look on the map of Europe, and see nothing but France, excepting the territories of our magnanimous allies, the emperor of Russia and the king of Sweden, could hardly bring himself to think that "we were well enough as we were." He concluded by expressing his firm conviction, that this would not only be a most efficient measure, but that, in time, it would be a very popular one. He had conversed with many military officers on the subject, and they had all, without exception, considered that the army would be benefited by it. He also had conversed with several soldiers who had been discharged, and they all agreed that such a measure would be "the making of the army." This, he was sure, would be the general feeling of all the soldiers in the army, and of all those classes from which soldiers were to be obtained, and he therefore thought that the measure was the most likely for rapidly recruiting the army.

General *Tarleton* said, the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) looked to the army not as an Englishman and a soldier, but as a philosopher, and as a philosopher of a very bad school, who knew nothing of the human mind on which his speculations were to operate. He had had some experience of limited service in Portugal, when the baron de Rolle, who had the command of a Swiss regiment, did not dare put them to ordinary duty, lest those whose time was expiring should quit the military life. Then wit, imagination, history, and every thing else was pressed into the debate, excepting what belonged to it, for the mere purpose of doing what the lawyers called "blinking the question." Among the rest, the French service was held up as an example, and he would admit the wisdom of the maxim, *Fas est, et ab hoste doceri;* but in the present case the precedents adduced had either no application at all, or were opposed to the argument of the right honourable gentleman. The truth was, the officers of the army had been heartily tired of the prolixity of ministers. Colonel Manly Power had written a letter, stating that he was gaping for what Mr. Windham's plans would be; that he was completely sick of waiting for the system, and that he had applied for a month's absence, as every thing was at a stand-still. He added, that he had removed his small battalion, and that his men were doubled by the additional force bill; and further, that every man fit for general service had volunteered into it on receiving the bounty. An hon. gentleman (Mr. Grattan) had talked of Roman discipline, and then had reverted to his favourite republic; but what applied to the Roman phalanx and legion was wholly inapplicable to modern warfare. The hon. judge Advocate had spoken of Scotland, as of a country peculiarly sensible where money was concerned, as if the Irish and English were not equally susceptible of the mercenary feeling. The general did not understand either the policy or the propriety of this local reasoning. From the view he took of the measure, it appeared to him most unwise and dangerous, and he hoped its progress would be interrupted before so fine an army was impaired by such fanciful schemes. The system of the Roman army was, the hon. general contended, inapplicable to this country, and to the present times; young men of 18 engaged for seven years would never be fit for colonial services. The army was admitted to be at the present moment better in numbers and condition than at any former period. The present ministers, if they could have found any opinions to bear them out, would have appealed to the general officers; but the general officers were all known to be averse to the plan, and therefore no appeal was made to them. The plan was not calculated to give satisfaction to the army, for it gave greater advantages to the raw recruit than to the veteran soldier, it went at the same time to make discontents among 150,000 men, and to impose immoderate burthens on the country. The language of the right hon. gentleman, in saying, that when a man went into the army for life, he was considered as having gone to the dogs, like the strange expression of 'killed off,' and such others, was calculated to disgust the soldiers.

The *Lord Advocate* did not exactly know to whom the hon. general alluded, when he styled him judge advocate, and his doubts were not wholly removed when the allusion was made to his observations, for they did not seem to have been correctly understood by that gallant officer. Limited service was the most successful way of procuring men; and to suppose they could not judge of the advantages of limited service, because they had not sustained the character, was as absurd as to imagine that a young woman could not tell the inducement that one of her sex might have in taking a husband, because she herself had not entered into the marriage state. In the country with which he was best acquainted, the men were not obtained by hanging a purse upon a halbert; they took rational views of their situation, and on these formed their determination. With those gentlemen on the other side, who had considered perpetual service so acceptable, he should be glad to handle such a weapon, and engage on the recruiting duty with them. What would be the arguments they had to offer to the generous youth of the northern mountains, who loved the wilds of which they were natives, because they were the favourite seat of liberty; "Hasten with us, they must say, and resign your country. Enter the wild world, and forget the soil of your birth. Leave your fathers and relatives to their romantic hills and fruitful vales, for to them you shall never return." Such must be the invitation they must employ. But what would be the language to which he would resort?—"Young men (he would exclaim), the love of your country clings about your hearts; filial duty, honour, and affection, are dear to you as existence; you revere the fraternal attachment, and will surrender none of the sacred obligations of domestic life. I know you will despise all danger in the defence of these fond objects of your solicitude: advance then with me to the field of virtue and glory, and if you survive the conflict, you shall return to the arms of your relatives, and to the bosom of your country, covered with those laurels which shall command the respect and the gratitude of your compatriots." With such inducement, and such hopes, thousands would flock to the standard of their sovereign; nor would they cast "one longing, lingering look" toward their native homes, until the war was terminated; for they would know, that, if they presumed to relinquish the scene of their duty, they would return to parents and relatives, who would consider their appearance among them derogatory to Scottish valour. When gentlemen talked of the future and remote disadvantages of the plan, they reminded him of a dispute regarding a canal between Edinburgh and Glasgow, for the supply of coals. In one direction it passed through a vale without the smallest interruption, on a perfect level, and the tract through which it was to pass contained a supply of coals for *three* centuries: in another it was to be obstructed by 67 locks, and to be elevated 750 feet above the surface of the sea, but the supply of coals was sufficient for *five* centuries! It was a disgrace to the good sense of the country, that like this bill, the former channel had numerous opponents. The temper of the hardy Caledonian, to whose bravery the nation had been so often indebted, was little known. Tell him to abandon the fond scenes of his youth for ever, and he will retire to the deep recesses of his mountains: indulge the expectation that he will, after a term of peril and fatigue, revisit his domestic hearth, and he will accompany you round the globe. His wants are few, but without freedom nothing can satisfy his desires. Donald the peasant, had three wishes to express; the first was, 'fill my barn full of snuff;' the second, 'fill my pond with whiskey;' for the third, his invention, uninstructed by luxury, was deficient, and he exclaimed, 'fill my barn again with snuff.' The lord advocate concluded by giving his hearty support to the measure.

Mr. *Johnstone* thought that the learned lord approved this measure only on account of the men who proposed it, as he had said that men could not be procured under the additional force act, where the advantages to the recruit were greater. He contended that in the present state of Europe none but the lowest orders could be expected to serve as soldiers. He had but little faith in the energies which had been ascribed, particularly to the soldiers of a free country, as the militia of a free country would always be superior to the regular army of a despotic government. He admitted that the army ought to be augmented, but thought an addition ought to be made by enlisting from the militia.

Mr. *Whitbread* contended that the object of his right hon. friend was to put an end to all the theories which had been brought forward for a long time past. Like a skilful surgeon, he was removing the bandages, in order that nature might have her way. He mentioned these theories, such as the quota bill, the provisional cavalry, the army of reserve act, and the additional force act, all of which had failed. He denied that there was any danger of exciting mutiny or discontent from this measure. He also contended that the calculations respecting the expence had been erroneous. He denied that this measure trenched, in the smallest degree, on the prerogative of the crown; for, unless the mutiny bill was passed every year, the king could not have a soldier. The instance of the East India Company's soldiers was an answer to the objections relative to the colonial service. He contended that there was no danger of a relaxation of discipline, as soldiers never loved a commander the better for great remissness in this respect. He suspected that those who opposed the measure did it from a desire to get into their places. One noble lord was so fond of place, that he thought he was reposing, while in place, on a "bed of roses." He might have had some tossings and tumblings, and have felt some of the roses folded under him, a circumstance which had given pain to a certain voluptuary. The expression of his right hon. friend, now no more, "Oh, my country!" was not one which might be expected from a person reposing on a bed of roses. Another gent. (Mr. Canning) did not consider the harness but the horses, not the measures, but the men. Here, however, there were both good harness and good horses.—The question on the third reading was then put; upon which,

Mr. *S. Bourne* rose, and having lamented that the house was not in possession of the military information which was so desirable on this subject, expressed his general disapprobation of the measure. It infringed on the prerogative of the crown, as it would preclude his majesty from availing himself of any future advantageous mode of raising men that might present itself. It was objectionable as it related to the deliberations of the two houses of parliament. He was not aware of a precedent of such an important measure being brought forward in such a shape, which might be attended with serious consequences, endangering the delay in passing the Mutiny bill, until a period beyond that in which it would be required. The measure was as wanton and unnecessary as it was objectionable. The experiment might have been tried without having destroyed the system from which the country was deriving a rapidly increasing supply. The depressed state of the manufactures of the kingdom would, he feared, soon afford an ample source to any mode of recruiting.—Alluding to the speech of a right hon. secretary on a late evening, he expressed his apprehension, that the country had not the means to become as great a military power as that right hon. gent. seemed so sanguinely to expect. To obtain this object, however, he thought that the best mode would have been to have raised men for different services and in different ways, instead of confining the recruiting to one description, and allowing the army to moulder away to the number of at least 30 or 40,000 men. Comparing the population of the country with the numbers engaged in the naval and military services, the right hon. gent. could not rationally expect to obtain any great accession of numbers to the latter of these services. The examples of foreign countries that had been adduced, were by no means applicable. No accusation of being factious should ever deter him from canvassing the measures of his majesty's ministers. He deprecated the ill consequences that would result from the adoption of this measure with regard to the navy, and with regard to the discipline of the army. The colonies likewise would be materially endangered by it, more especially in time of war. How many men must be continually crossing the sea, to supply the place of those the term of whose service was expired? If one of those convoys failed, what would become of the colonies? As to the expence, as calculated by his noble friend, that calculation proceeded on the supposition that the measure would succeed, and he was therefore surprised to find that calculation condemned by the advocates for the measure. His noble friend had omitted one article of expence, the transporting of troops abroad. If this measure failed, only one expedient remained. —conscription. And he should not be surprised to find, at some future period, the right hon. gent. come forward, and by way of still further following up the example of foreign countries, propose conscription, to supply the place of those perhaps who were "killed off."—(A laugh).—Above all he considered the measure most embarrassing, as discharging men in time of war; for these reasons he moved, as an amendment, that in the clause schedule it be inserted after the word "discharged," these words, "not until six months after the termination of any war in which the country may be engaged."

Lord *H. Petty* observed, that the clause to which the hon. gent. opposite principally directed their attention, did nothing more than what amounted to a declaration of the legislature, to continue for seven years, what formerly they were considered only to allow one. But the necessities of almost every state in Europe were now so much increased, that his majesty's ministers had felt it incumbent on them to make additional demands upon the population of the country for the preservation of the whole: this was but a modification of the royal prerogative, by which the king is entitled to call on the whole of his people to rise in arms for the support of his crown and dignity, as well as for the defence of the rights and liberties of a free nation. What was the army of reserve act, but an additional demand on the population of the country? What was the additional force act but an additional demand on the population of the country? And what had his right hon. friend done but to make the additional demand on the population of the country more simplified and effectual than it had as yet been made by any other plan that we had seen brought forward? Much as he admired the general character of the British army, he could not avoid observing, that the desertions were now become a disgrace to that army; but the system of his right hon. friend would be most likely to an effectual stop to the practice, by withdrawing the temptations which led men to desert; their condition would be bettered, and they would be certain of having an opportunity to exercise their own choice at a definite period. Gentlemen said, that in a time of war we should not adopt any new theoretical experiment. He was well convinced, however, that a time of war or danger was not a time in which we should give way to any feelings of fear. This reminded him of an anecdote told of a very brave man, who, being asked 'How he would act if he were on the top of Salisbury steeple,' replied, 'Just in the same manner as if I were on Salisbury plain.' And there could be no doubt that in time of danger true wisdom consisted in acting with steadiness and courage.

Mr. *Canning* rose and spoke as follows.—I rise, sir, not only for the purpose of replying to the noble lord who spoke last, but of recapitulating as shortly as I can the leading arguments by which this measure has been opposed, and which remain at this period of the discussion wholly unanswered; of reminding the house of the state in which the question now stands; and of conjuring them to avail themselves of this last opportunity, which is afforded them by the amendment of my hon. friend (Mr. S. Bourne), if not to save the regular army of the country altogether from the peril of the projected innovation, at least to disarm that innovation of part of the mischief with which it threatens to be attended.—The precise object of the amendment is to prevent the operation of the discharges during war: to prevent, if possible, the dismemberment or dissolution of the British army, at periods when the very safety of the country may depend upon its being kept together. The noble lord who spoke last has either misunderstood or dexterously misstated the purport of this amendment. He has argued against it as if its avowed object had been to prevent the passing of this bill during the war; and he has told us that, in his opinion, the time of danger is the properest time for the display of additional courage and magnanimity. The noble lord has illustrated his proposition, (according to the custom of the treasury bench, when argument is wanting,) by a story, the authenticity of which it is not necessary to question, of some wise and gallant individual, who appears to have obtained a great share of the noble lord's admiration, by replying to a person who asked him "What he would do if he were on the top of Salisbury steeple?" "That he would do on Salisbury steeple precisely the same thing that he would do on Salisbury plain." This reply the noble lord considers as fraught with wisdom and magnanimity, and as affording a brilliant example to parliament and to the country. In point of wisdom, perhaps, it is not easy to decide between the person who asked the question and him who answered it. It may be matter of surprize, indeed, that the answerer did not reply to the querist by another query, namely, "Why in God's name he should go to the top of the steeple at all?" What it was that he was to do when he got there, the noble lord has not condescended to inform us, nor would it perhaps be becoming to suggest; but among the few functions which a man in that situation could possibly perform, there does not appear to be any one which is peculiarly worthy of the imitation or attention of the house, or which might not have been performed with as much advantage and satisfaction in a horizontal direction upon the plain as in a perpendicular one from the steeple. But however splendid this individual achievement may have been in the noble lord's opinion, he must see that as an illustration it is not good for much, unless it be the noble lord's intention to contend, not only that we ought to behave with steadiness and courage in time of actual danger, but that it is expedient to create dangers, and to place ourselves in situations of peril, purely for the sake of exhibiting our magnanimity. Such would be the failure of the noble lord's argument, even if applied to the question as he has argued it, of commencing this system in time of war: but the object of the amendment being, as has been stated, to suspend the operation of the system during future wars, it would be difficult to make out any claim of magnanimity on our part for inflicting on posterity evils which we do not encounter ourselves.—What objection can reasonably be offered to this amendment we are yet to learn. To the principle of it the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) has subscribed, when he admitted an extension of 3 years' service in the case of discharges becoming claimable during war. This admission is of itself sufficient to acknowledge the necessity; but it is not sufficient to remedy it. On the other hand, it breaks in upon the certainty and definiteness in the term of service, which the right hon gent. has urged as the main advantage of his whole system; it breaks in upon it sufficiently to destroy the inducement arising from it, at the same time that it does not meet the evil, the apprehension of which alone can justify any such infraction. Quitting, however, the narrower ground of the amendment immediately before us, the noble lord has gone into the more general topics upon the subject of the bill, but I think without being fortunate enough to supply that degree of argument and conviction which has been so much desiderated from the other side of the house. One point, however, he has entirely omitted, upon which it would have been particularly desirable, and from that noble lord it might perhaps have been reasonably expected, that we should derive some information, I mean the question of expence. The right hon. gent. the author of the bill, expressed, on a former night, a wish that he had found leisure to look over the calculations, a wish in which the house and the country may have good reason to join. My hon. and learned friend near me, (Mr. Perceval) and my noble friend, (lord Castlereagh), upon this acknowledgment, that ministers had not turned their attention to the subject, ventured to suggest, with all becoming deference, such rough and imperfect estimates on this head as the few data in possession of the house, and the unenlightened diligence of men out of office, could furnish. But these suggestions were so ill received, so confidently scouted, as full of error and exaggeration, that it became impossible not to suppose, that though the right hon. gent. whose immediate business it was to bring in the bill, had not had leisure to look into this material part of it, some other of his majesty's ministers had thought it their duty to take the task off of his hands? and when the chancellor of the exchequer rose, it was natural to look to him for information upon a subject not wholly unconnected with his department. Upon this subject, however, the noble lord has not said one word; and the house is now called upon to pass a bill which obviously and notoriously entails a vast expence upon the country, without any official estimate, without any ministerial statement, without the smallest information by which to form a calculation, or even a conjecture, as to the amount of the burden which they are imposing. All that we know is, that 330,000l. a year (for of so much we have an estimate) is a part only, and a small part, of the whole amount. With respect to the remainder, the only intelligence that we have been able to obtain, is, that the expence will not be so great as it was estimated by my noble friend, namely, about two millions a year.—Another main objection to the whole of this plan, which the right hon. gent. who introduced it had never condescended to answer, the noble lord and others who preceded him in this debate have this night attempted to remove: I refer to the difficulties attending the colonial service. The noble lord instances the practice of the East India Company, who engaged their recruits for limited service, (a term of five years), and who, as the noble lord avers, never in any instance broke faith with them in India, and suffered no inconvenience from adhering to their engagements. I will not enter into the question of good faith; the testimony on that point is certainly not unanimous. It is sufficient to remark that, whether from feeling any inconvenience or not, the India Company have some years since, at the suggestion of lord Cornwallis, wholly abandoned that mode of enlistment; that there remains, I believe, but one battalion whose service is upon that tenure; and that with the exception of that battalion, all the troops now serving in the East Indies are enlisted for an indefinite term. It may be added, that the whole of the troops so engaged for limited service never amounted at any one time to 5000 men; a very insufficient precedent for placing the whole British army on that footing, and a precedent which we ought surely to have some better reason to induce us to adopt, than the fact that those who formerly practised it have now finally abandoned it.—Finding little support from the practice of past times in the East Indies, the next resource is to look for consolation in what futurity is to bring about for us in the West. And here, sir, agreeing, as I most cordially do, in the opinions and feelings of my hon. friend on the bench below me (Mr. Wilberforce), respecting the great question of the abolition of the slave trade, I really cannot help lamenting (and I am sure I say it with every possible respect to him), that his wishes upon this subject should so far have warped his judgment, as to lead him to believe that he saw in the speedy abolition of the slave trade a safe and certain solution of all the difficulties of colonial service. The slave trade once abolished, my hon. friend tells us, the whole system of negro slavery will be so mitigated and improved, that the internal defence of the islands may be intrusted in a great measure to their own labouring population.—I can truly say, sir, that I would not willingly damp my hon. friend's ardour in this great cause, nor would I abate a jot of the sanguineness of his expectation, if sanguine expectation were of itself a security for speedy accomplishment. But after 20 years of annually repeated failure, I do not think that one can rationally look with so much confidence to immediate success. God forbid that this consideration should discourage my hon. friend, or slacken his exertions for the attainment of his object! but I cannot agree with him in reckoning upon that object as already attained, so confidently as to begin already to anticipate its consequences, still less to consider them as immediate and available. The warm heart and eager imagination of my hon. friend must have been cruelly imposed upon, if he has been persuaded to consider the abolition of the slave trade as linked with the measure now before the house; and though I should be glad to account, from so amiable a motive, for the support which he has (otherwise I think unaccountably) given it, I am afraid that it is but too easy at once to subvert and destroy the very foundation of the supposed connection between the two measures, by shewing him that this clause for limitation of service is precisely that which would make the use of a negro force to any considerable extent unavailable, even if by the abolition of the slave trade, and the consequent amelioration of the situation of the negroes, it should have become in other respects safe and desirable so to employ them. Nay, I am much mistaken if this alteration of the term of service does not strike at the root of the establishment of black corps, even as far as they at present exist. It certainly would do so if the negroes were in that state of improvement which my hon. friend anticipates.—I request my hon. friend to look at the clause in which the oath to be taken by all soldiers is prescribed; he will see that there is no exception or qualification whatever; and he will see, a negro enlisted under this mutiny act could claim his discharge at the end of 7 years. Now, whatever confidence my hon. friend may have in the dispositions that are to grow out of their improved situation hereafter, I do not apprehend that it can be even his project to fill the islands with disbanded negroes, who have been seven years practising the use of arms. Possibly this difficulty may not apply to the present moment, when the corps are composed of purchased slaves, and, in a great measure, I am afraid of slaves recently imported from Africa; but if ever the moment arrives which my hon. friend so fondly anticipates, when the negro will have become enough of a citizen to be (in his apprehension) safely trusted as a soldier, this improved condition, combined with this improved mutiny act, must necessarily lead to the consequences which I have mentioned.—But after all, can any thing be more wild and visionary than to refer us to the distant and doubtful consequences of the success of a measure which has failed for twenty years, for the only solution which ministers, after all their deliberation, are at last prepared to give of a difficulty of their own creating? Better almost would it have been to have confined themselves within the safer, because unmeaning, and therefore unanswerable, assertion of the right hon. gentleman on a former night,—that he had no doubt something would be discovered to remedy the inconvenience, thought he did not pretend to be the person to discover it! Such and so insufficient being the answers which are at last provided for the objections which have been urged against the measure in this stage, the noble lord indulges himself in a triumph over other supposed objections, which, because they have not been re-stated this night, he thinks himself at liberty to consider as altogether abandoned. 'We hear no more,' says the noble lord, 'of the alarm which was taken early in this discussion, and which was attempted to be spread throughout the country, of the too great military force which was to be put at the disposal of the crown, to the danger of the liberties of the country; this doctrine has now given place to another of a different sort, and wholly inconsistent with it; we are now told of the encroachment upon the prerogative of that crown whose extended power before was to fill us with apprehension.'—Begging the noble lord's pardon, there is no such inconsistency in these arguments as he is pleased to impute to them; nor is that one of them which has not been stated to-night, therefore to be considered as abandoned. It has not been stated to-night simply because it does not apply to the particular point now under disscussion. It was urged at the outset of these discussions as applying to the general scope and tendency of the right hon. gentleman's whole plan, of which the measure now before us is a part: of which plan, considered as a whole, the tendency was argued, and I think demonstrated, to be the discouragement and destruction of all those species of military force, which it has been the practice and the policy of this country to employ for home-defence; and to which, consistently with the spirit of the constitution, its internal defence may best be intrusted. It was urged, and I think unanswerably, that the tendency of the right hon. gent.'s plan, (if not its avowed object) was to discourage the volunteers, to undermine, and finally overturn the militia establishments; to abolish and proscribe every mode of raising from the bosom of the country any sort of force which parliament has hitherto been in the habit of raising; and it was contended that the inevitable consequence,(as it was the undisguised desire) of the projector of this plan, was to raise and maintain a huge unbalanced regular army. It was affirmed (and can the noble lord deny it?) that against such an army no free state had long maintained its freedom; and it was contended, not that our military exertions ought therefore to be less, but that our military force ought to continue to preserve that character of variety which is so odious in the eyes of the right hon. gent. but which it cannot lose without a departure from the practice and the principles of the constitution. In this general objection to the right hon. gent's. whole theory of military improvement (which I am not sorry to have an opportunity of re-stating and reaffirming), what is there inconsistent with the objection stated to this particular measure, that it takes the management of the king's army out of the hands of the king; because we feel a jealousy and apprehension of the project of having nothing but a regular army in the country, does it therefore follow, that we are not to disapprove of innovations, as dangerous as unnecessary in the constitution of that army? I would leave the king's authority over the regular army entire as I find it; but I would not trust the whole defence of the country, internal as well as external, to that army alone. Is there any thing contradictory in this statement? Leave us our constitutional force, and there is no danger from the regular army. But it is a poor device first to break down every other force upon which the country has relied, and to which the constitution is partial, and then to think we can remedy the inconvenience by taking the government of the regular army into our own hands.—Equally unfounded is that part of the noble lord's statement in which he imputes as an inconsistency and absurdity to those who have agreed with him, with his right hon. friend, and with all mankind, in the necessity of keeping up, under the present circumstances of the world, large military establishments, that they now complain of the vast drain and demand upon the population of the country; and that after concurring in the wish that the country should be militarized as much as possible, they now oppose the means best calculated to produce that effect. The whole of this statement proceeds upon a mistake of one argument, and an assumption of another. I never heard it stated, I am sure I never stated it, as a matter of complaint, or even of regret, that there was so large a drain and demand for military service upon the population of the country. I have stated it, and I have heard it stated, as matter of fact; and as affording a sufficient answer to those who, because the regular army could not be augmented on the sudden to the proportion which they represent as necessary, have thought themselves therefore entitled to despond as to the military means, or to discourage the military spirit of the country. And as to opposing the measures by which those military means were to be concerted, and that military spirit to be encouraged and extended, the justice of that imputation depends upon the assumption of the fact, that the measures devised by the right hon. gent. are in truth the best calculated for that purpose, and upon the further assumption of our acknowledgment that they are so. We acknowledge no such thing: we oppose the right hon. gentleman's plans, because we think them not the best calculated for this purpose; because we differ from him, as to his opinion that all the other military establishments of the country would be wisely and cheaply sacrificed to procure a comparatively small numerical increase of the regular army; because we think directly the contrary; because, desirable as the augmentation, to any amount you please, of the regular army may be, we would rather acquiesce in that augmentation being more limited or more slow, than sacrifice at once all the other military establishments of the country for the purpose of hastening and extending it. In this difference of opinion I will admit for a moment that the right hon. gentleman may be right, and we wrong; but it requires arguments, and better than any I have yet heard, to prove us so; and till that has been proved, it cannot be asserted with truth, that we are wilfully opposing that which we have acknowledged to be best calculated to obtain our object. And this, sir, leads me unavoidably to the recollection of the opinions expressed on a former night by the right hon. gent. opposite me, (Mr. Fox), respecting the general state of our regular force, and the expediency and necessity of maintaining and extending it as much as possible: opinions, which, coming from a person of his pre-eminence both in talents and situation, from one whom it is impossible to consider as any other than the leading minister of the country; could not but excite the most serious attention and solicitude. I am ready to allow, that with much, indeed with most, of what the right hon. gent. has said on that occasion, I cordially agree; indeed upon much of it there could be no difference of opinion. He told us that with an extensive and efficient regular army, an army not only in as perfect a state of discipline and military spirit as he admits our present army to be, but augmented to such an extent as to bear nearly the same proportion to the armies of the other powers of Europe, and particularly of France, as subsisted between our army and theirs in those periods of our military history to which we refer with most exultation, the wars of king William and queen Anne; he told us, that, with such an army, he would engage to maintain the interests and honour of the country; that, with such an army, he would continue to vindicate our rank among the nations of the world. And he added most justly, and if with justice, I need not say, with that commanding eloquence with which he is always able to enforce any proposition (but which was perhaps hardly necessary to enforce this, in which there is so general a concurrence) that it was by maintaining our rank among nations, and our connection with the other nations of Europe alone, and not by any fanciful and selfish system of seperate interest and insulated policy, that we could ultimately hope to maintain even our own independent existence. All this, sir, I heard with admiration, and still recollect with satisfaction. But that which was wanting to complete my satisfaction, that which I still feel to be wanting, and which I wish I could hear the right hon. gent. this night supply, is the other alternative. 'Give me a great army,' says the right hon. gent. 'such as I describe and require, and 'I will answer for the honour and interests of the country.' But how, if after all our endeavours, if after resorting to every practicable plan for encreasing the regular army,—how, if it should so happen, that physical causes, that the insurmountable difficulties arising from a limited population, combined with the demands of other concurrent and indispensable services, should prevent us from gratifying the right hon. gent. with an army to the full extent and amount which he requires? How are we then to understand the right hon. gent.? Are we then to understand his pledge as retracted? Are we to understand, that the right hon. gent. puts wholly out of the account in the estimate of our relative strength and power as compared with those of the enemy, all those circumstances in which our superiority is not only unrivalled, but unquestioned; and despairs of the safety of the country unless we can acquire a similar superiority also, in respect to that species of power which the physical means of our enemy enable them to maintain upon a therefore, if I am not much mistaken, that scale which it is impossible for us to equal? —If indeed the right hon. gent. had been applying his argument to that system of insular policy which he very properly abjures, and confining his views, as he very properly disdained to do, to the mere question of domestic security, I admit that the argument would be a sound one; undoubtedly no nation can be great or respected abroad which is not confident of its safety at home; but of this there is now I trust no question. I trust that the sufficiency of our means, and provision for home defence, is no longer matter of anxiety. Nor did the right hon. gent. to do him justice, consider it in that point of view. But if the right hon. gent. meant to say, that unless we, with our 14 or 15 millions of population, can, after providing amply for our home-defence, after manning a navy such as the world never saw before, after garrisoning all our distant colonial possessions,—maintaining at the same time the manufactures and industry of the country;—if he means that unless under all those circumstances, and after all these deductions, we can furnish invading and conquering armies, capable of equalling those which the undivided efforts of the enemy have raised from a population more than double in number, that unless we can do this, we must be content to abdicate our station, and sacrifice our honour; if this be the right hon. gent.'s meaning, I confess I do not know how sufficiently to express my regret at hearing such sentiments from the mouth of a British minister at a moment like the present. I regret it the more, because these sentiments agree too much with those which the whole French school of politicians have for the last ten years been labouring to inculcate. The notion that territory and population form the only two legitimate bases of national power, that it is upon them alone that a nation can either establish its own intrinsic merit, or found a claim to respect and influence among its neighbours,—this notion it has undoubtedly suited the views of France to propagate; but I do not think that it is becoming or safe for the government of this country to adopt it. If this notion be true, and is received by us as true, the contest is at an end:—France is universally predominant, and we must bound our wishes to humble safety. But if, as I contend, (and as I hope I should do the right hon. gent. injustice if I did not believe him to be ready to contend with me), the power of this country is not the less firm, nor its means of exertion the less effectual, nor its claim to the high rank which it has hitherto held, the less legitimate, because they are founded on other bases than the mere extent of its soil and the number of its inhabitants; if its naval pre-eminence, if its commercial enterprize, if its industry and wealth are allowed to weigh any thing in the scale, I must protest against the doctrine, which goes to invalidate all these titles, and to place the question of its greatness upon the single point of the recruitment of its regular army.—But even if we could admit the argument to be true, with what fairness is it applied to the discussions upon the bill now before us? We who disagree with the rt. hon. gent. in considering the regular army as the single vital principle of our existence as a nation, do yet agree with him as to the importance, the expediency, and the necessity of augmenting the regular army as much as possible: and if we oppose this measure, which the right hon. gent. thinks not only the best, but the only one that can be resorted to for that purpose, it is not because we undervalue his object, but because we doubt of the efficacy of his means.—It remains only to consider the nature of those supposed advantages belonging to this measure, upon which its advocates so confidently rely for the improvement and increase of the army. The noble lord (lord H. Petty) says that desertions will be altogether done away by the limitation of the term of service. I answer from the fact, that by far the greater part of the desertions now are from new levies, and from limited service. The right hon. gent. has argued (and many gentlemen, both on this and on a former night, have dwelt upon that argument with great fondness), that there is something in this measure calculated to change greatly for the better the character of the British army. I had never heard before that the character of the British army required to be changed. I had thought that in every quality that constitutes a soldier, in bravery, in discipline, in enterprize, and in patience under privations, the British army had already acquired a character such as no service in Europe could surpass. It is admitted on all hands that such is the character of the present army: but it is imagined, I know not on what ground, either that in all those particulars there is a necessity for improvement, or that those who are henceforth to be enlisted would degenerate from the example of their fellows, unless some additional stimulus were applied to them.—A learned lord, whom we have heard this night for the second time in this house (the lord Advocate of Scotland), and whom I am sure we shall always hear with pleasure, has endeavoured to illustrate this point by a transaction in his own country, respecting the colliers and miners, whose condition was changed some years ago from that of servitude for life to voluntary labour. Many persons, he says, were alarmed at the trial of this experiment; and thought that if the chains of these poor people were broken, and they were suffered to emerge from the bowels of the earth, with liberty to return there or not as they pleased, none of them would in fact return, and that the coal-pits and the mines would remain unwrought for the future. This gloomy expectation, however, was disappointed: the emancipated colliers and miners returned, not only by free choice to the labour from which they had been set free, but with added industry and encreased good will to their employers. Does not the learned lord perceive, that this fact, however interesting as a history (which I willingly admit it to be) yet halts a little as a comparison? The boon bestowed upon the colliers and miners was, if I mistake him not, for their own immediate use and enjoyment: but if had it been resolved only that all future colliers and miners should enjoy these immunities and privileges, but that the existing generation should go on upon the old system of indefinite servitude, does he think there would have been any thing in that arrangement to awaken the gratitude, to stimulate the industry, and to improve the character of the present collier and miner?—The learned lord, however, vouches for his countrymen in general, that this alteration in the term of service will operate upon their feelings to such a degree, that bounty will no longer be necessary to induce enlistment. I receive with all possible readiness, and give implicit credit to whatever the learned lord affirms in favour of a country to which I bear so high a respect, and of which he himself is so bright an ornament. But will the learned lord allow me to remind him that this, though admirable in itself, appears to clash a little with another character which he gave of his countrymen upon a recent occasion? In the debate upon the repeal of the defence bill, the learned lord told us that nothing could be more absurd than to expect to get men in Scotland for a less bounty than had hitherto been given. My countrymen, said he, are a sagacious people, and it was presently seen, that for the reduced bounty of twelve guineas not a man could be obtained. Now he tells us that his countrymen are a patriotic people; and that for a limited service they will engage without any bounty at all. But the other was limited service too: and therefore, though I do not question either the sagacity or the patriotism of the learned lord's countrymen, yet, while I cannot help regretting that their patriotism was not called in to correct their sagacity in the former instance: I cannot help apprehending that their sagacity may possibly interfere with the exercise of their patriotism in the present instance. My hon. friend below me (Mr. Wilberforce) has taken this matter upon a yet higher tone; and has poured forth abundant eloquence upon the topic of the union of character between the soldiers and citizens; of the incompatibility of indefinite military service with a free civil constitution; and of the necessity of making the soldiers partakers as far as possible, and at all events reversionary heirs of that liberty which they are employed to defend. My hon. friend has told us, that all history exhibits the important truth, that the armies of free countries have uniformly been victorious; that they have been so, because the armies themselves have been free. The theory is so beautiful, that we cannot but lament that it should want the recommendation of truth. I forget who it is that says, that men read history with such different eyes, and retain such different impressions of it, that you would hardly think it possible that they could have been reading the same thing. For my part, when I endeavour to recollect the most splendid and striking examples of conquest and military glory of the ancient or the modern world, I find it difficult to prevent the names of Philip of Macedon, and of his son; the name of Julius Cæsar; the name of the king of Prussia, and still more that of Bonaparte, from occurring to me: and I find myself at a loss to attribute any part of their successes to the enthusiasm of liberty or to the energy of a constitutional spirit. I am far from wishing to disparage the suggestions of my hon. friend, but I am anxious that a serious and most important question should be placed in its true light, and stripped of the glare of popular fallacy. But if I am able to hear this argument with complacency, at the same time that I deny its force, I cannot suppress my astonishment and admiration at the patient silence of the right hon. secretary (Mr. Windham). The right hon. gent. has heard, not to-night only, but on former nights, such doctrines respecting the mixture of the military and civil character, as I should have thought would have made him start from his seat to vindicate the very first principles of his system. If there were one thing which he laboured more than another in that memorable speech, in which he poured forth his whole soul, the accumulation of many years meditation, upon these subjects; it was the distinctness and inviolable separation of the soldier from the citizen. The soldier he described as utterly segregated and set apart from the population in which he lived; as belonging to a world of his own, and not looking beyond the limits of it; exempt from toiling for his own subsistence; but devoting himself to habits of life, to discipline, and laws, and institutions of peculiar strictness and severity, neither partaking in the solicitudes nor enjoying the immunities of civil life. So far from proposing to ap-proximate the soldier to the citizen, he thought (as the house well remembers) that the occasional assumption of the military title, and the military garb, by the volunteers, who were still irretrievably citizens, had affected the soldiers' character with a contamination which it would be difficult to remove. And yet the right hon. gent. has now, for two nights, sat by and heard his measure supported, on the ground that it tends distinctly and directly to produce the very effect which he has so strenuously disclaimed and deprecated. He heard on a former night an hon. and distinguished member from Ireland (Mr. Grattan) descant in a strain of learned and splendid declamation on the necessary union of the two characters, which he wishes to keep asunder. He heard the same night, the hon. and learned gent. near him (the solicitor general) deduce from the works of Mr. justice Blackstone, an argument, that the separation of the soldiery from the mass of his majesty's subjects was wholly incompatible with our free constitution. He has heard the same argument to-night from the noble lord near him (lord H. Petty) from the learned lord (the lord Advocate) and from my hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce.) He has heard it asserted as the main principle and chief praise of his measure, that it promotes and secures this contaminating union; and, to my astonishment, he has accepted in silence the panegyrics which his feelings must have disavowed. I can excuse him for having disdained to answer the attacks of his opponents, but I am surprised that he should not have vindicated himself from the support of his friends.—Upon the whole, sir, nothing has been urged in the debate of this night to change the opinion which I had formed upon this measure. The advantages held out from it still appear to me to be visionary and theoretical; the practical inconveniences and dangers manifest and undenied; the remedies of those dangers uncertain and precarious, and, by the avowal of the very author of the measure, rather to be hoped for than confidently expected. The stake put to hazard is nothing less than the whole regular army; that army upon which (exclusively, as the right hon. gentlemen contend), the security of the empire is to rest. And all this at a moment like the present!—The bill I am afraid is gone too far to admit of opposition in the whole, or amendment in many parts. One part only of one danger it is yet in our power to guard against. The amendment proposed by my honourable friend affords us this opportunity. It is the last twig at which we can catch before we are precipitated into all the danger which awaits us. It is too late for the house to decide against measures which hazard the army altogether; but it is yet in their power to take a security for its being kept together, at least in time of war.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* replied to the objections which had been urged against the measure by the right hon. gent.; though the arguments so ably advanced early in the debate by his hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce) still remained wholly unanswered. With respect to the army which it was necessary for this country to keep up, it surely would not be sufficient to have merely the same numerical force as in the time of king William and queen Anne; we must have a force adequate to the new situation of affairs; and if we wished to have influence on the continent, we must have an army capable of acting there with effect, should circumstances present the opportunity. The right hon. gent. had spoken as if there were some who talked contemptuously of wealth. Who they were he could not tell—at least he never knew that ridicule of that sort had much success. But this at least was true, that wealth alone would not secure greatness, and that if a nation wished to preserve its eminence it must depend on the number and valour of its own soldiers, not on its money to pay mercenaries. To suppose that national greatness could be maintained without this, was to assert what was contrary to all principle; to all common sense; to all experience. He then proceeded to consider the instances of the adoption of limited service, in foreign armies, and contended, that not only the practice, but the successful practice, was justified by the example of foreign nations, particularly the French and Swiss. He then shewed that the spirit of liberty, in all times, had improved the soldier. Nor was this disproved by the cases of Alexander and Cæsar. The former triumphed over the Greeks divided, and over Asiatics, it was the triumph of Europeans comparatively free. In the case of Cæsar, many of his troops might believe the pretences he held out, that they fought for liberty against tyranny and aristocracy. As to what was said of the danger of adopting this measure in time of war, if it was good to be adopted, it ought to be begun in time of war as well as in time of peace, and to do so was what his noble friend (lord H. Petty) had wisely and truly said, to shew real courage and magnanimity. As to trenching on the prerogative, all he had to say was, that it was undoubtedly competent to the house to regulate any power it conferred: and to talk of the prerogative of the crown to levy men on any conditions, was very idle, since the concurrence of parliament was necessary to pay and regulate the army raised by prerogative. And would it be contended that the impression made by the measure, in this shape, would not be much greater than if it had sprung solely from official regulation; and, therefore, was not its success on that account likely to be the greater? As to the effect of the offer of a seven years' service instead of for life, he conceived it self-evident that it would procure more men. As to the discontent of those now enlisted, he saw no danger of the kind. No ill effects of that sort had sprung from enlistment for a period during the American war, or in the instances in which it was adopted since. In a word, he conceived the present measure better calculated to give us a large army than any other; and such an army all men must agree was necessary, if we were determined to preserve our greatness and pre-eminence as a nation.

General *Norton* was adverse to the measure, and in favour of the amendment.

Mr. *Rose*, jun. said, that the experiment of limited service had not succeeded in France formerly. In the seven years war, when France, with a population of 24 millions, had only 140,000 French troops on foot, it was found impracticable to recruit them. And in the beginning of the American war the system was abandoned, and the republic had been too wise to adopt it. Besides, desertion had been very great in the French armies.

Mr. *Perceval*, amidst repeated cries of question! question! rose, and replied at some length, in answer to Mr. Fox, in the course of which he defended the proceedings of a former night, as perfectly parliamentary.—The question was then loudly called for, and the house divided, when there appeared, For the amendment, 103; against it 195. Majority 92.—The bill was then passed.—Adjourned at 4 o'clock on Saturday morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, June 7.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Alexander and several other members of the house of commons brought up the Mutiny bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be printed, on the motion of Earl Spencer, who gave notice, that if the prints were on the table on Monday, he should move the second reading on Tuesday.—The Property Tax bill, the Irish Sugar bill, and the Irish Additional Force Repeal bill were read a third time and passed, and a message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 9.

[MINUTES.] The royal assent was given by commission to the Irish Debenture bill, the Irish Revenue Collection bill, the Irish Malt bill, the Irish Spirits bill, the Irish Butter bill, the Franking bill, the Irish First Fruits bill, and several private bills. The commissioners were the lord Chancellor, earl Spencer, and lord Walsingham.—The Irish Stamp Duties bill passed through a committee and was reported.—Earl Spencer adverted to the notice he had given on Saturday of his intention to move for the 2nd reading of the Mutiny bill the next day; but understanding, that business of importance already stood for that day, he should move that the bill be read a second time on Wednesday. Lord Hawkesbury did not rise to object to the motion, but merely to give notice, that previous to the 2nd reading of the bill on Wednesday, he should move that there be laid before the house the opinions given by certain military officers, relative to enlistment for a term of years. The bill was ordered to be read a 2nd time on Wednesday, for which day the lords were ordered to be summoned.—Strangers were excluded; and the consideration of the evidence adduced on the trial of lord Melville was resumed. The discussion continued till half past eleven o'olock, when the further consideration of the subject was postponed till the next day. The learned judges attended.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 9.

[MINUTES.] A message from the Lords announced their lordships' assent to the Property Duty bill, the Irish Import and Export Regulation bill, and the Irish Additional Force Act Repeal bill. On the motion of sir J. Newport the Irish and English Corn Interchange bill was read a first time.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA — FURRUCKABAD.] Mr. *Paull* presented to the house the following:

"Article of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors committed by Richard Colley, marquis Wellesley, in his transactions with respect to the Nabob of Furruckabad.

"That Richard Colley marquis Wellesley was constituted, appointed, and actually became a servant of the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1797, and in the reign of his majesty the thirty-seventh. That the office which he was appointed to fill was that of governor general of Bengal, and subsequently that of captain general of all the king's and company's forces serving in the British territories in the East Indies. That he arrived, and took possession of the government committed to his charge, in the month of May 1798; and that he continued to fill, and to exercise the powers of the said office and offices, until the month of August 1805, when he was therein superseded by Charles marquis Cornwallis.—That Furruckabad is a principality of Hindustan, adjoining the north-western boundary of the principality of Oude, being in extent about 150 miles in length, and about 50 miles in breadth, containing many large and populous cities, possessing more than 1,300,000 inhabitants, and yielding a land revenue of upwards of 10 lacks and 50,000 rupees, or about 130,000l. sterling.—That the nabob of Furruckabad has, for many years, maintained no military force, except such troops as were requisite for the purposes of state; but, that by various agreements or treaties, concluded between the said nabob and the nabob vizier of Oude, the protection and defence of the said nabob and principality of Furruckabad were entrusted to the said nabob vizier; for which protection and defence it was finally settled, by an agreement or treaty, concluded in the year 1786, between the said nabob and the said nabob vizier, that the said nabob of Furruckabad should pay to the said nabob vizier of Oude the annual sum of 450,000 rupees, or about 50,000l. sterling.—That the nabobs of Furruckabad having, from the earliest periods, invariably manifested the firmest attachment to the English nation, and the nabob viziers of Oude being, also, in amity with the said East India company; the said company did, as the mutual friend and mediator between the said princes, guarantee the fulfilment of the respective compacts, so, as aforesaid, entered into between them.—That the servants of the said East India company, not satisfied with this mediatory character, having afterwards, under the influence of unworthy motives, interfered in the internal affairs of the principality of Furruckabad, in a manner which is described by the marquis Cornwallis, in a dispatch to the secret committee of the court of directors, as having ever been highly offensive to the nabob vizier, "as having in no degree promoted the interest or the satisfaction of the nabob, and as having, while it produced no sort of advantage to the company, by no means contributed to the credit of the government of Hindustan:" and the said marquis Cornwallis, sensible of the injustice and impolicy of such interference, did, in the year 1787, he being then governor general of Bengal, conclude a treaty with the said nabob vizier of Oude, in which he stipulated, that "The English resident at Furruckabad should be recalled, and that no other should afterwards be appointed;" thus, honestly and wisely, relinquishing all interference in the affairs of the said prince and country of Furruckabad.—That perfect good understanding being thus restored between the said nabob, the nabob vizier, and the said East India company, they remained in uninterrupted amity, and the treaties and agreements which they had severally concluded continued to be duly fulfilled by all parties, from that time, until the month of November 1801; which was a period of 14 years.—That, in the said month of Nov. 1801, the said Richard Colley marquis Wellesley, he being then governor general of Bengal, having, in direct opposition to the express prohibitions which had been given by the said East India company to their servants abroad, against "making any extension of territory, either by wars, negociations, or intrigues;" having, in open defiance of the solemn resolutions of the commons of Great Britain, and of two successive acts of parliament, which declared, that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation;" having, in violation of every principle of equity, and of all good faith; and having, under the most unjust pretences, and by the most iniquitous means, extorted from the said nabob vizier of Oude a large portion of his dominions and revenues, did, among other branches on the said revenues, extort from the said nabob vizier, his claim, right, and title for ever, to the annual subsidy which the said nabob of Furruckabad had, by the agreement made with the said nabob vizièr as aforesaid, bound himself to pay to the said nabob vizier, for the protection and defence of him, the said nabob, and his principality of Furruckabad.—That the said marquis Wellesley, not contented with having thus seized upon the tribute aforesaid, did, about the same time, in opposition to the before-mentioned guarantee of security which had been given by the said East India company to the nabob of Furruckabad; in opposition to the before-mentioned agreement which the said East India company had made not to interfere in the affairs of Furruckabad; in opposition to the aforesaid prohibition of the said East India company; in opposition to the aforesaid resolutions of the commons of Great Britain, and to the aforesaid acts of parliament; and, in opposition to all right and justice, conceive the intention, and form the determination of wresting form the aforesaid nabob the whole of his authority, his government, his revenues, and his territory: which unlawful and wicked intention he did, without the knowledge or consent of the council, through the agency of, and in concert with, his brother the hon. Henry Wellesley, under the most unjust pretences, and by the most iniquitous means, finally accomplish and effect.—That the said marquis Wellesley, after having long formed and matured this intention and determination, did, by his instructions for that purpose, given on the 21st March 1802 to his said brother the hon. Henry Wellesley, direct and empower him to accomplish it.—That the said marquis Wellesley, wishing to cloak this unjustifiable attempt with some shew of equity, did direct the said hon. Henry Wellesley, among other means, to prevail upon the said nabob of Furruckabad to consent to an abandonment of his just rights to his own principality, and to sign an agreement for transferring them to the said East India company; but that, foreseeing that, as the said nabob had but just passed his minority, and would be therefore naturally inclined to resort to the old councillors and friends of his family for advice upon so important an affair; and foreseeing also that their influence would prevent his acquiescence; the said marquis did authorize the said Henry Wellesley to promise to the said friends and connections of the said nabob, ample rewards, in case they coincided with his views, and to threaten them with expulsion from their country, in case they opposed them: thus contriving, by intrigue and corruption, or by violence and injustice, to draw the said friends of the said nabob into a traitorous dereliction of their duty to their own hereditary prince.—That the said marquis Wellesley did, about this time, to wit, the 21st March 1802, direct the said nabob of Furruckabad and his uncle Khenud Mund Khan, who had administered the affairs of the principality as regent during the minority of the said nabob, to repair to Bareilly, a place out of the limits of the said nabob's country, but where the said honourable Henry Wellesley resided, in the illegal capacity of lieut. governor of the territories which the same marquis had extorted from the aforesaid nabob Vizier of Oude; there to receive the commands of the said marquis, through the said Henry Wellesley: thus treating, with an indignity due only to an inferior vassal, a prince, who, as well as his ancestors, had ever and invariably manifested the firmest attachment to the Company's government, and who was, therefore, entitled to particular distinction.—That the said marquis Wellesley having, by this humiliation and degradation, prepared the minds of the said nabob and the said regent his uncle, for the insulting proposals which he was about to make, did, by the means of, and in concert with, the said hon. Henry Wellesley, propose to the said regent, who was then sold administrator of the affairs of Furruckabad, the entire "transfer of the civil and military administration of that province to the British "government;" adding, that "the said "marquis had long been of opinion that "was the only arrangement which could "afford ultimate satisfaction?" and falsely alledging (as the event soon after proved) "that the British government, in assuming "the management of the country, proposed no advantage to itself beyond the security of its just rights and interests, and "the interest of those dependant upon the "state;" and insidiously urging, as an inducement for the said regent to promote the said marquis's views against his master the said nabob, "that he, the regent, might "rely with confidence, that the acknowledged liberality of the British government would not admit of his interests being neglected;" by which means the said marquis did secure the consent and co-operation of the said regent, who did accordingly declare, "that he was ready to promote "his views by all the means in his power:" the said marquis having thus, by the promise of future reward, bribed the said regent to a traitorous surrender of the dearest interests and most important rights of his prince.—That the said marquis Wellesley having thus gained over Khenud Mund Khan, the uncle of the nabob, who, for upwards of six years, had been regent of the principality and sole administrator of the affairs of Furruckabad, and who possessed an influence in that country inferior only to that of the nabob himself, did, by the means of, and in concert with the said hon. Henry Wellesley, taking advantage of the defection of the regent, of the youth and inexperience of the said nabob, of his defenceless and unprotected situation, of his separation from his relations and friends, of his absence from his subjects, of his distance from his country, and of his being in his, the said marquis's, usurped dominions, surrounded by a great military force, and entirely in his, the said marquis's power, did, by the means of, and in concert with the said hon. Henry Wellesley, make to the said nabob the same insulting and injurious proposals for a complete transfer of the civil and military administration of the principality: thus violating the spirit of the orders of the East India company, the resolution of the house of commons, and the acts of the British parliament; and requiring a prince, whom it was his duty to support, to become the instrument of his own degradation, disgrace, and ruin, by the surrender of all his rights, and by becoming a pensioner on the bounty of the said East India company.—That the said nabob, being justly averse to this ignominious surrender, the said marquis Wellesley did, by the means of, and in concert with the said honourable Henry Wellesley, then, to wit, in the month of May 1802, communicate, in writing to the said nabob, the following proposition: "That the nabob should be "continued on the musnud of his ancestors "with all honour, consigning over the civil "and military administration of the province of Furruckabad into the hands of "the Company's government.—That whatever balance should remain from the revenues collected, after paying the amount "of the Company's tribute 450,000 rupees, the charges of government, the salaries and pensions, and the expence of "a battalion of sepoys to be stationed in "the room of the army now entertained "by Khirid Mund Khan, should be paid, "without fail, into the nabob's treasury." That the said nabob, sensible of the injustice, the insolence, and the cruelty of these proposals, and conscious of the disadvantages and dangers of his situation, unwilling to consent and not daring peremptorily to refuse, did make the following answer:—"I have understood the proposition for delivering up the country of Furruckabad into "the hands of the Company's government. "I have no power to make any objections "to whatever you propose: but you know "the governor-general, during my minority, delivered over the country to Khirid "Mund Khan as deputy: now that my minority has passed, when I was in hopes "that I should be put into possession of "the country and property, this proposition "is made to me. I am totally at a loss "what to do. If I deliver over the country to the English government, all my relations and my neighbours, and all the "nobility of Hindustan will say that I have "been found by the English government "so unfit to be trusted with any management, that they did not think proper to "entrust me with the management of such a "country; and I shall never escape, for many "generations, the sneers of the people: if, on "the contrary, I say any thing in disobedience to your orders, it will be against "all rules of submission and propriety. "In this case, therefore, it appears to be "advisable that you should appoint a gentleman, whom I will choose from among the "Company's servants, as a sezawul (or superintendant) over this district, and give "me permission to depart, that I may send "aumils of my own to the different pergunnahs, and make, myself, the settlement of the country; and that the above "gentleman may send an ameen on his "part to each of the pergunnahs, and, in "conjunction, collect the revenues; from "which 450,000 rupees, the usual tribute, "should be paid through the above gentleman to the company's government. "The balance, after paying the pensions "agreeably to what was fixed by my father, to be allowed for my necessary expences. In this way your wishes may "be accomplished, and my honour and "name be preserved among the people."—That, to this proposal, so equitable in itself, and so well calculated to secure to the said East India company all that it had any right to expect, namely, the full payment of the tribute claimed by the said company of the said nabob, the said marquis Wellesley, he having long and firmly determined upon the entire cession of the principality, would not consent.—That, after some other unavailing efforts made by the said nabob, for the purpose of inducing the said marquis Wellesley and the said hon. Henry Wellesley to desist from the execution of their unlawful and wicked intentions, as aforesaid, the said marquis Wellesley and the said hon. Henry Wellesley, refusing the just request of the said nabob to consult his relations and friends upon the occasion, did persist, with indecent and cruel importunity, to require his immediate consent to their proposals before-mentioned.—That, finally, the said marquis Wellesley, wholly disregarding the representations and remonstrances of the said nabob, and equally disregarding the dictates of justice, the law of nations, and the obligations of the most sacred compacts, in direct opposition to the express orders of the East India company, prohibiting their servants abroad "from making any extension of territory either by wars, negociations, or intrigues," and, in open defiance of the solemn resolutions of the commons of Great Britain, and of two successive acts of parliament, declaring, "that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of this nation," did, on the 4th day of June 1802, by the means of, and in concert with, the hon. Henry Wellesley, compel the said nabob to sign a treaty, whereby it was agreed, that "*The province of Furruckabad and its dependencies should be ceded in perpetual sovereignty to the honourable the East India Company.*"—That, in violation of the declaration made by the said marquis Wellesley, by the means of the said hon. Henry Wellesley, to the said regent Khenud Mund Khan, namely, "That the British government, in assuming the management of the country of Furruckabad, proposed no advantage to itself beyond the security of its just rights and interests," (meaning thereby the certain and regular payment of the annual subsidy due to the nabob vizier of Oude, it having no pretence whatever to any other right or interest) "and the security of the interests of those dependant upon the state;" and, in violation of the written declaration made by the said marquis Wellesley, by the means of the said hon. Henry Wellesley, namely, "That, whatever balance should remain from the revenues collected, after paying the charges of government, the salaries and pensions, and the expence of a battalion of sepoys, should be paid, without fail, into the nabob's treasury;" the said marquis Wellesley did, by the means of, and in concert with, the said hon. Henry Wellesley, by the aforesaid treaty, extort and seize upon the whole of the revenues of the said principality of Furruckabad, amounting to upwards of ten lacks and 43,000 rupees (or 130,000l. sterling) and in lieu thereof, did allow the said nabob an annual pension of only one lack and 8,000 rupees (or 13,000l. sterling); and to the princess, mother of the said nabob, and to all the other members of his illustrious family, and to all their officers, retainers, dependants, attendants, and servants, annual pensions, amounting in the whole to less than two lacks and 80,000 rupees (or 30,000l. sterling); and did reserve to the said East India company, contrary to the above mentioned declarations, the whole of the balance, amounting to nearly seven lacks and 55,000 rupees, or nearly 100,000l. sterling.—That adding insult to injury, the said marquis Wellesley did appoint as resident at Furruckabad, and as distributor of the aforesaid pensions, the secretary of his brother the said hon. Henry Wellesley, who, as well as the said hon. Henry Wellesley, had aided and assisted the said marquis in his extortions; granting to the said secretary a salary, suite, and allowance, exceeding those granted to the said unfortunate and despoiled prince.—That, to all these extortions, injuries, and insults, the said nabob, cut off from his relations, his friends, his subjects, and his country; beguiled into the territories of his enemy; surrounded on every side by British troops; in every respect defenceless and powerless, having no where to resort for assistance; seeing his ancient ally and protector, the nabob vizier of Oude, stripped of half his possessions, by the very persons in whose power, and at whose mercy, he then was, and reduced to a state of vassalage to the very persons who were then dictating terms to himself; seeing his powerful minister Khenud Mund Khan, the regent, in the interests of his enemies; and seeing, in those enemies, those perfidious friends to whom himself and his house had ever been invariably attached, and who were bound by every human tie to succour and uphold him; and knowing that any sort of opposition, on his part, would be utterly ineffectual and unavailing, and would only exasperate the bitterness of his foes, was obliged to submit.—That, in this unlawful, wicked, and cruel manner, did the said marquis Wellesley, in open violation of the most sacred ties, of the positive orders of the East India company, of the solemn resolutions of the commons of England, and of two successive acts of the British parliament, insult, injure, oppress, despoil, and, in fact, depose, a young, defenceless, and friendly prince, extorting from him all his revenues and his dominions, and reducing him and the whole of his illustrious family to a state of vassalage and dependency: and, thus, did the said marquis exhibit the British government to all India and the whole world, as a government totally wanting in justice and good faith, openly despising the law of nations, guided by no principle but that of gain, and undisguisedly scoffing at all right but the right of the sword.—That in all and singular the above recited acts and proceedings, the said Richard Colley marquis Wellesley has been wholly unmindful of the solemn engagements of duty to the said East India company, to his sovereign, and to his country, by him entered into; has daringly contemned the parliament, the king, and the laws, and dishonoured the British nation and name; and has therein been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanors."

The charge was ordered to printed, and taken into consideration on the 19th inst.

[ASSESSED TAXES.] The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means,

Lord *Henry Petty* observed, that after what had been already said on the subject to which he was now to call the attention of the house, it would be unnecessary for him to trouble the committee at any length. He need do nothing more than state, that, according to the intimation which he had given on a former occasion, it was proposed to raise 10 per cent. on the amount of the assessed taxes. He would accordingly now move a resolution to that effect. With regard to the other motions which he had to submit to the house, it related to the exemptions which it was in contemplation to allow to persons having small incomes and large families. The object of it was to allow a deduction of four per cent. for every child, in cases of assessment under the amount of 40l. As far as the ratio extended, this would apply to incomes up to the amount of one thousand, or between one and two thousand pounds. This would embrace the whole of the exemptions that could have been claimed on this account, under the property-tax, and besides, it possessed the advantage of being more full, general, and permanent, the exemptions under the property-tax being necessarily temporary. By this means he avoided all the inconveniencies which would attend the granting of such exemptions under the property-tax; and when he resisted the exemptions in that form, he had something like the present plan in contemplation. He concluded by moving, that towards raising the supplies granted to his majesty, there be an allowance on every assessment made or to be made, by virtue of an act of the 43d of the king, after the 5th of April 1806, of an aditional rate of 10 per cent. on the amount of such assessment.

Mr. *Huskisson* expressed some doubts as to the produce of the tax. He rather apprehended that it would not turn out so productive as might be at first expected. There was a difference between the sum that might be calculated on the assessment and the sum that might be received in the exchequer. It ought to be recollected that the property-tax had been raised from 6½ to 10 per cent. and the effect of this certainly would be to induce people to reduce their establishments, so as to be liable to a smaller portion of the assessed taxes.

Mr. *Francis* having before expressed his opinion that no new taxes were necessary for the service of the present year, and having pointed out a mode (taxing foreign property in the funds), by which a large sum might be procured, it could not be supposed that he could be very well disposed to any tax whatever. However he had no particular objection to this mode beyond what he would have to any other.

Mr. *Dent* observed, that the principle of exemption of foreign property in the funds from the property-tax, applied to the parish taxes. He was proceeding to complain of the hardships under which small annuities laboured, when he was stopped by the chairman, who stated, that the only question at present was with regard to the assessed taxes.

Mr. *Baker* contended that the hon. gent. (Mr. Huskisson) was incorrect in his statement as to the effects which the raising of the property-tax would have on the produce of the tax now proposed. The fact was that every one must give an account of his establishment as it was the preceding year, and therefore could not avoid this tax for the present.

Mr. *Bastard* said, he did not rise for the purpose of opposing the tax, or of imputing any blame to the noble lord for bringing it forward, as he had no doubt he was obliged to do so from the peculiar situation in which he found the country when he came into office. The pressure on the people was now become so very great, that taxation, he was afraid, had arrived at almost its ne plus ultra. He wished, therefore, the noble lord would turn his mind towards such part of the public property, as it was called, as might be touched; for instance, the waste lands, in order to obviate the necessity of raising new taxes another year.

Lord *H. Petty* said, he hoped he should be able to make the waste lands come in aid of taxes the next year.—The resolution was then read and agreed to, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

[ELECTION TREATING BILL.] Mr. *Tierney* moved the third reading of the Election Treating bill.

Mr. *Langham* objected to it, on the ground, that it was not an act to explain and amend the act of king William, but purported to be a declaratory bill, and really was not so; for it declared it to be lawful to give money to a third person to pay the voter for loss of time, though not for carriages; whereas, the act of king William did not allow any money at all to be given. He thought the bill was altogether unnecessary, and would, therefore, move as an amendment, that it be read a third time this day 3 months.

Lord *A. Hamilton* said, that the amendments made in the committee on the bill, though satisfactory to some gentlemen, did not remove his objections altogether. It would in substance make no material alteration in the law as it stood at present, and he should oppose it, as not being operative to any effective purpose.

Mr. *Morris* observed, that the statute of William, in forbidding candidates being at the expence of supplying meat and drink to the voters, was founded upon salutary principles. This bill professed to be declaratory of that law, but as it allowed the payment of expences for loss of time, it left an opening for many abuses. There could be no standard for the amount of such charges, as the time of one man must be much more valuable than that of another. If at present there was no doubt as to the law, there could be no occasion for a declaratory bill, and he did not find that there was any contrariety in the decisions either of the courts of law, or of committees on the subject. He opposed the bill therefore as nugatory.

Sir *W. Dolben* said, that he had been for many years a member of parliament, and had seen much of election contests. He had seen much of elections, and he did not know any way so effectual for correcting the bribery at elections, as that the expences of the out-voters should be paid jointly by the contending candidates, by previously depositing a sum of money in the hands of the returning officer, for defraying the expences of every elector who should apply for them.

Sir *R. Buxton* thought the opinion expressed by the hon. baronet a very unconstitutional one, and hoped the house would never sanction the payment of any money for a seat in parliament.

Sir *W. Dolben* said, he had only spoken as to the custom and practice, and not as to the theory of the constitution upon that doctrine.

Mr. *Baker* thought the hon. baronet was in an error, and misled by the right exercised by the returning officers, of calling upon candidates to pay jointly the expences of erecting the hustings, &c. He said, he liked the bill in its original state, which would prevent candidates, or their friends, from being at any expence whatever for elections. He saw no necessity for any charge, as the object was to have a free election. By the bill now under consideration, the candidate, though he paid no money directly, might agree with any innkeeper for the expence of carriages for conveyance; and that being done, the other charge of meat and drink must necessarily follow. If persons abandoned those places where they had votes, by residing elsewhere, they had no right to expect conveyance at the expence of the candidate; and when a man purchased even a small freehold in a place different from that of his residence, he did not do so in contemplation of a candidate being at the expence of his exercising his right of franchise. Nothing could, in his opinion, be so effectual in securing free elections, as a public and strict law, to prohibit the candidates from being at any expence.

Mr. *Tierney* said, that as the proposer of this measure, he stood in the extraordinary situation, that, having in the committee got rid of a number of strong objections, his bill seemed to have gained a greater number of enemies. He had omitted those parts to which the greatest opposition was made, and yet it did not appear that he had gained any friends by doing so. He was, however, convinced, that whatever might be the fate of this bill, in less than three years, something must be done to prevent the abuses it was meant to remedy. The court of Common Pleas had, indeed, decided in favour of the literal construction of the act of king William, but experience shewed, that doubts were entertained of it in the committees of that house, which, in their reports, only stated the rights of the seat, but always omitted the grounds on which they had formed their decisions. In the Boston committee it was proved, that 4 or 5 guineas were given to each voter for loss of time; but that did not appear upon the report. On the Coventry election, there was evidence that the voters required the candidate to make a previous deposit of from 1,000 to 2,000 guineas, before the election came on, and yet the sitting member was declared duly elected. If the point then was left still in doubt, they may, in the next election, demand a deposit of 3000 guineas; and the present bill was meant to set all these doubts at rest. He contended, therefore, that there was a strong necessity for a bill of this nature to set the point at rest. This was his object. He himself had as little interest in the question as any body. He had often received letters on many subjects which he brought before the house, abusing him in severe terms, but all the letters he received on this subject were filled with thanks. If the house did not pass this bill, great mischief would be done, for it would be understood that henceforth, money might be freely given.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* admitted it to be strange enough that his right hon. friend was in that situation in which friends and foes equally complained of his bill, and for his own part, if no stronger arguments were adduced to shew that such a number of electors should be disfranchised, he felt it his duty to retain all his former objections. He voted indeed for the bill going into a committee, but he did not find the invincible objections to it removed. He would not go into the theory of the constitution upon this point, but he had no hesitation in saying, that in our present situation, he was a decided enemy to any dimunition of the electors. His right honourable friend was not well founded in his last observation; for the negative of that house upon a bill, could neither be argued nor received either in the courts of law or a committee. The bill must be productive of infinite difficulty; and he would suppose a case, of his taking Mr. Tierney, in the same chaise with himself, to vote for a candidate in the country, in whose favour he felt himself interested; by the present bill, if he did so, he would be guilty of a breach of the law. The act of king William should either be repealed, or suffered to stand as it was, for it would be very unseemly in that house to pass a bill in favour of candidates, against the electors.—The house then divided on the amendment, when there appeared For it, 42; Against it, 17.—Majority 25. The bill was accordingly thrown out.

[CHELSEA HOSPITAL BILL.] Mr. Secretary *Windham* moved the recommitment of this bill.

Mr. *Bastard* observed, that an allowance was made to certain corps of volunteers, for clothing, from June to October, and wished to know whether it was to be generally extended to them all?

Mr. *Windham* replied, that he knew of nothing which could produce any difference in the situation of the volunteers from that which was originally proposed at the opening of the plan.

Mr. *Huskisson* objected to the extraordinary power which the bill gave to the crown, of granting pensions, of the amount of which there was no estimate before the house.

Mr. *Windham* replied, that those pensions would be annually under the inspection of parliament, as they were before.

Mr. *Huskisson* remarked, that the expences were always hitherto before the house, but that it was now binding its faith to make them good without knowing their amount.

Mr. *Windham* answered, that the parliament would have cognizance of them when it was called upon for the payment.

Sir *J. Pulteney* said, the clause would give the soldier a legislative right to a pension, whether he by his conduct deserved it or not, as it went by length of service. He hoped some regulations would be made to prevent men, who had behaved improperly, from enjoying that benefit; and, upon the whole, thought it would be better to leave it, as before, at the discretion of the crown.

Mr. *Windham* said, in reply, that if a man behaved improperly, he was liable to be deprived of the benefit of the provision by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he could not help remarking on this sort of objection; for the gentlemen at first complained, that the new plan would destroy the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and now objected, that it would give the king too much power.

Sir *J. Pulteney* explained, that he did not mean to object to the clause, but should prefer leaving all such things, as usual, at the discretion of the crown.

Mr. *Bastard* thought that house should always reserve to itself a controul in the disposal of money, which it was now parting with.

Mr. *Fox* observed, that the clause gave the crown no other power, but that of granting the pensions; the house retained the discretion of providing the money.

Mr. *Windham* also stated, that the measure did not, in that respect, put the country in a different situation from what it was in at present, in respect to the prerogative of the crown, and only bound the parliament to make good the engagements entered into with the soldiers.—After some further conversation, the different clauses were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

[LINEN DRAWBACK BILL.] Mr. *Foster* said, there was an order in the paper for the second reading of the Linen Drawback bill. Counsel were to be heard on it; and he would be guided by the gentlemen at the opposite side of the house, whether it should be postponed or not; for his part, he thought, that on account of the state of the house, several gentlemen being absent who wished to hear the matter discussed, it would be better to postpone the 2nd reading until Wednesday next, to which day he then moved it should be deferred.

Lord *A. Hamilton* said, that being convinced that the measure was not yet advisable, he would move, that instead of Wednesday next, should be inserted this day three months.

Mr. *Magens* made a few observations on the state of the trade, from the consideration of which he said, he was very desirous of seconding the motion of the noble lord.

Lord *Temple* said, he thought it necessary that this business should be explained to the house, before it was absolutely decided on. The board of trade had formerly come to a resolution to allow a drawback on the duties on striped and checked linens, but not on plain; the object of this was, to encrease the exportation of our plain linens; but, by a mistake in the wording of the act, the plain, as well as checked linens, were inserted. Now, on the faith of this act of parliament, the merchants here had sent orders to the foreign markets; so that if this bill was now to pass, it would act much to the disadvantage of these merchants. For this reason he thought parliament was pledged to hold them harmless, and he, therefore, conceived himself bound to support the amendment.

Mr. *Foster* thought the noble lord (Temple) should have explained the matter more fully. After this mistake in the wording of the act had been discovered, he had proposed that the bill he had the honour of introducing, should not take effect, until every order that could possibly go from this country to foreign merchants, should have been executed. By the 1st of Nov. he conceived that these orders would be perfected; but if other gentlemen did not think so, that was no reason why the bill should be thrown out entirely. It was a subject that could be considered, and settled in a committee; and he therefore thought, that the amendment should not be allowed, but that the bill should be committed, when a time might be fixed on to preclude all possibility of the merchants, who had sent orders, being injured.

Lord *Temple* in explanation, said, the term from which this bill was to have effect could not be agreed on, and that was his reason for supporting the amendment.

Lord *H. Petty* said, as it was agreed by all that there was a mistake, it should be rectified as soon as possible. The committee he considered as the proper place to deliberate on the term that should be allowed; he believed it was required, that until the 1st of March should be allowed, and he hoped his noble friends would consent to have the matter discussed in a committee.

Mr. *Rose* agreed with the noble lord, and said, that the neglect was in a measure attributable to him, and he would be very sorry, on that account, that every chance of rectifying it should be taken away.

Sir *J. Newport* hoped the noble lord would withdraw his amendment, as, by rejecting the bill in the present stage, it would appear as if the principle was objected to, when in reality, the only question was with regard to time, and he was sure the hon. gent. (Mr. Foster) would be willing to make every allowance.—It was then agreed, that both the motions should be withdrawn, and the bill was read a 2nd time, and ordered to be committed on Thursday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 10.

[MINUTES.] The house proceeded in the appeal from the court of chancery, "Mary Georgiana Seymour, an infant, by her next friend, against the earl of Euston and lord Henry Seymour." The solicitor general, at considerable length, went over most of the arguments urged in this cause in the court of chancery, and was followed on the same side by Mr. Agar. The further consideration of the appeal was then postponed till the next day. During the hearing of the appeal, the bishop of Winchester addressed the house in further confirmation of an affidavit made by his lordship, which had been referred to by the solicitor-general relative to the education of Miss Seymour in the faith of the church of England. The Lord Chancellor observed, that whatever degree of respect they might entertain for the opinions of the right reverend prelate, their lordships could only look to what was in evidence before them.—The Irish Stamp Duties bill was read a third time and passed.—Strangers were excluded, whilst their lordships discussed some matter of privilege brought forward by the earl of Limerick. The discussion continued some time. Strangers were re-admitted, but no public business was done, and very soon afterwards they were again excluded; when the consideration of the evidence adduced on the trial of lord Melville was resumed; and an order was made to proceed further on the trial of lord Melville on Thursday, and a message ordered to be sent to the Commons to acquaint them therewith.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 10.

[MINUTES.] Sir J. Anderson brought up a petition from the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, in favour of the East-London water works bill.—On the motion of sir J. Sinclair, it was ordered to be an instruction to the committee appointed to consider of the laws relative to waggons, &c. on the highways throughout the united kingdom, to take into their consideration the act of the 28th of the king, c. 27, relative to outside passengers on stage coaches.—Mr. Vansittart brought up the Scotch Distillery bill, which was read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Thursday next, and to be printed.—The Irish Malt Duty bill was read a third time and passed.—Sir J. Newport gave notice of a motion he intended to make, for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the elections in Ireland. The first object of the bill he should propose was, to disqualify revenue officers from being returning officers, as they were now disqualified from being voters. In the second place, he wished that it should be imperative upon corporations, to examine speedily the claims of persons claiming the right of freedom; and thirdly he wished that in cities and towns, the freeholders should be put on an equality with those who had obtained their freedom by trade, who at present can act six months after obtaining their freedom, whereas the freeholder must be registered at least twelve months prior to the election.—Sir Arthur Wellesley moved for papers respecting the charge against marquis Wellesley. The first paper for which he moved was "the copy of a letter from Mr. Paull to Marquis Wellesley, dated Lucknow, March 10, 1803, with the answer." Mr. Paull seconded the motion. He however begged leave to state, that at the time of his writing that letter, he had been only six weeks in India, after his return from England, where he had staid above two years. It would be seen, however, that that letter complained of the oppression and extortion committed under the system of the British government in the province of Oude. The paper was then ordered, as was also an immediate return of papers formerly moved for and ordered.

[ASSESSED TAXES BILL.] On the motion of lord Henry Petty the house went into a committee on the Assessed Taxes bill.

Lord *Henry Petty* moved a resolution, "That an allowance, not exceeding 4l. per cent. per annum, be granted to every person having more than two children born in lawful wedlock, and bonâ fide maintained at the expence of such person, out of the duties charged by an act of the 43d year of his present majesty, for repealing the several duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, and granting new duties in lieu thereof, and by an act of the 45th year of his present majesty, for granting certain duties on horses, for each of such children above two, in case the total amount of such persons' assessment or assessments for a year under the said Acts, after all appeals thereon shall have been heard and determined, shall be under 40l."

Mr. *Huskisson* wished to know whether this was meant as a permanent exemption, or only as an alleviation of the hardships of the Property tax. In either case, however, he thought it liable to considerable objections. If the deduction was allowed in this case, the principle should go a great deal farther, and be in fairness allowed in other taxes. The Stamp Duties were very considerable on persons, for instance, engaged in chancery proceedings, where the expence of the suit was greatly increased by the price and the number of stamps that would be necessary. He did not see how the exemption could be brought to operate with equality in any case: and if extended generally, must be a great drawback on the amount of the taxes. Besides, a man who had a large family of children, must be compelled by that very circumstance, to have a larger house, and pay more to the Assessed taxes; and to equalize the system, would require a particular law for every particular family. A man also, on account of having the number of working horses, windows, or other things necessary to his trade, and having also a large family, might be obliged to pay more than 40l. to the Assessed taxes, and therefore the additional 10l. per cent. into the bargain; but if from other circumstances his Assessed taxes should be only 39l. he would pay nothing to this duty; though he would be saddled with the whole, if his taxes amounted to one shilling above 40l.

Lord *Henry Petty* replied, that as to the general inconvenience of taxes, if it was applied to individual cases, it would be impossible to agree about any one of them. The object of the measure was not to afford a general, but a partial relief, and the inconvenience complained of would be much greater, if the principle had been introduced into the Property tax. As to whether it should be made perpetual or not, that must be matter for future consideration, and dependent on the circumstances of the times, and was a subject on which he would not pledge himself, and could not tie up the discretion of parliament. The principle and object of the measure was, that when a man kept a large house, not for luxury, but from the necessities of his family, he should be exempted.

Mr. *Huskisson* did not think that there was any difficulty applicable to the same principle in the Property tax, which would not apply to this.

Lord *H. Petty* observed, that if there was to be any limitation at all, it must begin somewhere.

Mr. *Wilberforce* thought it no more than fair and just, that persons who were obliged to pay more to the Assessed taxes on account of the largeness of their families, should have an allowance made to them upon that account.

Mr. *Huskisson* wished to know how much these exemptions would take from the produce of the tax?

Lord *H. Petty* replied, that he supposed they might take about 200,000l.—The resolution was then agreed to, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

[ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.] Mr. Secretary *Fox* rose, in pursuance of the notice he had given, to submit to the house a Resolution on this subject, and spoke as follows:—Before, sir, I proceed to state the grounds on which I look with confidence for the almost unanimous countenance of the house in this measure, I feel myself called upon to say a few words by way of apology for being the person to come forward upon the present occasion. For the last sixteen or seventeen years of my life, I have been in the habit of uniformly and strenuously supporting the several motions made by a respectable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce), who has so often, by his meritorious exertions on this subject, attracted the applause of this house, and claimed the admiration of the public. During the long period that I found it in such excellent hands, it was impossible for me to feel the slightest disposition to take it out of them. I am still of the same opinion; and cannot but think it would have been much better, if the same hon. member and his friends had retained it in their own hands, and they might certainly have depended upon me, and those with whom I have the honour to act, for the same ardent support which we have always uniformly given them. But, sir, the hon. member, and many of his friends, seem so strongly to entertain different sentiments in that respect, from me, that I submitted my own opinion to theirs, and now assume the task, reluctantly, on that account, but on every other, most gladly. So fully am I impressed with the vast importance and necessity of attaining what will be the object of my motion this day, that if, during the almost forty years that I have now had the honour of a seat in parliament, I had been so fortunate as to accomplish that, and that only, I should think I had done enough, and could retire from public life with comfort, and conscious satisfaction, that I had done my duty. Having made these preliminary observations, I now come to the main question, but do not think it necessary to stop at present, for the sake of referring in detail to all the entries on your Journals, made at different periods since the year 1792, the different motions made by the hon. gent., the resolutions of the house, and the bills brought in to abolish the trade, particularly that which received the sanction of this house, though it was unfortunately negatived in another place. I have not lately had time, from other occupations, to prepare myself to refer minutely to dates and details; and must, therefore, content myself with a general reference, in which, should I fall into any mistake, I am sure there are gentlemen who will be certain to set me right. In the execution of this duty, I am happy to reflect, that whatever difference of opinion might have prevailed upon some points of this subject, between a few members, and, at one time, unhappily, so as to defeat the measure, the opinion of this house upon the subject was, I will not say uniform, for in that I may be contradicted, but as nearly unanimous as any thing of the kind could be, "That the Slave Trade is contrary to the principles of justice, policy, and humanity." These, I believe, were the words of the resolution, adopted after long and serious deliberation; and they are those which I mean to submit for the resolution I shall propose this day. Surely, sir, it does not remain yet to be argued, that to carry men by violence away to slavery, in distant countries, to use the expression of an illustrious man, now no more (Mr. Burke), a man distinguished in every way, and in nothing more, than for his great humanity, "is not a traffic in the labour of man, but in the man himself." I will not now enter, for it would be unnecessary, into that exploded argument, that we did not make the negroes slaves, but found them already in that state, and condemned to it for crimes. The nature of the crimes themselves (witchcraft in general) is a manifest pretext, and a mockery of all human reason. But, supposing them even to be real crimes, and such as men should be condemned for, can there be any thing more degrading to sense, or disgusting to humanity, than to think it honourable or justifiable in Great Britain, to send out ships annually to assist in the purposes of African police? It has, I am told, been asserted by an authority in the other house of parliament, that the trade is in itself so good a one, that if it was not found already subsisting, it would be right to create it. I certainly will not compare the authority just alluded to with that of my hon. friend (Mr. Wilberforce), who, in the efforts he has used in order to abolish this dishonourable traffic, as well as in all his other pursuits, has always done himself so much honour. I will not compare that authority with that of a right hon. gent. now no more (Mr. Pitt), whose talents have always so justly been entitled to admiration, and whose eloquence was never more powerfully displayed on any occasion, than in opposition to this trade. I will not compare it with that of a noble lord (Sidmouth), one of your predecessors, but not your immediate one, in that chair, who though he opposed the manner in which we wished to obtain an abolition, yet as to the principle, no man ever enforced more strongly, or with more feeling, his utter detestation of it. Another noble lord also (lord Melville), who took a lead in constantly opposing our attempts at a total and immediate abolition; yet, in regard to the principle, when he prevailed in his measure of gradual abolition, recorded his opinion on the Journals, by moving, that the house considered the Slave Trade to be adverse to policy, humanity, and justice. I do not, therefore, suppose, that there can be above one, or perhaps two members in the house, who can object to a condemnation of the nature of the trade, and shall now proceed to recall the attention of the house to what has been its uniform, consistent, and unchangeable opinion for the last 18 years, during which we should blush to have it stated, that not one step has yet been taken towards the Abolition of the Trade. If, then, we have never ceased to express our reprobation, surely the house must think itself bound by its character, and the consistency of its proceedings, to condemn it now. The first time this measure was proposed, on the motion of my hon. friend, which was in the year 1791, it was, after a long and warm discussion, rejected. In the following year, 1792, after the question had been, during the interval, better considered, there appeared to be a very strong disposition, generally, to adopt it to the full; but in the committee, the question for a gradual abolition was carried. On that occasion, when the most strenuous efforts were made to specify the time when the total abolition should take place, there were several divisions in the house about the number of years, and lord Melville, who was the leader and proposer of the gradual abolition, could not venture to push the period longer than eight years, or 1800, when it was to be totally abolished. Yet we are now in the year 1806, and while surrounding nations are reproaching us with neglect, not a single step has been taken towards this just, humane, and politic measure. When the question for a gradual abolition was carried, there was no one could suppose that the trade would last so long; and in the mean time we have suffered other nations to take the lead of us. Denmark, much to its honour, has abolished the trade; or, if it could not abolish it altogether, it has at least done all it could, for it has prohibited its being carried on in Danish ships, or by Danish sailors. I own, that when I began to consider the subject, early in the present session, my opinion was, that the total abolition of the whole might be carried this year; but subsequent business intervened, in the discussions of the military plan; besides which there was an abolition going forward in the foreign trade, from our colonies, and it was thought right to carry that measure first through, before we proceeded to the other. That bill has now passed into a law, and so far we have already succeeded; but it was then too late to carry it through the other house. In this house, from a regard to the consistency of its own proceeding, we could indeed expect no great resistance; but the impediments that may be opposed to it in another, would not leave sufficient time to accomplish it. No alternative is therefore now left, but to let it pass over for the present session; and it is to afford no ground for a suspicion that we have abandoned it altogether, that we have recourse to the measure that I am now about to propose. The motion will not mention any limitation, either as to the time or manner of abolishing the trade. There have been some hints indeed entertained, and thrown out in some quarters, that it would be a better measure to adopt something that must inevitably lead to an abolition; but after 18 years of close attention which I have paid to the subject, I cannot think any thing so effectual as a direct law for that purpose. The next point is, as to the time when the abolition should take place; for the same reasons or objections which led to the gradual measure of 1792, may here occur again. That also I leave open; but I have no hesitation to state, that with respect to that, my opinion is the same as it is with regard to the manner, and that I think it ought to be abolished immediately. The motion, therefore, which I have to make, leaving to the house the time and manner of abolition, I cannot but confidently express my hopes and confident expectation, that it will be unanimously carried; and I implore gentlemen not to listen to that sort of flattery which they have sometimes heard (and particularly from one of the members for Liverpool), that they have abolished it already. When the regulations were adopted, for the space to be allowed for each negro in a slave ship, the same gentleman opposed it as being destructive, and exclaimed, "Oh! if you do that, you may as well abolish it at once, for it cannot be done." Yet, when we propose an abolition altogether, they use, as arguments against us, the great good already done, by regulating the slave ships, and bettering the condition of negroes in the colonies. In the same way, when we first proposed the abolition of the foreign trade, they told us it would have the effect of a general and total abolition; and I beg of them not to forget that declaration now; and having made it once, I must use to them a phrase in common life, "sir, if that be the case, I must pray you to put your hand to it." As to the stale argument of the ruin it would bring upon the West India islands, I would refer gentlemen to perhaps the most brilliant and convincing speech that ever was, I believe, delivered in this or any other place, by a consummate master of eloquence (Mr. Burke), and of which, I believe, there remains in some publications a report that will convey an inadequate idea of the substance, though it would be impossible to represent the manner: the voice, the gesture, the manner, were not to be described.—"O! si illum vidisse, si illum audivisse!" If all the members of this house could but have seen and heard the great orator in the delivery of that speech, on that day, there would not now be one who could for a moment longer suppose that the abolition of the slave trade could injuriously affect the interests of the West India colonies. I am aware that a calculation was once made, and pretty generally circulated, by which it would appear, that were the importation of negroes into the islands put an end to, the stock of slaves could not be kept up; and if I recollect right, the calculation was made with reference to the island of Jamaica. Fortunately, however, for our argument, the experiment has been already tried in North America, where the trade was abolished; and the effect of it shewed, that the population of the negroes was nearly equal to that of the whites. As that is the part of the world where population proceeds more rapidly than in any other, and as we know that within the last 20 years, the population of whites has doubled, and that of negroes very nearly so, without importation; it affords, I will not say a damning, but a blessing proof, that our adopting a similar course would ultimately produce the happy effect of a gradual emancipation, of increasing population, of enabling negroes to acquire property as the reward of long servitude; and thus place these islands in a state of safety beyond any thing that could be done by fleets or armies. Nothing now remains for me, sir, but to address a few words to those members opposite me, who are so fond of quoting the opinions of a right hon. gent. deceased (Mr. Pitt), and profess to entertain so profound a respect for his memory. They all know that there was no subject on which that right hon. gent. displayed his extraordinary eloquence with more ardour than in support of the Abolition of the Slave Trade. His speeches on that subject will not easily be forgotten; and, therefore, in supporting the present motion, they would not only have an opportunity of manifesting their private friendship for him, their admiration of his splendid talents, and the sincerity of their zeal and respect for his character and memory; but also the opportunity of quoting him with great advantage: added to which, they may now display all this for the public good, and on a subject upon which they cannot be suspected of making that respect and admiration, only a vehicle for party purposes.—The different proceedings held in the course of the motions for the Abolition of the Slave Trade were then read. After which the right hon. secretary moved the following resolution: "That this house, "conceiving the African Slave Trade to be "contrary to the principles of justice, hu-"manity, and sound policy, will, with all "practicable expedition, proceed to take "effectual measures for abolishing the said "trade, in such manner, and at such pe-"riod, as may be deemed advisable."

Sir *Ralph Milbanke* rose to second the motion. He should always, he said, endeavour to suppress a trade so unjust and so degrading to humanity; and he wished it to be remembered, that he had on every occasion given his vote for the abolition of it. He had been uniformly of opinion that the slave trade was a ruinous and destructive traffic, that it was contrary to every principle of sound policy, justice, and humanity, as had been stated by the right hon. secretary in a much more able manner than he could do. He was happy to say that the majority of his constituents concurred with him in these sentiments. He was persuaded that the cultivation of the colonies could be very well carried on without any fresh importation of slaves, and concluded by seconding the motion.

General *Tarleton* said he felt some astonishment at the manner in which, and the time when, the right hon. secretary had thought proper to bring forward this Resolution. It was wholly uncalled for by any part of the country, and introduced seemingly for no other purpose, than to shew that he had the power to carry his point. The house had certainly expressed sentiments inimical to the trade, and favourable to its abolition; which, however, it had never thought proper to follow up by any efficient measure. But the former resolutions were brought forward in periods of profound peace, when they were not pregnant with any such danger as at present, when the country was involved in an arduous war, and plunged in a situation more critical than at any former period of its history. Why the right hon gent. should have chosen such a moment for bringing forward the motion, was to him most astonishing, nor could he account for it upon any other principle than that of gratifying, for certain political purposes, the inclinations of an hon. member below him (Mr. Wilberforce), who was so extremely zealous upon this subject, that he never could hear the Slave Trade mentioned without starting as if he saw a ghost, and exclaiming abolition! abolition! It was therefore most probable, that the right hon. gent. had in view to cultivate a new coalition in that house for the remainder of the session. He was aware, that in the course of the former investigations which took place upon this subject, a most voluminous body of evidence had been laid before parliament. Much of that evidence was in favour, and much against the abolition; and whatever was the resolution, at that time adopted, it did not appear that parliament had since thought it wise to follow it up: but before the house should proceed to adopt the resolution now proposed, he felt it his duty to call their attention to the situation of Liverpool—a town which, from a miserable fishing hamlet of about 150 huts, had within a century risen to be the second town, in point of commercial wealth and consequence, in the British dominions, entirely by the African trade. He begged to impress on the recollection of the house what the situation of Liverpool was when the right hon. gent. and his colleagues came into power. It was eminent for the prosperity of its commerce, its wealth, its loyalty; for the important aid it furnished to the British marine, by affording at all times a numerous supply of seamen, through its African and West Indian trade. It was equally distinguished for its spirit in fitting out private ships of war, and by contributing annually three millions sterling in revenue to the public purse. But what measures of advantage had Liverpool experienced since the present ministers came into power? Why, the Restriction bill upon the African trade, by which the enterprising spirit of its merchants was paralysed, their trade diminished, the value of their shipping considerably reduced, and disputes existed between them and the planters. But if the mercantile interests of the country were to be thus crushed; if that commerce, which yielded so great a portion of the public revenue, was to be impoverished; what must be the natural consequence? But one of two alternatives; either the minister must resort to the landed interest entirely, for the supplies necessary to carry on the war, or he must be driven to an ignominious peace. If the right hon. gent. seriously meant to proceed with the proposed measure, he could only say, that his constituents would feel themselves justified in coming forward in the most respectful manner, to solicit from parliament that to which they would conceive themselves justly entitled; namely, compensation for the losses they would sustain, in consequence of a measure that would deprive them of a trade which they had followed from the time of queen Elizabeth, under the sanction of parliamentary protection. The necessary consequence of the measure must be bankruptcies without number; the emigration of useful artisans, with their capitals, to America; and the loss to this country, for ever, of many useful artificers.

Mr. *Francis* said, it was certainly in the power of the hon. general's constituents to petition the house for compensation for the losses they would sustain from the abolition of this trade; but he, for his part, would not consent to give any part of his property for that purpose, nor would he consent that it should be taken out of the public purse, as it was well known to the merchants, that they carried on the trade against the wish of the country at large. Another reason against allowing them compensation, was, that it could not be ascertained whether it would be beneficial to Liverpool or not; as, in all the bills which had been brought in for the regulation of the trade, they had uniformly stated, that each would act as an entire abolition, and had afterwards acknowledged that it had a contrary tendency. With respect to the principle of the measure, the person who proposed the abolition, let him stand on what side of the house he would, was always his friend. He thought, however, that the Resolution in 1792 was decisive; and he thought, for the dignity of the house, it should have been acted on long before this. He was extremely sorry, indeed, that another resolution should now be proposed, the same, nearly, as the former, but not so strong, without the house having any security that it would be followed up with any other motion. He was the more surprised at this mode of proceeding, as his right hon. friend had declared himself still an advocate for the immediate abolition, and he, for his part, heartily wished that the latter mode had been proposed. The argument used by his right hon. friend, against bringing in a bill, was, that the session was now far advanced, and that though it might be passed through one house, yet it was probable that there would not be a sufficiency of time to allow it to be discussed in the other; but, he would ask whether there would not be the same portion of time consumed in discussing a bill, as there was in discussing a resolution? The bill might be short, and conceiving that it was practicable to pass it in the present session, he, for his part, would advise that it should be brought in.

Lord *Castlereagh* agreed with the hon. gent. who just sat down, that it was better, and he conceived it would be more consistent with the principle the right hon. secretary had always entertained, to bring in a bill, even at this late period of the session, than to proceed on this indefinite resolution. This motion, a mere declaration of an intention to act, without naming any time, or any particular manner of acting, appeared to him to be of no use, except, perhaps, that of keeping up, for a little longer, the old character of the rt. hon. secretary, amongst those who had felt evident disappointment at his conduct since in office. If the rt. hon. gent. really meant it as a serious proposition, or any thing else than one of those convenient measures of parliamentary management, which he sometimes condescended to adopt, he (lord C.) did not see any purpose it could answer to the rt. hon. gent. It pledged the house generally to a Resolution, for a purpose wholly indefinite as to time and mode. If, in point of fact, the trade could be abolished at once, why not do it immediately, instead of proposing a Resolution in general terms upon the subject, which, in its present form, was wholly unintelligible? The house had formerly come to a definite resolution, which had never been followed up; and why? Obviously because it was found impracticable to realize the theories of those who led the house into that resolution. With respect to the principle of the Slave Trade, no man more sincerely wished than he did, that it were practicable now, or at any proximate period, to remove a grievance so calamitous, from the lot of humanity. As to effecting any thing like a general abolition of this traffic, he really feared it was not to be accomplished by parliament; for were the most peremptory bill that could be shaped, to pass this night upon the subject, to preclude all British ships and capitals from being employed in the African trade, even for the supply of our own colonies, he did not see any other purpose such a bill would answer than to involve us in disputes with those colonies, and to risk their ultimate loss, by forcing them to resort to other nations, who would certainly take up the trade as a source of wealth, the moment it was relinquished by this country. Did the right hon. gent. imagine, that any bill passed by the British Legislature for abolishing our own Slave Trade, would prevent France, Spain, and Portugal from carrying it on, under all those cruelties which the regulations of the British Trade were so well calculated to prevent? Did the hon. member near him (Mr. Wilberforce), who had announced his intention of moving this night an address to his majesty upon this subject, imagine that it would be in the power of his majesty to change the sentiments of other European governments, and more especially of the present ruler of France, whose principles and opinions were so well known upon the subject, and to whom the very circumstance of our abandoning the trade would be the strongest inducement for its adoption? In fact, until such a concert could be formed with our own West India planters, and the other powers of Europe, it would be in vain to expect any thing like an effectual measure for the abolition of this trade; and by abandoning it ourselves, we should only throw a source of wealth into the lap of our enemies, without effecting any one good purpose to the unfortunate objects of our solicitude. Any real benefit must be the work of time and gradual progression, and by a corrective system, something of the nature by which smuggling and other abuses were corrected at home; such, for instance, as an high and almost prohibitory duty on the importation of new slaves into our West India islands; but this duty not to operate merely as a source of revenue to the crown, but of reward to the planters, for encouraging negro population in the Islands, and rewarding the kindness and encouragement shewn to slaves. The noble lord concluded by saying, that the present motion was unwise, and that if the right hon. gent. meant to abolish the Slave Trade, his Resolutions should have been more definite.

The *Solicitor General* said, he should have much more cordially supported a motion for leave to bring in a bill for the immediate abolition of this abominable traffic: yet still, he thought the motion ought to be supported, as pledging the house to take the most speedy and practicable means to abolish it. Surely, if it were the sense of the house to adopt, in the present session, any measure more prompt and efficient for the purpose, this resolution would oppose no impediment to a purpose so desirable. The noble lord who had just sat down had said the resolution was vague and indefinite. Its object, he conceived to be unequivocally explicit, and its purpose to revive the resolution of the house in 1792, which had not been acted upon. It was not his wish at this moment, to enter into a general discussion upon the Slave Trade, for what could there be offered to the house in vindication of a commerce so detestable, but arguments already refuted, and assertions long since disproved? It was hardly fair to say, the house had not done any thing in pursuance of its former resolution; for in the session before last it had passed a bill for the purpose, which was rejected in the other house of parliament, and another was brought in last session, which miscarried, owing to the accident of a thin house, and a concerted plan to defeat the measure. He knew well that sometimes corrupt systems were long continued in nations that had not courage to enquire into them; but that was not the case in this country with respect to this system, because there had been no want of courage to enquire into it; and after the opinion expressed by the committee, who in 1792 had investigated the subject with the most patient deliberation; whose opinions, and the evidence upon which they were founded, stand recorded on the journals of the house; and who solemnly declared, that this most atrocious traffic had been, and continued to be, carried on in the most wanton and barbarous manner, could any argument be necessary now to prove the propriety of its abolition? Or could the house feel the necessity of longer delay, when they were told, that since the adoption of those resolutions to abolish this infamous trade, no less than 360,000 wretched individuals had been torn from the coast of Africa, in consequence of war, and violence, fomented for the purpose of seizing and consigning them to slavery in the West Indies. An hon. general had said, that if this trade were to be abolished, his constituents of Liverpool must come to that house for compensation, and that a great source of revenue must be destroyed: be it so, at any expence, rather than hold the detestable principle, that the debts of England were to be paid with the blood of Africa. The noble lord had said, that the progress of abolition must be gradual, and that it could only be effected in concert with our West-India planters. In such a case, indeed, the prospect must not only be far distant, but utterly hopeless, as the Planters were a set of men whose assent could never be obtained; and he would beg leave to refer to the former correspondence of lord Seymour and the West India planters on this subject, to show their intention to blindfold and mislead parliament upon the subject. He trusted the house, in its final decision, would not be guided by such testimony.

General *Gascoyne* said, that with respect to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, unless the house did something effectual, they would do a great deal of mischief; for the subject would now be stirred afresh; it would go abroad, and be talked of in other places; it would be agitated with warmth in the colonies, where it would rouse feelings that had in a great measure subsided, raise expectations that would be disappointed, and, in fact, prove pregnant with more injurious consequences than many gentlemen could well conceive. He was well assured it would prove highly injurious to our commercial interests in the colonies; and he wished to be informed, if there ever was a period in our history, in which our colonial trade had been in greater danger than it was at the present moment? but the house had been told, it must give some opinion on the subject; and the resolution said, the Slave Trade was contrary to every principle of justice, humanity, and sound policy. As to the question of justice, he could by no means acquiesce in it; but while we were so strenuous in favour of justice to the Africans, we should not lose sight of it towards one another; and it was not at all clear, in his mind, that it was just in the mother country to treat the colonies in the way she had done, by first giving legislative encouragement to the traffic in question, and afterwards, when large properties had been embarked in it, endeavouring thus to put a stop to it, and thereby involving in beggary and ruin, those who had risked their property, and thereby added greatly to the wealth, prosperity, and aggrandisement of the whole empire. He could not help expressing his great surprise at what had been said by a right hon. and learned gent. (the Solicitor-General) who had introduced a degree of warmth and violence of language, that night, which had not been heard in the house for many years; had reverted to the expressions originally used on the subject, of rapine, robbery, and murder; and he wondered, as he had taken up the matter so warmly, that he had not also mentioned the cruelties of the middle passage, the murder by Capt. Kimber, &c. which had been all proved since to be fabrications and fictions, but which had been used with considerable effect in the outset of the business. As to the trade itself, he could prove, it had been sanctioned by the authority of the wisest and most pious legislators. If he was mistaken, his pious friend near him could set him right. The hon. general then quoted the 25th chapter of Leviticus, out of which he read the 44th, 45th, and 46th verses, as follows:—“ Both thy bondmen “ and thy bond-maids which thou shalt “ have, shall be of the heathen that are “ round about you; of them shall ye buy “ bond-men, and bond-maids. Moreover, “ of the children of the strangers that do “ sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, “ and of their families that are with you, “ which they begat in your land, and they “ shall be your possession. And ye shall “ take them as an inheritance for your “ children after you, to inherit them for a “ possession; they shall be your bondmen "for ever." The above clearly proved, that slavery had from the earliest times, been countenanced and authorized by religion itself. It was equally certain, it had been encouraged at various periods, during and since the reign of Elizabeth. As to the doctrine of the right hon. and learned gent. respecting indemnity, he did not know where he had learned it; but, in that house, whenever, in the various discussions which had taken place, the subject of indemnity had been mentioned, it had never been denied, that the merchants of Liverpool, and the planters in the colonies also, were all entitled to it. Would the house say, that the justice they would extend to the Africans, they would refuse to their own countrymen. He would repeat what he had said on a former occasion, with the same qualification. If we had new colonies to cultivate, and he was asked his opinion, in respect to encouraging the Slave Trade, he would certainly advise it; and why? because our commerce had derived such immense sources of wealth and prosperity from it, as had proved a great mean of raising the country to its present state of aggrandisement and magnificence, and enabled us to contend with our enemies. Would any man say Europeans could cultivate the colonies? If we looked at the melancholy ravages made in our armies when sent over to the colonies, we should find, that without having any hard labour to perform, the effects of a burning sun, and a continued sultry climate, were such, as to sweep away more than one half in the course of the first year they arrived there. He thought that pledging the house now to renew a measure which had so long lain dormant, could do no good, and might effect much mischief, and he should therefore vote against the motion.

Mr. *Wilberforce* said, that with regard to one part of the hon. general's speech, he was doubtful whether he should not have interrupted him by calling him to order. But if the hon. gent. could believe that slavery was sanctioned by our holy religion, he should only feel disposed to pity his weakness and error, and should endeavour to rectify his mistake in the spirit of mildness and conciliation. It was the glory of our religion, that it not only forbade all those odious means by which slaves were procured, but expressly prohibited the practice of man-stealing, and called us to act on a principle of universal philanthropy, and kind good-will to all men. But he should ever deprecate the introduction of such appeals to sacred authority into that house, as tending rather to ridicule than to any satisfactory result. He should have heard with pleasure the declarations of his noble friend (lord Castlereagh,) respecting the radical injustice of the traffic, had he not at the same time seemed to oppose every method that had been proposed for its abolition, and had not his speech been uniformly applauded by those who were friendly to the trade. They were perfectly willing to permit the trade to be railed at, while, in fact, it received their most effectual support. He himself had derived pleasure from the reflection, that the measures he had brought forward at different times on this subject had been supported by almost all the ablest men on both sides of the house, who had seldom agreed on any great measure of policy. If he had erred, he had erred with great authorities. But his noble friend, while he reprobated the principle of the Slave Trade, had obtained the support of those only who were friends to that traffic. The noble lord had proposed to accomplish the gradual abolition of the trade by means of duties on the importation of slaves. But this would only tend to increase the price of slaves; and surely the co-operation of the colonies, which was so little to be expected, would in this way become more necessary than in any other method that could be devised. It had been said, indeed that it was absolutely necessary that the colonies should co-operate in the abolition, in order to render it effectual. This, however, he must deny; for the importation of various commodities into the West India islands had been prevented by legislative interference, and surely it would not be more difficult to prevent the importation of slaves, who, whatever they might have suffered, still exhibited some appearance of the human form. No measures, he contended, were to be expected from the colonies even for the gradual abolition of slavery. They had declared, that whatever steps might be taken for ameliorating the condition of slaves, these were in no degree to be considered as adopted with a view to the abolition of slavery, the perpetual enforcement of which they regarded as their birth-right, of which they should never be deprived. Even this language was more agreeable to him than the professions of others, who, while they pretended to wish for the abolition of slavery, yet effectually impeded it by every means in their power. It had been said that there must be be something impracticable in the measure, since from the year 1792, when it had received the sanction of parliament, nothing effectual had been done for its accomplishment. Parliament had at that period been actuated by an ardent feeling which had been almost universal in the country. But it was to be regretted, that the feelings of benevolence were too apt to be evanescent, while interest was a cool and calculating principle; and the feelings of interest had gradually overpowered the dictates of philanthropy and the compunctions of humanity. He should have preferred the immediate introduction of a bill for the Abolition of the Slave trade; but he had submitted to the judgment of those who thought that at the present advanced period of the session there was little probability of its receiving the concurrence of parliament. The former bill which had passed this house, had not been negativated by the lords, but had been merely rejected on the ground of their not having sufficient time for its full discussion. But the present resolution would hold out the hope, that the house was now more desirous to fulfil that pledge which they had long ago held out to the country, and therefore it met with his cordial approbation and concurrence. On the whole, he conjured the house to recollect that Providence had never connected the happiness and prosperity of any country with injustice; and that whatever apparent prosperity the slave trade might produce, it would ultimately be found rotten to the core. There would be no need of bounties for the encouragement of negro population, as had been proposed by a noble lord, if the domestic comforts of the slave were properly attended to; and the only way of producing this effect would be the total abolition of the slave trade, which would force the planter, from a sense of interest, to improve the situation of the negro. But as long as the slave market could be resorted to, so long would the system of breeding be neglected.—As to the plan, he could have wished a Bill to have been immediately brought in for the Abolition; but his right hon. friend had most forcibly shewn, that could not be done, at so late a period of the session; as there would not be time for the Lords to consider the bill with that mature deliberation which the subject required. His noble friend was, however, mistaken, when he said the Bill of last year was negatived by the Lords—it was only laid aside, because there was not time for a full consideration of it. He hoped, therefore, the present resolution would pass, to shew that the houses were determined to take up the question early in the next session, and evince to the world that they will, as speedily as possible, abolish a traffic which they have so repeatedly declared to be abominable in its principle, its nature, and its consequences.

Sir *W. Young* thought this resolution might tend to raise hopes and expectations which might have a very mischievous tendency. He would rather wish the subject had been taken up by a bill; in which case, all the merits of the question might have been discussed in that house, and then sent to the lords for their consideration. If, however, this resolution had been proposed at the beginning of a session, he would not have objected to it, because it might have been followed by a bill before the close of it; but now so near the close, and when they might not, on separating, meet again before January, a resolution of this kind would be agitated in the colonies, and might produce much mischief among the negroes. He should, therefore, oppose the motion.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, he should certainly have given the preference to a bill for the immediate abolition of this abominable traffic; but it had been most eloquently and forcibly shewn by his right hon. friend, that the lateness of the session would not allow the practicability of such a measure. What, then, had his right hon. friend done? After the longest deliberation that, he believed, had ever been given to a resolution of that or any other legislature in the world—after a resolution of that house passed in 1792, that this abominable traffic should be abolished in 1800, his rt. hon. friend, in 1806, a period of 14 years, calls on the house to agree with him in a resolution, the object of which was to remove from the house that degree of shame and disgrace, which they had so long laboured under, from an apparent dereliction of a resolution so solemnly passed, and a pledge so seriously given, on a subject of such vast importance, after the most mature deliberation, and most ample discussions. The noble lord (Castlereagh) by his argument, seemed to think this resolution must be sent to the other house, and that there would be something indecorous in so doing; he could not, however, see it at all in that light. What right had the noble lord, or what reason had the house to suppose or believe that the other house would differ with them on the general principle of this measure? He denied that the house had any fair and reasonable ground to suppose so; all they had done to shew their opinion, was, they had thrown out a bill which was sent to them on the subject, not from any consideration or discussion of its principle or merits, but because it was too late in the session to give it due attention and deliberation. For this reason the present resolution was now laid before the house, and would be communicated to the other house; and it would be open to them, when this matter came before them in a general shape, to give their opinion fully and fairly on the subject. As to the general subject, his own private opinion certainly accorded strictly with the words of the resolution, and he thought the trade contrary to every principle of justice, humanity, and sound policy, so far as sound policy could be connected with a matter of this nature. The trade commenced in Africa, and after spreading a variety of vices there, in order to effect the robbery of persons who were the objects of its pursuit, it proceeded, with cruelty, to the misery and destruction of the places where it was carried on, and frequently to the desolation of those who procured those negroes. Besides these horrible effects, it was attended with the mischief to the British sailors of a waste of life, exceeding double and treble the number of those who died in any other employment in which they were engaged, which not unfrequently amounted to one-sixth of the whole ship's company in a voyage; and it also produced the worst of all moral effects among the planters, and those who were under the necessity of using slaves in the West Indies. These, he said, were the considerations he felt on the subject; and he believed they were the same which operated on the house, in 1792, to come to the resolution they then did. What had since happened to change that opinion? Every instance had shewn that encouragement and mitigated labour, had made the negroes productive and useful; they had encreased in population; we had made of them soldiers and non-commissioned officers; and having done so for our own interests, having made them defenders of the country, against the common enemy, for our interests, why should we not do something for theirs? It had been proved that the population might be kept up without further importations, nothing could prevent it, but the extremity of vice and misery which prevailed in the West Indies, which kept down the charities of life, and which the house were silently continuing during the present session. The present resolution would lay the foundation for proceeding in the business early in the next session, which he thought not only desirable, but absolutely necessary for the honour and character of that house, and as such it had his most cordial support.

Mr. *Rose* said as far as regarded the question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, his opinion was still consistent with that which he had on all occasions expressed; and it was not altered with respect to the season and manner in which the question was brought before the house, as he considered this not less objectionable than any hitherto proposed. He had long ago stated his opinion of the manner in which the great and humane object could alone be attained: it was, that a progressive duty should be imposed upon the importation of slaves into the West Indies, until at last it should amount to such an impost as would prove an absolute prohibition of the traffic, and that the bounty should not be a source of emolument to the state, but be paid to the mothers of slaves born in the islands, until they had borne a certain number, when they should be considered free. He did not think the West Indian Planters had had fair play; they had been goaded by the hon. gent. who had for years agitated the question in that house, with the requisition of a total and immediate abolition, or nothing at all. To the charge of a right hon. gent. that the trade was a system of rapine, bloodshed, and murder, he would only say, that he had read every tittle of the evidence collected on the subject, and was at a loss to form from it an opinion of the measure; that evidence was clogged with some unfounded relations, particularly the story of a ship under the command of admiral Nugent having lost 80 out of a cargo of slaves, from their being made to "walk "the board," in which there was not a syllable of truth. He was not becoming the defender of what was practised towards the slaves; undoubtedly, much was indefensible. His objection to the present proposition was, that it was indefinite and vague, and he thought it would be putting the house of lords in a situation in which they ought not to be placed, to ask of them to commit themselves to a measure so uncertain as to its ultimate object. He had argued against the abolition of the trade, because it would be depriving the country of a great source of revenue, amounting to two or three millions, at an inconvenient time, and because the American trade in slaves would increase exactly in the proportion that ours decreased. He had been misrepresented out of doors, when stated to have said, that by carrying a few slaves, our merchantmen conformed to the laws of Spain, and got articles into the Spanish colonies, which they otherwise could not. What he had said was, that the Spanish governors of provinces covered themselves under the circumstance of a few slaves being on board our ships, and permitted the sale of our manufactures. The average of 118 cargoes, was only 7 from Great Britain; and he thought, by abolishing that limited trade of slaves, we should do more injury to our commerce, than could be compensated by the advantages calculated upon. His alarm was not so much as to the abolition of the trade, as that the object of gentlemen went to the emancipation of slaves. What had fallen from a noble lord (H. Petty) to-night, induced this apprehension, as well as what a right hon. secretary had lately implied, in speaking on the subject of limited service, when he said, that there was no fear of finding recruits for the colonies, if the Slave Trade was abolished. He thought with the right hon. gent. that the colonies might be well defended with the native troops, enlisted for life, as the island of Dominica had exemplified in three instances in which it had been attacked; but not so if the men were to be turned adrift after a certain period. It was his misfortune to disagree with his lamented friend (Mr. Pitt) on the subject of this trade; and his opinion with respect to it was so firmly rooted, that he believed it would die with him. Its sudden and entire abolition he was satisfied would be attended with the worst consequences, and even be the occasion of much bloodshed in our islands. He thought the West India planters had a claim upon parliament, that their property should be protected, instead of being subjected to the inroads of so fatal a measure as the sudden abolition of the Slave Trade would prove. The mortality which a noble lord (H. Petty) had spoken of, he was sure he would, on due examination, find incorrect. The treatment which the slaves experienced was always exaggerated in a number of pamphlets which were circulated on the eve of a parliamentary discussion. Unless the house acted in concert with the colonies, the measure, he was convinced, would never prove effectual; and although the resolution would not have any opposition from him, he could not but wish, that the colonial interest had been associated, as in the end they must be, in so important an undertaking.

Lord *H. Petty*, in explanation, said, that he had not so wild an object in view, as the issuing of a proclamation immediately after the passing of this resolution, for granting freedom to all negroes in our West India islands, as the right hon. gent. seemed to apprehend; but if by gradual progress the slaves could be led on to a fit state for freedom, he was certainly an advocate for that object.

Mr. *Barham* said, he considered it to be the fault of those by whom this question had been before introduced, that the Slave Trade was not ere this entirely abolished. Hand in hand with the proposition for the measure, should be the assurance to those who would be affected by it, that every claim of compensation would be attended to, and that it was an object intended to be effected at the expence of the country, and not of individuals. It would be in vain to look to the accomplishment of the object, unless this course was adopted, as not all the navy of England could prevent the landing of contraband cargoes by the planters of the islands, in case the traffic should be prohibited by the English parliament. He was an advocate for the abolition of the trade, by rendering slaves capable of the enjoyment of freedom; but he entertained faint hopes of the accomplishment of that end, as no means could be at present devised to induce free labour: no reward was a sufficient stimulus to the voluntary exertion of the negro, as he had no wants in a country, where the labour of a week would supply the wants of a year. For forty or fifty years, nothing had been omitted in the colonies to counteract the decrease of slaves by death, but, in some, there was no instance of a child having been born for a very considerable period. If the amelioration of their condition could be such as to prevent this decrease, it would be a most desirable object, and would go far to obviate the necessity of the continuance of the trade.

Sir *J. Newport* said, he would venture to assert, that whatever difference of opinion might exist in this country, the general accordant sentiment of the people of Ireland was strongly in favour of the abolition of the slave trade. So great was the detestation of that abominable traffic, that when a set of commercial gentlemen lately proposed, in a maritime district, a participation in the wealth deduced from our West India trade, the reply was, that sooner than be parties to the rapine, robbery, and bloodshed, that stained our intercourse with that quarter of the globe, they would forego the pecuniary advantage, however great. One remedy proposed in lieu of this proposition before the house, was an increasing duty on the importation of slaves into the colonies; but, as it was said they would be imported in defiance of our navy, the increasing duty would only become an increasing premium on contraband traffic. The hon. baronet, on account of the lateness of the hour, concluded by expressing his satisfaction at the renewal of this pledge to the country, that the trade would be abolished, and his belief in the concurrence of the other house of parliament in the proposition.

Mr. *Canning* said, he thought it impossible for the ingenuity of man to devise a form of words contributing to the repeal of the Slave Trade that he should not concur in; he lamented, however, that the house had not the subject more fully before them, and censured his majesty's ministers for not bringing it more tangibly and efficiently forward, during the vacant interval that presented itself between the recess and the time that the right hon. secretary (Mr. Windham) brought forward his military plan.

Mr. *Manning* thought the debate on the present occasion might as well have been spared, as tending merely to give alarm to those concerned in West India Property, and being, in fact, nothing more than a repetition of the resolution of the house in the year 1792. Every man connected with the colonies had an undoubted right to the protection of parliament. This was a bonâ fide British trade, acknowledged in the public statutes so long ago as the time of queen Elizabeth, and it was the duty of that house to afford a remuneration to those who might be injured by its prohibition. The situation of St. Domingo could not but be in the contemplation of gentlemen, and he exhorted them fully to weigh all the consequences of the measure proposed. Without conciliating the planters, he was sure the house would never effect their object; and he earnestly entreated them, before the next Session, to turn their attention to the claims of the proprietors, who would be affected by it.

Mr. *W. Smith* said, he hoped after that night, the house would hear no more of the silly confusion of abolition of the trade, and emancipation of the negroes, as the latter had been as constantly denied by, as attributed to, the supporters of the former. He thought the character of the West-India planters, who had refused the suggestion of government to make the killing of negroes murder, hardly entitled them to the consideration gentlemen seemed to think they ought to have. He thought it was only by attention to the morals of the negroes that their decrease in the colonies could be prevented. By memorials from two clergymen at Dominica, is appeared, that not only no registers of deaths and births were kept in that island, but marriages were never practised there at all amongst the slaves. As long as the trade continued, he thought the avocation of those employed in it could not be distinguished by other epithets than those of rapine, bloodshed, and murder. Mr. Bryan Edwards had declared, in the face of the whole island of Jamaica, that to distinguish it by another name was a mere mockery, and all travellers had afforded one uniform general evidence to the same end. The hon. gent. in answer to the observations on the other side, observed, that the only towns in England now interested in this trade, were London, Bristol, and Liverpool. Bristol had relinquished it, London was nearly approaching to the same, and he trusted ere long, Liverpool would follow so good an example, and that persons engaged in this trade of blood and rapine will soon be ashamed to shew their faces in society. He concluded by saying, he never could permit this measure to pass without expressing his sentiments upon it; he therefore heartily concurred in the present motion.

Mr. *Windham* assured the house, that at present he wished nothing more than the abolition of the slave trade; when a proper period, however, should arrive, and that the concurrence of other powers should be obtained, he would not hesitate to say, that slavery itself ought not to be suffered to remain among the institutions of any civilized state.

Mr. *Fox* made a most able and animated reply, which, we regret it is not in our power to detail at length. It had been stated that he had been luke-warm upon the present question; but he appealed to the house whether he had not zealously and uniformly reprobated the slave trade. It had been said, that this might have been brought forward at an earlier period, to this he partly pleaded guilty; but it was the opinion of those with whom he had the honour to act, that the Colonial bill should first pass, and then they could bring forward this measure with more propriety. The house, he considered, was pledged upon this subject, and it was now their business to redeem that pledge; he confessed he felt sanguine in the success of this measure, but if it should fail, he trusted some other plan more eligible would be adopted. The Abolition of the Slave Trade would lead to the abolition of slavery altogether in the West Indies; but he totally differed with some gentlemen, who thought the former could not be done without the consent of those islands, for if this was to be the case, no consent whatever would be granted. With respect to compensation; when the claim was well made out, let the abolition be enacted, and if then shewn that any injury had been sustained, let that be remunerated. But he could not agree to the general principle that injury must be sustained, and compensation must be granted. He heartily rejoiced at the unanimity of the house, and declared he would take the earliest opportunity possible at the commencement of the next sessions of parliament, for carrying the measure into complete execution.—The question being loudly called for, the house divided, when there appeared for the motion 114, against it 15; majority 99.—When the gallery was again opened for the admission of strangers, we found Mr. Fox on his legs, proposing that a message should be sent to the Lords, by lord Henry Petty, requesting a conference with their lordships, upon a subject of justice and humanity. Which motion was carried without a division.

Mr. *Wilberforce* then rose, pursuant to notice; and having prefaced his motion by a short speech, moved the House. "That "an humble Address be presented to his "majesty, beseeching his majesty to take "such measures as in his wisdom he shall "judge proper, for establishing by negoti"ation with foreign powers, a concert and "agreement for abolishing the African "Slave Trade; and for affording assistance "mutually towards carrying into execution "any regulations which may be adopted "by any or all of the contracting parties "for accomplishing their common pur"pose; assuring his majesty, that this "house, feeling the justice and honour of "the *British* nation to be deeply and pe"culiarly involved in the great object they "have in view, will be ready, at all times, "cheerfully to concur in giving effect to "such measures as his majesty may see fit "to adopt for its attainment." The question was then put, and carried in the affirmative.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 11.

[MINUTES.] Their lordships proceeded further in the Appeal "Seymour v. the earl of Euston and lord Henry Seymour." Mr. Perceval was heard on the part of the respondents, after which the further consideration of the appeal was postponed till Friday.—The Earl of Elgin took the oaths and his seat.—Earl Stanhope rose to address the house with respect to the form of proceeding the next day in Westminster Hall. Upon which strangers were excluded, and the discussion continued for near two hours.—Lord Eldon presented a petition from W. Watson, esq. the serjeant at arms, stating the inadequacy of the emoluments attached to the office, which were unequal to the expenditure necessary in executing its duties; and praying for such relief as the house should think fit. His lordship supported the object of the petition, and was seconded by Earl Spencer. The petition was ordered to be referred to a committee on Monday.—An undefended appeal having been heard and decided upon, Lord Eldon took the oportunity of giving notice, that he should, next session, bring forward some measure respecting costs in appeals, as at present the house could not award more than 200l. although the expences might actually amount to 7 or 800l. It then became an object with some persons to appeal to that house, merely for the purpose of gaining time, in cases where the interest of the money in the mean time, before the appeal could be heard, rendered the costs to be ultimately paid a matter of little consequence. The Lord Chancellor said, it was a great abuse, and ought to be remedied.

[MILITARY OPINIONS RELATING TO THE ARMY.] Lord *Hawkesbury* adverted to the opinions which had been given by several general officers on the subject of enlisting for a term of years, and which, he said, had been called for in consequence of an opinion entertained by members of the late and preceding administrations that such an alteration in the mode of enlistment would be productive of benefit to the army. In consequence, however, of the tenor of the opinions which were given to his royal highness the Commander in Chief on being then called for, the idea of proposing enlistment for a term of years was abandoned. The present administration had, without any additional grounds whereon to found an opinion, adopted a contrary sentiment, and he was anxious that the house should be in possession of those opinions of military officers to which he alluded, in order that noble lords might clearly see the grounds on which the late administration had formed a deliberate opinion entirely inimical to enlisting for a term of years, and those on which the bill before the house must rest. He saw no good ground of objection to the production of these papers; but if there was any to laying them before the house in detail, he believed there was an abstract of the opinions and statements contained in them in the office of his royal highness the Commander in Chief, which might be considered an official paper, and which would answer the desired purpose. His lordship concluded by moving for an humble address to his Majesty, praying that copies of the opinions alluded to might be laid before the house.

The Earl of *Moira* considered the production of the opinions alluded to as unnecessary and improper. He had, amongst other officers, been called upon for his opinion, in a letter from his royal highness the Commander in Chief, which was marked 'confidential,' and to which he gave an answer, containing his opinion upon the subject, but which he had not the most distant supposition was ever to be laid before parliament. The same idea might probably influence most of the officers who gave their opinions; and who, not conceiving that their sentiments, thus confidentially given, were ever to be made public, might give their opinions in a diffuse and prolix style, or in a manner very different to that which they would have done, had they conceived that their letters were to be laid before parliament; he thought, therefore, it would be indelicate to drag forward opinions, thus privately and confidentially given, before a public assembly, and where the far greater part of the officers who had pronounced such opinions would have no opportunity of explaining their sentiments. Most of these opinions also were those of military men, and not of statesmen; they related to the effect on the interior discipline of regiments, which the measure proposed in the bill before the house might produce, rather than to those enlarged views upon the subject which must necessarily be entertained in that house. He could not, therefore, perceive any good that could be produced, by agreeing to the motion of the noble lord, whilst, at the same time, he deprecated any attempt to influence their lordships' minds by the opinions of others; above all, he protested against the idea started by the noble lord, of laying upon the table a paper from the Commander in Chief, in order to influence their lordships' opinions. However high the respect he entertained for that illustrious personage, he must protest against any motion of that description.

The Duke of *Montrose* contended, that the papers moved for by his noble friend ought to be produced, in order that many noble lords who had not had an opportunity of considering the question in the manner in which it had come before the late ministers, might see distinctly the grounds on which they had acted, in abandoning that measure, which was now brought forward by his majesty's present ministers. He thought also that the opinions of the officers who had been called upon, having been given in the manner in which they were to the Commander in Chief, might fairly be laid before parliament without the slightest indelicacy towards these officers.

The Earl of *Suffolk* spoke shortly against the motion, and expressed his opinion, that as other means had failed, it was proper to try the experiment of recruiting the army by means of enlisting for a term of years.

Lord *Mulgrave* thought a different interpretation ought to be put upon the word "confidential" to that given by the noble earl (Moira). From the letters being marked 'confidential,' he should have conceived that it was only intended that the officers receiving them were not to mention the subject to others, or make it a matter of general conversation, but not that they were to call upon the Commander in Chief to keep their opinions secret after they had delivered them. He, as one of the officers called upon, had given an opinion favourable to enlistment for a term of years, but, at the same time, an opinion to which the measure now before the house had scarcely any similarity. He was of opinion that the reason given by the noble earl why the papers ought not to be produced was the very reason why they ought, namely, that in general they were only the opinions of military officers, and not those of statesmen. The house was too enlightened to require opinions from others as to general measures of legislation; but on a subject like the present they wanted military information, and that would be afforded by the production of these papers.

Lord *Grenville* conceived that the question had been much mistated by the noble lords who spoke of those military opinions as information which ought to be laid before the house. As to information, generally speaking, it meant a communication of evidence and of fact, and not merely the opinions of other men. It would be an unprecedented thing for the house to acquire argumentative opinions of those who where not members, in order to influence their determination. It was the duty of his majesty's ministers to collect all the information they could derive from every source, before they brought forward the measures they were to propose; and when those measures were brought forward, it was their duty to support them by their own arguments, and not by the authority of other persons, or the influence of the names of men who where not members. If such a course could be permitted on the present occasion, a similar practice might prevail on almost every other occasion, and the house would have nothing else to do but to listen to the argumentative opinions of other people. He conceived also, that it must be most disagreeable to the military officers themselves, to have a written opinion of theirs argued in a deliberative assembly, where they had no opportunity of explaining the principles upon which it was founded; and he thought the general officers, who had given those opinions, were too well acquainted with the constitution of the country, to suppose that their opinions had been demanded for the purpose of giving to parliament their ideas about the internal and political state of the country at the present crisis.—The motion was put and negatived.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 11.

[MINUTES.] Sir T. Metcalfe obtained leave to bring in a bill for incorporating the Globe Insurance Company.—Mr. Alderman Combe obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend so much of an act for the improvement of the port of London, as related to the compensations to be granted in certain cases.—A message from the Lords announced that their lordships had resolved to proceed further on the trial of lord Melville the next day, at ten of the o'clock, in Westminster-hall; and that they had agreed to the Irish stamp-duty bill. The Speaker mentioned, that, in consequence of this message, he would take the chair the next morning at 10, and that the names of the managers and members would be called over at half past ten as usual.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the committee on the General Assessed Tax act. The resolution relative to the exemptions were read and agreed to, and those who were appointed to bring in the Assessed Tax bill were ordered to make provision accordingly.

[WEST INDIA ACCOUNTS BILL.] Lord Henry Petty moved for the order of the day for the house resolving itself into a committee on the West India Accounts bill.

Mr. *Rose* wished, that, considering the state of ignorance in which the house was on this subject, the noble lord would allow at least 24 hours to examine into it. With a view to induce him to do this, he entered at some length into what had been done before, for correcting the West India abuses, and into the merits of this bill. He stated, that in 1797 he himself had corresponded with the West India commissioners of the customs, respecting the abuses committed in the West Indies, and that the consequence was, that the commissary-general was superseded; that the commissioners were ordered to make inquiries into the abuses, and to report to the treasury; that the auditors had been applied to, in order to learn whether any increase of their establishment would enable them to bring up these accounts; that the auditors had answered, that this business would require 16 additional clerks, and four additional inspectors, and that these must go through a gradual course of instruction; that the treasury had taken this answer into consideration the day on which it was given in, and the consequence of all had been, the act which by the present bill was intended to be repealed. The noble lord, he said, had come down to the house, out of breath, mentioned that monstrous abuses had been discovered, and given notice that he would, in a short time, state to the house what would astonish them, but that he would do something that would quiet their apprehensions, and the consequence was this bill. Now, a bolder attempt, merely to gain patronage, without the smallest prospect of advantage to the public, never was exhibited in this world. One great object of the noble lord appeared to be to discredit the late administration, and to praise himself. Commissioners had already been appointed for the professed object of this bill, and the bill did, in fact, nothing more than had been done by the former one. In order to prove this, he commented on the different clauses of the present bill. It appointed 19 commissioners, including those which had been before appointed, out of which nine were new appointments, with an expence, he supposed, of 1500l. a year. It placed the power of appointing these commissioners in the treasury, a thing that had never been done in any act since the Revolution. Excepting these additional commissioners, the additional expence, and the unprecedented patronage for the treasury, the bill did nothing more than the former bill. The whole professed object might be answered without any additional expence, and therefore the bill appeared to be nothing else than a piece of management to fix the character of negligence and inattention on the late government, and to increase the popularity and patronage of the present. He hoped, therefore, that a delay of 24 hours would be granted.

Lord *Henry Petty* thought it remarkable, that after the right hon. gent. had stated the ignorance of the house on this subject, he had gone into a full discussion on the point, and availed himself of that ignorance in order to favour his own views. He had no objection to the delay, but he would prove that the object was not to procure patronage from the treasury, although this was a strange objection from the right hon. gent. He would prove that a more useful measure, both generally and in detail, had never been submitted to the house on this subject. As to the statement respecting his conduct in proposing the measure, he did not think it worth his while to give any detailed answer. He could only assure the house that he had not been out of breath, and that he had given no such notice of something to astonish the house, as the right hon. gent. had stated, and for the truth of this he appealed to the recollection of the house. As to the apointment of the commissioners, the right hon. gent. had stated that an additional nine had been permanently appointed, whereas the appointment was only temporary, and particularly applicable to the circumstances of the case, as the accounts were, from neglect, in such a situation, that nothing but such a measure as this could bring them into the condition in which they ought to be. He concluded by moving that the house should the next day go into the committee.

Mr. *Rose* asked when the noble lord intended to bring forward his general plan for auditing the public accounts, as he would then prove to the house that there was no foundation for the charges of negligence that had been brought against the late administration?

Lord *H. Petty* said, he hoped in a very few days he should be able to bring forward the bill to which the right hon. gent. alluded.

Mr. *Rose* gave notice, that he would to-morrow move for certain accounts, which would be necessary to throw a light on this subject.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.] Mr. *Paull* moved that the order of the house of the 22d of April last, relative to Indian papers, should be obeyed forthwith. This was agreed to. He then moved that the correspondence of the governor-general and his secretary, with major Ouseley, aid-de-camp to the nabob vizier, during the year 1802, should be laid before the house.

Sir *A. Wellesley* had no objection, on the part of the marquis Wellesley; but, as it involved the character of Mr. Treeves, a gentleman who was absent, he submitted whether it would not be better to give a notice at present, and leave the board of controul to consider whether the correspondence ought to be produced.

Mr. *Paull* said that he did not move for these papers with any view to the character of the gentleman alluded to; but they were very important with respect to the Oude charge, as they would prove that major Ouseley had been threatened with disgraceful expulsion, except he made some communication which had been required of him.

Mr. *Wellesley Pole* trusted that the house would observe, that there was no objection to the production of this correspondence, on the part of the friends of marquis Wellesley. They only meant to enter their protest against any attack on the character of an individual who had no opportunity of defending himself.

Mr. *Creevey* thought the hon. gent. should have given notice of such a motion as the present.

Mr. *Paull* said, that after the charge had been so long on the table, he did not think he was or ought to be confined strictly to the rules respecting notices. It was very different from the first opening of a business of this kind. The papers were highly essential to the elucidation of the charge, and he thought he had a right to move for them immediately: he had, however, no objection that what had passed should stand as a notice for to-morrow.

[CHELSEA HOSPITAL BILL.] Mr. Secretary *Windham* moved the third reading of the Chelsea Hospital bill.

Mr. *Huskisson* observed, that his objections to this measure had received strength from a more mature consideration of them. He still maintained that parliament ought not to bind itself to pay any money without an estimate, and he also thought that the plan was derogatory to the crown, as the object might have been attained by its power without this application to parliament. He then objected to the plan of limited service, which, in his opinion, would put it out of the power of parliament to disband any part of the army without continuing their pay, and might spread a number of veterans over the country, which, like those of Sylla, Marius, and Octavius Cæsar, might be dangerous to the liberties of the country. —Mr. Windham was rising, when

General *Tarleton* said, that such an important measure ought not to be discussed in so thin a house, and moved the standing order, that the house be counted. Strangers were then ordered to withdraw; but there being 40 members present, the discussion was continued.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* entered into a general history of the debates that had taken place on the subject of his military system, and observed that the arguments which were at one time advanced by the hon. gent. opposite, were so completely at variance with those adopted by the same hon. gent. at another, that the one set of arguments might very fairly serve for an answer to the other. However he should endeavour to satisfy the hon. gent. as to each distinct point of objection, without any consideration of it in a relative view with respect to the objections which were at other times started. The argument as to what was called the invasion of the right of parliament seemed now to be principally dwelt upon. But he would beg gentlemen to consider for a moment, first, what was the nature of the confidence generally placed in the crown; then, what sort of confidence that was which was acted on with respect to the army in particular at other times. By comparison, these gentlemen would see how far the principle of the present bill was at variance with, or agreeable to, those general principles which have been uniformly acted on by parliament. In all treaties, but most particularly in commercial treaties, was there not a degree of confidence reposed in the crown? But, more especially, did we see the existence of that confidence in any transaction relative to the army? Was not the soldier first engaged by the crown, and was not that engagement afterwards sanctioned by parliament? Were not the terms now agreed on for life, and yet did not parliament annually deliberate whether they should approve of that engagement or not? And there could be no doubt that parliament had the power of refusing to grant the pay to the soldier, or where was the use of an annual mutiny bill? In the interim the soldier had to rely on parliament for his pay; the same principle would still be to be acted on. Then, as to the argument, that by the periodical discharge of men, the country would be overloaded with these dangerous set of veterans, at a time when every statesman acknowledged the necessity of adding to the military strength of the nation, would any man seriously declare that it would be wrong to have such a corps-de-reserve to call upon in case of any sudden emergency? Were not the volunteers a military body; nay, were they not military with arms in their hands? and yet, danger was said to be apprehended from these unarmed men who shall have obtained their discharge from the army, and return to the avocations of civil life! Where, he would ask, was the consistency in these modes of reasoning? It was said, however, that we could not disband a regiment in time of peace because the terms had been agreed on, and that, if we discharged a soldier, we should rob him of the benefit to which he would have otherwise been entitled at the expiration of his seven years, and so forth. Gentlemen need only to look at the specific term of the oath, where it is expressly stated that a man engages to serve so long "in case the king shall have occasion for his services." Then, surely, there could not be any breach of contract, nor can we be said to have acted ungenerously by a man when we shall have told him that the king has no longer any occasion for his services; when at the same time the man knows that he has sworn to continue in the service with that precise condition that the king shall so long have occasion for his services. If this was wrong, he would ask again, what would become of the annual mutiny bill? Instead of these circumstances being objectionable, he should think it a considerable advantage to have such men to recruit from, at the commencement of a war, or any other emergency. If it was true that such men were dangerous amongst us, then we must be considered as a most unwarlike people, who have nothing in ourselves for defence, but must entirely depend upon a standing army.

Mr. *Huskisson* explained his objection to be, that after this bill, men would be receiving the pay of soldiers, without being really such.

Sir *J. Pulteney* thought it strange that a measure of so much importance should be debated and pressed forward in so thin an attendance.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he had a number of objections to offer, which he wished to submit at considerable length, but he thought it improper to be under the necessity of doing so, when there were not members present sufficient to constitute a house.

Mr. *Windham* replied, that he came down to the house in full confidence that no opposition would be made in this last stage of a bill, which had been so fully discussed before, and he was convinced it was under the same impression so many gentlemen left the house.

General *Tarleton* then moved, that the house should be counted; upon which the gallery was cleared, and there being no more than 35 members present, the house accordingly adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 12.

[MINUTES.] Their lordships proceeded in the usual form to Westminster-hall, previous to which lord Hood of Catherington was introduced, and took the oaths and his seat.—They returned about four, when the house came to a resolution, "That this house, having taken into consideration the articles of impeachment against Henry lord viscount Melville, do acquit the said Henry lord viscount Melville thereof, and he is hereby acquitted of all the high crimes and misdemeanours on the articles of charge exhibited against him by the commons, and of all matters and things therein contained, and this house do hereby dismiss the said impeachment."—An order, usual on such occasions, was made relative to the publication of the trial, and after transacting some private business the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 12.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Alderman Combe brought in a bill for altering and amending the London Docks act, so far as related to compensation, which was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time.—Petitions were brought up from the inhabitants of Stoke Newington, the inhabitants of Stratford-le-Bow, and the inhabitants of Christ Church, against the East London Water Works bill, which were severally ordered to lie on the table.—Mr. Vansittart brought up the Additional Assessed Tax Duty bill, which was read a first, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The Irish Linen Drawback bill went through a committee, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[ACCOUNTS RELATING TO FOREIGN CORPS.] Mr. *Rose* moved for the production of some unaudited accounts in the department of the secretary at war, namely, those of a gentleman named Lukin, a relation of Mr. Windham, and on whom that right hon. gent. while secretary at war, had conferred an employment in the department relating to foreign troops; and also for the unaudited accounts of Mr. Wickham, while attendant on the armies of our allies on the Continent, during the last war. The right hon. gent. in moving for these papers, made some allusions to the oddity of the circumstance, that Mr. Lukin, who was the relation of the right hon. gent. at the head of the war department, should have his accounts audited and settled by the secretary at war, instead of being referred to the auditors of public accounts: and with respect to Mr. Wickham, he observed, that it was pretty extraordinary, that that right hon. gent. who acted as commissary on the Continent during the last war, and whose accounts, to a very large amount, were yet unsettled, should be one of the loudest in cheering the proposition of the noble lord opposite to him, for establishing his new commission of audit, on the day he brought it forward; and as so much pains had been taken by his majesty's present ministers to cast an odium on the conduct of their predecessors, and to charge them with criminal neglect for suffering such an accumulation of unaudited accounts to grow under their authority, he thought it right the house should see that all this accumulation had not been wholly imputable to those ministers who were now out of office, but that right hon. gentlemen who were so strenuous in impeaching the neglect of others, had themselves incurred no inconsiderable share of the blame, if any was fairly imputable, He concluded with moving, "That there be laid before this house, an Account of the Amount of the sums issued in each year to Robert Lukin, esq. as agent to Foreign Corps, between the years 1794 and 1801, under the several heads for which the issues were made, and shewing when the accounts of the receipt and expenditure thereof were delivered to the secretary at war, and when the same were examined in his office; and also, Copies of all Proceedings and Correspondence of the lords commissioners of the treasury, the war office, the commissioners for auditing public accounts, and Mr. Lukin, respecting the department in which the accounts should be audited; shewing likewise the amount of the balance finally appearing upon the said accounts."

Lord *H. Petty* said, that as he did not mean to object to the production of these papers, he would appeal to the candour of the right hon. gent. as the names of two gentlemen were mentioned in these papers, whether it would not be fair that he should assign some reason for moving for them, or at least say, whether he meant to inculpate either of them for any part of their conduct in the transactions to which these papers related?

Mr. *Rose* said, the noble lord had lately stated to the house his intention to bring forward a new commission, in which he had mentioned the name of Mr. Trotter in a very particular manner. Why, therefore, should the noble lord thus call on him to know if he had any intention of inculpating either of the gentlemen mentioned in those papers? but he had no hesitation in saying, he did not mean to inculpate either of them. With respect to Mr. Lukin, there had been a very large sum of money issued to him by the then secretary at war, who was his relation, and he understood that gentleman had conceived a doubt, to whom he should account for that money, and had said he was accountable for it only to the secretary at war. He moved for the papers on public grounds, because he thought they would be found to contain information necessary for the house, and to which, as a member, he had a right. He could assure the noble lord, that if ever he should contemplate a charge against any man, or any member of administration, while he had the honour of a seat in that house, he should bring it forward candidly, manfully, and directly, not insidiously, or by a side-wind.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* observed, that notwithstanding the right hon. gents'. specious professions of candour and manliness, he had, on several occasions, endeavoured to let loose unwarrantable insinuations; and that, upon this occasion in particular, he had by a side-wind, and under the pretence of moving upon public grounds for public documents, offered an insinuation of the lowest class or description, and such as ought to awaken only the lowest class of feelings. It was true, one of the gentlemen he had so pointedly alluded to was his relation, and he obtained for him the post alledged. In this he did not conceive himself to have departed from the constant usage of office; for if men, on coming into office, had relations, friends, or connections, as competent to subordinate employments as perfect strangers could be, he not only thought it admissible, but perfectly right, and in some measure, incumbent upon them, to provide for persons of such description. But did the right hon. gent. presume to say, or would he venture even to avow an insinuation, that he (Mr. W.) had, on this account, acted towards Mr. Lukin, his relation, with any degree of partiality or indulgence, different from what he should have done by any other man? he believed, the right hon. gent. with all his candour and boldness, would not venture such an assertion. He was not responsible for the conduct of Mr. Lukin, or of the other gentleman who had been mentioned, though he was confident, that he might very safely assume such a responsibility, as he was sure their conduct and their accounts, would be found perfectly correct. But it so happened, that the circumstances were not as insinuated by the right hon. gent. that Mr. Lukin's accounts were settled while he was in office; it was a considerable time after. Mr. Lukin's anxiety to have his accounts settled in the office with which his business was transacted, and where, he was always told, his accounts would be settled, instead of being handed over to the auditors of public accounts, liable to all the delays he would have there to encounter, was but a very natural feeling; and on his (Mr. Windham's) quitting office, Mr. Lukin certainly did solicit him to use his influence to have the settlement of those accounts expedited; but he had declined all interference, and told Mr. Lukin they must take their course in the ordinary way. He had no objection to the production of the papers, but a great one to the manner in which the right hon. gent. had conveyed his insinuation.

Mr. *Rose* then moved "That there be

laid before this house, an Account of money issued in each year to Messrs. Thornton and Power, of Hamburgh, or to any other person or persons, which were by them, or any of them, paid over to the right hon. William Wickham, or to some person or persons, to be expended under his authority; shewing the amount of the total sums for each head of service, and by whom the same is to be accounted for."

Mr. *Wickham* (who, on account of some infirmity in his leg, was permitted to speak sitting) felt it necessary, after the pointed allusion made to himself, to explain his conduct. The official situation in which he was placed during the continental war, was not, as stated by the rt. hon. gent. that of a commissary. He was attached to the army of the archduke as his majesty's plenipotentiary, and was charged with negotiations for subsidizing troops. For the pay of those troops, he was officially acquainted, that a large sum of money was deposited in the Bank of Hamburgh, upon which drafts were to be given monthly for the pay of the troops. In the treaties which he had formed for those subsidiary forces, every thing relating to pay, from the general down to the private, and every thing respecting forage and other contingencies, were minutely stipulated; and he had repeatedly written home to his government, urging the necessity of sending out able commissaries, to be constantly attached to these foreign regiments, and to see that their musters were correct, with powers to draw upon the Hamburgh bank. In answer to which, his instructions were, that the responsibility of drawing for money would not be vested in any commissary; but that he (Mr. W.) must take the superintendance of such issues; and after receiving the necessary certificates, signed by the commissaries, he must then, under his own hand, empower the commissaries to draw upon the bank at Hamburgh. This was a duty not of his seeking, but imposed upon him without even asking his assent: it formed a very laborious increase to the arduous duties with which he had been already charged. He undertook it however, cheerfully, as he would have done one more arduous, for the public service. But he felt himself placed in a predicament in which no man of honour or feeling in his situation would wish to stand: not as officially accredited, the plenipotentiary of his majesty, in a diplomatic department, but as a check or controul upon the acting commissaries, and with a share of care and responsibility superadded to his other avocations. He had long felt the most earnest solicitude to have his accounts audited. He knew many other gentlemen in the same predicament, and some who, after waiting a series of years, had been obliged to go abroad on foreign stations, leaving their accounts still unpassed; and it was from his personal feelings of satisfaction, as well as his public sense of the utility and advantages of the system proposed by the noble chancellor of the exchequer for expediting the auditing of public accounts, that he had been zealous in cheering that system in a manner so peculiarly unpleasing to the right hon. gentleman.

Mr *Rose* expressed his assurance, that no man could be more accurate than the right hon. gent. who had rendered very considerable services to his country.

Mr. Secretary *Fox*, after some animadversions on the candour, manliness, and purity of the right hon. gent. opposite to him, (Mr. Rose) begged to observe, that the expenditures about which he seemed now so solicitous, and the delay of accounting for which had excited so much of his disapprobation, must have been some years officially known to the right hon. gent. If there was any thing improper or illegal in the manner of those expenditures being accounted for, why, he would ask, had not the right hon. gent. in his great anxiety for rectitude, long since moved for their production?—The papers were then ordered.

[CHELSEA HOSPITAL BILL.] On the motion for the third reading of the bill,

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he felt such strong objections to the measure, that he hoped the house would indulge him by allowing him to state his opinion in this late stage, as shortly as possible. The noble lord then inveighed against the bill, as a measure originally objectionable from the number of utterly inadmissable clauses with which it was charged; but, as now reduced to a skeleton by the expunging of those clauses, it contained no one feature of any fundamental principle, for improving the situation of the soldier, which was not before in the power of his majesty. So far, then, it was a mere *caput mortuum;* but in every thing else it was worse than nothing; for it would not only trench upon the prerogative of the crown, like the other military bills of the right hon. gent. by taking away from the discretion of his majesty those regulations which should come from the crown as boons and favours of the sovereign to encourage good conduct in the soldier, but by giving that soldier a definitive, positive, and legal claim to those boons and favours, stipulated at his inlistment, it would encourage indiscipline, and a spirit of independence of the approbation of his superiors, at all times the very soul of discipline, and in this respect it would prove also a hot-bed for the produce of law-suits. No such attempt to tamper with the army of the country had ever been made since the time of the Long Parliament previous to the Revolution of 1641. The bill, too, as it stood, held out a fallacious enactment to the recruit. Another objection was, that there had been no estimate whatever laid before the house, as to the probable expence, nor any explanation given by the right hon. gent. as to his own view of the subject, or in what manner he proposed to carry the bill into effect. Thus, the house was called upon to vote in the dark, and to hold itself up to the ridicule of the country, along with the authors of the measure, and to involve in their disgrace and contempt those members, as parties to the measure, who had streuuously opposed it. The right hon. gent. who, for three years past, had made the alledged imperfections and absurdities of the existing military system the constant theme of his animadversion, and who, it might have been reasonably supposed, would be prepared with a faultless system of his own, to offer the moment he had an opportunity; yet now, after a delay of three or four months deliberation and invention; after having caused his colleague the secretary at war, to bring forward no less than four successive mutiny bills, upon as many different estimates, to give further time for the grand measure, after all came forward with a system so complicated, so unintelligible, so unsatisfactory even to himself, so impracticable, and so subversive of that old established and long-tried system, by which the military glory of this realm had been maintained, as to excite universal disapprobation out of doors and that of a great portion of the best informed members within those walls. But, the noble lord said, he did not mean to give the right hon. gent. who brought forward this bill, an exclusive monopoly for that systematic absurdity, to the participation of which his colleagues had established so many obvious and unquestionable claims: the same system of slovenly cobbling and bungling marked all their measures of financial and commercial arrangement. Here the noble lord adverted to the Pig-Iron tax, and Private Brewery tax, the first obstinately maintained and then abandoned; to the recurrence to old systems of taxation, instead of any thing new being provided; to the obnoxious modification in the Property tax; the American Intercourse, and the Slave Trade Prohibition bills. The oldest members of that house had not known business so unsatisfactorily transacted as during the last three months (hear! hear! from the opposition bench), and that by a set of men who had made themselves singularly conspicuous for their censure of the measures of their predecessors.—The noble lord was proceeding to expatiate on those several measures, when he was called to order by

Mr. *Hawthorne*, who said that such observations were totally irrelevant to the bill before the house.

Lord *Castlereagh* resumed, however, his observations, and was again called to order by,

Sir *W. Young*, who observed, that if the noble lord was to be indulged in this field of allusions to former measures and debates, and in the repetition of arguments urged a hundred times before, and served up in almost every discussion that had occurred within the last two monts, a precedent would be created which would really render it imposible to go on with the public business. The noble lord might as properly expect to be allowed to read, as part of his speech, a volume or two of the Parliamentary History of the country. He put it to the noble lord's discretion, whether some consideration was not due to the time and patience of the house? or whether the attendance of members was to be protracted in this manner, night after night, to unseasonable hours, in the unnecessary, and he might almost say, captious repetition of such discussions? If the hon. baronet was unsuccessful in the appeal to the discretion of the noble lord, he would appeal to the authority of the Chair.—(Hear! hear! hear! from the ministerial side of the house.)

Lord *Castlereagh* rose again, and concluded by observing, that if he was disposed to trespass upon the attention of the house, by uttering all he felt, and exposing all the inconsistencies and absurdities that challenged observation in the conduct of his majesty's ministers, the hon. baronet might indeed have cause to complain of the length of his speech, which might last for some days; he would, however, relieve the hon. baronet, by abstaining at present from adding more, than that our history presented no period similar to that since the appointment of the present ministers, so marked by procrastination, inconsistency, and bungling on their parts, and in which so little real business had been done. For his own part, he should feel it a disgrace to be a member of any administration marked by such conduct.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* observed, that the noble lord had made a speech which it was extremely difficult to answer, not on account of the logical precision and clearness of the noble lord's positions, or the convincing force of his arguments, for of those properties in the noble lord's eloquence he really had no perception; but it was very possible to make a speech composed of heterogeneous materials, like that of the noble lord, and so inconsistent and contradictory in itself, as to be extremely difficult to be answered in a regular way. The noble lord's speech on this occasion, and which would do just as well for any other, exhibited a melange of all those topics of assertions and arguments, which had been used by himself and his friends so repeatedly of late, and so repeatedly and completely refuted, that he did not mean to follow the noble lord round the sort of grand tour he had made, feeling, as he did, some consideration for the patience of the house. The noble lord had talked much of the military plans he had introduced, and had talked of this bill having been preceded by four mutiny bills; and he had adverted to this assertion nearly as often as four times four, like the story of the four pilgrims, or, as if there were some peculiar virtue or conjuration in four, like the mystic number of Pythagoras. But he begged to remind the noble lord, that there were but two mutiny bills for that period, brought forward upon grounds with which the house seemed very well pleased; and he begged to ask the noble lord what injury had accrued to the country, or inconvenience to the public service, from the manner of passing those bills? The present bill was said, at one time, to do the most alarming mischief, and the next moment it was a mere skeleton, a caput mortuum, and did nothing, or worse than nothing: at one time it was totally inefficient, and again it was most mischievously efficient. It was at first utterly inadmissible, on account of certain obnoxious clauses, and now it seems it was rendered much worse by the expunging of those clauses. Now really, with all due deference to the profound logic and consistent precision of the noble lord, these were properties which could not by possibility exist in the same measure. The bill, in a committee, had certainly undergone considerable alterations. It had been reduced in point of volume and extent; but it was thereby rendered more compact and precise, and therefore more simple in its operation: but, perhaps, the noble lord thought this an imperfection, and judged of it, not by its strength and clearness, but its bulk, as ignorant people do sometimes of a medicine, conceiving that a pill can have no virtue, because, instead of being like a musquet ball, it is no bigger than a pin's head. But the value of a thing did not alway consist in its bulk, and it was by no means impossible to render either a speech or a bill better by abridgment, as the present bill and the last speech would evince. The bill in fact, in its present shape, did every thing which it ought to do; it established and declared a principle, and left the application of that principle, where it ought to be left, in the hands of his majesty. It did by legislation all that legislation ought to do, and left to regulation what properly belonged to it; and as to the performance towards the soldier of every thing the bill promised, it stood upon the same ground as the pay of the army, the provisions of the mutiny bill, and the present allowances of Chelsea hospital, namely, the faith of parliament, which was not the less honourable or the less punctually kept because its votes were only annual. The noble lord complained that the bill was unintelligible as to its objects; but he had made a very long speech to prove the contrary, at least so far as respected himself; and he believed the noble lord was the only person in the house who could plead weakness of intellect on the subject. Another charge was, that he had not made a speech to explain his own view of the subject, or the mode by which he meant to carry the bill into effect. But he should conceive, if that were really necessary, the charge of unintelligibility would be justly incurred. The bill had gone through its regular stages: every regular opportunity for discussion had been afforded, and if the noble lord was still unenlightened upon the subject, he must refer him to the bill, which would speak for itself.

Mr. *Perceval*, after some preliminary observations, said, that whether this all-wise, this all-perfect administration ought to form an exception, whether the house could safely confide in them to the extent demanded, was a question upon which, perhaps, there might be some difference of opinion upon the different sides of the house; but after the experience we have had of the inaccuracy, in all detail, the imprudence, and the peculiar indiscretion of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), who presided as it should seem, with such uncontrouled sway, over this branch of the national service; whether the house should vote away thus blindfold the money of the people, reposing implicit confidence that it would be discreetly applied, was a question on which, he believed, there could be no difference of opinion on either side of the house. Yet that was what the house would be called upon to do; for he defied any man to say when he voted for the passing of this bill, whether the pension to the discharged soldier was to be one shilling a day, or two, or five, or ten. That all was to depend upon the orders hereafter to be made by his majesty, which orders the prudence of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) would have to frame. And the disgraceful state in which the house, as the guardian of the public purse, was placed by this proceeding, was the more remarkable, when it was recollected what had been said by the right. hon. secretary for the war department. For it had been admitted by him, that the house could not possibly discuss or consider the alteration which had been adopted in the mutiny bill without having under consideration at the same time these Chelsea regulations. For this purpose, the two bills were to be in the house together, their progress through the house was to be concurrent, and they were to be taken into consideration, as far as the forms of the house would admit, at the same time. To enable the house to do this, he said, the bill now under consideration was originally introduced with the several clauses, affecting to detail several of the regulations which were to be adopted; they were clauses, which, till the blanks were filled up in them, it was impossible to understand; and the only mode which the house had had of guessing even at what the effect of them would be, was by such recollection as might remain of the right hon. gent's speech (Mr. Windham's) ten or twelve weeks before. But when this bill went into the committee the house, he said, had some hopes that these blanks would be filled up, and that it would come out of the committee in a state in which it could be understood. But no; the very reverse of these expectations took place; the committee, instead of filling up the blanks in the clauses, struck out the clauses: instead of filling up the blanks, made in this respect one great blank: one great blank, *una litura*, was the amendment. And here again, he said, the right hon. gent. had misconceived his noble friend (Lord Castlereagh); for imagining that the noble lord had objected to this course of proceeding, as taking the house by surprize, he had reminded the house that there could be no ground for that charge, because the bill had been recommitted. But his noble friend, he said, had not adverted to this circumstance with a view to charge any want of candour on the proceeding. He had mentioned it only to account for his having delayed, till so late a stage of the bill as the third reading, to make any observations upon it. In the stages prior to the committee, the noble lord had shewn that it was impossible to make any, because, till the blanks were filled up, there was no understanding the clauses; when the clauses were struck out, there was no possibility of doing it on the recommitment; unless it could be supposed that it was the duty of the noble lord on the recommitment, to try what he could do at framing clauses to execute the right hon. gent.'s idea, which the right hon. gent. seemed to have despaired of being able to do himself, and therefore had struck the clauses out altogether. When therefore these clauses were struck out, the objections to the bill assumed a new shape; a formidable objection to its principle arose, that, namely, which he had already adverted to, and which had upon the recommitment been pointed out to the right hon. gent. by an hon. friend of his near him (Mr. Huskisson). For that gentleman, he said, did upon that occasion point out the objections which then existed for the first time; namely, that of enabling the king to make any orders, and incur any expences by those orders, which he might please; and pledging parliament before hand to undertake to ratify those orders, and bear their expence. And he said it was just worthy of remark, that this objection, which was so urged by his hon. friend, (Mr. Huskisson) had at the time been treated by the right hon. gent., as every thing which came from the side of the house where he stood was uniformly treated, as the mere objection of party, which had nothing in it, and bespoke only a determined spirit to oppose every thing.

But when the bill was reported, at three o'clock in the morning, after the house had been tired by a long debate, the notable amendment was introduced, which the house was then considering; and when the bill came yesterday to be read a third time, the side of the house on which he was standing was for the first time acquainted with its existence. At that time the house was extremely thin, and it was proposed to the right hon. gent. to postpone the discussion till the day when he was then speaking: but the right hon. gent. would not consent to it, and then the hon. general who had been alluded to (general Tarleton) feeling no doubt that such a bill should not, at the only occasion in which it was to receive any discussion, be discussed to empty benches, did move that the house should be counted, and it was found that there were not 40 members, and therefore the adjournment, which the right hon. gent. did not choose to consent to, was obtained, by shewing that the house was not in a condition to go on with the debate.—The hon. and learned gent. then observed upon the ridicule which the right hon. gent. had cast upon the objection made to the reducing the bill in its size, as if necessarily that would reduce its power and effect; but he contended that nothing had fallen from the noble lord which at all justified that ridicule. The noble lord was well aware that this comprehensive mode of legislating, that is the mode of legislating by giving the power to the king to make the regulations, instead of making them in the act itself, might certainly be much more effectual than the other. And it was one, he said, which the right hon. gent. if the house by permitting it encouraged him, might perhaps be particularly disposed to adopt; because by that means he would avoid all detail of provision and regulation, which as he certainly did not peculiarly shine in it, he might possibly be very well inclined to get rid of. And upon the same principle the whole business of the session might be comprised in one short, compact, tight little act, very mighty in operation though very small in size, he meant an act to enable his majesty, by order in council, to make any laws he pleased. Certainly, he said, he was ready to admit that the right hon. gent.'s constitutional principles would never let him carry his love of short acts of parliament, and his hatred of detail, to such an extent. And he would admit further, that as the act was now last amended, it in no degree whatever partook of the objectionable quality which would attach to so comprehensive an act as that which he had last alluded to. For, he said, he would undertake to demonstrate, by a short examination of the clause as now amended, that so far from its conferring too great powers on the crown, it absolutely conferred none at all. One had heard, he said, of persons who were famous for doing *magno conatu nihil;* of making great exertions, and those exertions ending in nothing—and the house had then before it an illustrious instance of it. The right hon. gent. had here called all the powers of legislation into action, and had gone through all its forms, and at last ushered it forth as a work of as consummate skill as it was of elaborate labour; it was, however, actually nothing, *superbum et magnificentissimum nihil.* But, he said, the right hon. gent. had observed, that though the noble lord had objected to this measure as not effecting any object which the noble lord approved, or as not effecting it in the manner which he thought right, yet the right hon. gent. observed it effected his own object, and that he had all along been pursuing his own ideas; he added, he had no doubt that it was so; but that it certainly appeared from what he had already said, that the ideas of the right hon. gent. had led him a very long and a very varied chase. The first idea was to bring in a bill which should contain the detail of regulations, and this the right hon. gent. pursued till he got into the committee, and there he ran down that idea; then a new idea started, namely, that of giving an uncontrouled power to the crown to regulate, as it might be advised; and this idea he pursued through the first committee, and could not be diverted from the pursuit of it on the recommitment. But this idea shared the fate of the former upon the report, and there it was fairly ran down and brought to its end. The third idea that then started, was the idea which the right hon. gent. was then pursuing, namely, that of giving the power to the crown to order, and leaving it to parliament afterwards to say whether the order shall prevail. And if the right hon. gent. would persevere in pursuing this last idea, he was persuaded he could prove that it would lead his clause, his bill, his measure, and himself, into one common pit of inefficiency, where all would be lost together: and this, he said, he would undertake to prove by an examination of the clause. But before he did that, he said, he could not forbear expressing his regret and disappointment at not finding in this bill, that clause which was in the rt. hon. gent.'s first bill, (the repeal of the army of reserve act) namely, the clause enacting parliament to amend, alter, or repeal the act during the present session. The right hon. gent. when he first engaged himself in the art of legislation, dared not trust his act a whole session, he wisely provided for the possibility of amendment in the course of it. But now use has made him skilful and bold; and he ventures on a stronger wing to take a greater flight. He said he could not but think that the right hon. gent. over-rated his strength, and that he was too ventursome; and indeed he had hoped, by the recollection of the first bill, he would have been confirmed in the necessity of such caution, rather than indeed to despise it; for though it were only an act to repeal another, yet he had himself pointed out to the right hon. gent. on the third reading, so great and clear a defect in it, that the right hon. gent. had been prevailed upon to adjourn the third reading to the next day, in order that he might have an opportunity of preparing a rider to be added to the bill, to correct that imperfection—and but for that correction, the bill would have passed, and actually deprived the families of all those men who had inlisted from the army of reserve, perhaps not less than from 30 to 40,000 men, of those allowances for their families, which the faith of parliament had pledged to them when they first enlisted; and he said, he could not but, therefore, take the liberty of recommending to the right hon. gent. to make it an invariable rule, never to attempt to bring in an act of parliament without guarding himself with the power of doing that which in all probability would be necessary, namely, that of either amending or repealing it in the same session. To come then to the clause in question, he said, that it enacted that the discharged soldier "should become legally entitled to receive such pension, allowance, or relief, as shall have been fixed in any orders or regulations made by his majesty in relation to his cause of discharge, and in force at the time of his enlistment, and for the payment whereof money shall have been voted by parliament." And the last words he said, were those which were introduced on the last amendment. Now, he said, he must beg to ask the right hon. gent. what he meant by those words? The right hon. gent. had just said to his noble friend, as a excuse for not answering a speech of such strong and clear argument, that he did not like to attempt it; that his reason for not answering it was, that he really did not understand it—"that true, no meaning puzzled more than wit." Now, he said, he could not tell whether it was the total absence of meaning in this amendment, or the excess and abundance of its good sense and wit, that disabled him from understanding it, for he certainly must confess that he was completely puzzled by it. Did it mean that, to give the soldier the vested right to his pension, the money shall have been voted for the payment of it at the time when he enlisted, or that it will be enough if the money shall have been voted subsequent to his enlistment, but at the time of his discharge? He said, he perceived that the rt. hon. gent. was looking at the words; he really believed that they would not help him to his meaning, but he thought it rather odd, though he might have difficulty in telling him what the true construction of the amendment was as it was worded, that he could not tell him what his own meaning had been, and what he had intended to convey; he said he was aware he was not entitled, in strict parliamentary form, to put a question to the right hon. gent. in the midst of his speech, but he really wished that he would indulge him with one. Because, if he would but tell him which it was he meant, he would content himself with shewing the absurdity and inapplicability of that meaning to the right hon. gent.'s object; but if he would not tell him, he should be under the necessity of troubling the rt. hon. gent. and the house with hearing the absurdity and inapplicability of both meanings. From the hon. gent.'s refusing to answer, as he perceived he intended to do, he however drew this consolation, that it was not his own peculiar stupidity and dulness which prevented him from understanding it, that he was not the only gentleman that was puzzled with it; and, indeed, there was no longer any wonder that the words failed to convey any precise meaning, for that there never had been any precise meaning to be conveyed, and that the right hon. gent. was as much at a loss to tell him what his own meaning was, as he was at a loss to find it out from his words. Being compelled therefore to examine the effect of the amendment, supposing it to have either of the two meanings; he would, he said, first take it upon the supposition that the money must have been voted by parliament for the execution of the king's order, previous to the soldier's enlistment, in order to give him his title to the pension under it. Then it would be obvious, first, that if the soldier enlisted under an order for the execution of which no money had at that time been voted, the soldier, though induced to enlist under the beneficial terms which the order held out to him, so far from having any title to allowance which he could enforce at law, he would, under this act, have no title at all; and it would have been his folly to have trusted to the order before it had that ratification, and instead of being more secure, he would be actually deluded by it. But then it might be said that would only operate during the interval till the money should be voted; true, he said; but then he asked what was the use of this act of parliament, for without this act of parliament the king undoubtedly might issue an order, and not attempting to act upon it till he submitted it to parliament, if parliament adopted it, it would then be binding; but evidently, both in one case and the other, the binding effect of it would be equally derived from the subsequent ratification of parliament, and this act therefore would do nothing. In the next place, to consider it on the supposition that the subsequent vote of parliament should have a retrospective operation, and give validity to the king's prior order, so as to cover the intermediate enlistment of any soldier, and which, he said, he certainly should have thought must have been the right hon. gent.'s meaning, if he had not seemed to have so much difficulty in telling him so; upon that supposition, he said, it was obvious that the last observation applies equally to an order so depending as to its validity, upon the subsequent ratification of parliament; with this increased objection, that in the mean time the soldier who was enlisted would be so far from being better secured in his title to his future pension, that if he had rested solely on the king's engagement without any act of parliament, that he would be less secure; if he had trusted to the king's promise contained in his order, he would have trusted to that which in no experience had ever been known to fail the soldier. But if he enlists under an order, which professing not to be valid till it is subsequently ratified, he will have no right to complain if parliament does not ratify it; and this he contended was unanswerably clear, unless the right hon. gent. would contend that parliament would in such case be bound to ratify the order; and if that was so, he desired to ask in what respect the power and controul of parliament was reserved by this amendment? But he said, he had argued this hitherto, as if the amendment meant that the order was to be ratified at least in the next session of parliament; but if that were so, nothing could be so unhappily chosen as the words of it—for he observed that the words were "that he should be entitled to a pension, for the payment whereof money should have been voted, &c." Now the pension was not to be due in any case till 14 years after enlistment, and in many not till 21 years. Was it intended then seriously that the house of commons should next year vote money for the payment of a pension which would not be due till 14 or 21 years hence? it could not be so meant. The house of commons would, according to its usual course, not vote money for the payment of a pension till it was due; and consequently would not vote it till the 14 or the 21 years were elapsed; and during the whole period of the solder's service it would depend upon the future vote of the house of commons, whether he should or should not have the pension; and this was the vested right that the right honourable gentleman provided, in order to bring recruits in abundance to the army. But then he desired again to know what was meant by "voted by parliament?" Did it mean the vote of the house of commons; or the grant of the whole legislature? If it meant the vote of the house of commons, he said it certainly did not express its meaning, because the house of commons was not parliament. If it meant the whole legislature, then the whole legislature never voted money, but granted it, or appropriated it, and though he said the right honourable secretary for foreign affairs seemed to laugh at this observation, as a mere verbal criticism, yet he owned, he did not think that such incorrectness of language was at all that which was proper for parliament to use: but, he said, the slovenly appearance which it exibited, in common with every other act of the present administration; for if it only affected them he should not care, for their character for accuracy, or any other merit, he did not affect any anxiety; but he did, he said, feel for the character of parliament, and he pointed out his objection, which his learned friend (the Attorney General) might remove by a mere stroke or two of his pen, before the third reading of the bill, in order that the character of that house should not be involved in the disgrace of that slovenly inaccuracy which so justly belonged to the administration itself. They will judge, indeed, he said, whether they will think it worth while to make any alteration in this respect; possibly, as they must feel the whole act totally inefficacious, and merely waste paper, they would rather it should pass with this additional blemish upon it, than by submitting to adopt any alteration suggested by him, give another acknowledgment under their own hands, as it were, of the imperfection of their own unassisted exertions. But this was to give the soldier, he said, a legal vested right. Therefore the inaccuracy in the expression was not a mere clerical or critical error; for as no action could be brought till the money was not only voted, but was raised, and was got into the hands of some public officer, and was appropriated in his hands to the payment of the soldier's pension, the words should not only be corrected, but the whole provision must be extended, otherwise, as it stands, if the soldier is to have any legal mode of enforcing his demand at all, it must be by his petition of right alone. And then, he said, the upshot of the whole of this notable expedient to make the soldier so sure and certain of his future allowance was this, the king may make an order, under which if a soldier enlists he will have a legal right to his future pension, provided parliament, 14 or 21 years after, shall think proper to ratify the order by granting money for the payment of that pension; and that right shall be so clearly and securely vested in the soldier, that he shall be able to enforce it by a legal suit, namely, a petition of right. Now that there can be no greater complication of absurdity in one little clause of one act of parl. he said, he would not affirm, because the right hon. gent. has other bills yet to bring in; and as he has great powers in this style of legislation, perhaps he may yet exceed what he has already done. But he trusted that he had made good his undertaking to the house, by shewing that the clause was totally inefficacious and absurd, and that it amounts to no more than this, that they undertake to ratify an order which the king may make, provided always that they like to do so when they see it. This is the new power given by this act to the crown: this is the great effect of this mighty act.—If he had been to be asked, he said, before the right hon. gent. last come into office, what act in a statesman or public man that the right honourable gentleman would have considered as the most weak, and indicating a mind least capable of any wide range of useful thought, he should have answered, without any hesitation, the passing of an act of parliament for the sake of passing it, where no useful and important effect was to be produced by it. And yet, he said, this very thing it was, that the necessities of the right hon. gent. had driven him to do. For having been driven by the weight of the objection to it, to amend into nothing, the clause in the shape in which it was to have given the full power of legislating over the public purse on this subject to the king; having been obliged to abandon the operative part of his bill, he still adheres to the bill itself. And why? for this reason. To those who do not examine the matter closely, and who are contented with consulting only the titles of acts of parliament, the right hon. gent. will appear to have been doing something for Chelsea, and something towards making better provision for soldiers. And though he cannot avoid the fact of failure, he will, he said, in some degree disguise the appearance of it, he will have an act of parliament in short to shew for his pains. Indeed, he said, it is in precise conformity with the other acts of the present administration, where little or no performance followed upon great promises. It is a precise counterpart to the operation of the chancellor of the exchequer with respect to the sugar tax. That tax made part of the ways and means of his budget, and was taken to produce 300,000l.; the remonstrances, however, against the injustice of this tax, as it was originally intended, were so strong and just, that the chancellor of the exchequer very properly gave way to them, and admitted such modifications of it, as necessarily annihilated all prospect or possibility of its producing any thing;—but still he would not give up his act; and therefore this compromise was come to between him and those who would have opposed it—they consented not to oppose the act, provided he would consent that it should produce nothing—and so it passed; and so it will remain, he said, an ornament to the statute book; and a happy instance, if not of productive, yet, he trusted, of harmless financial legislation. But indeed, he said, it was not only in single measures that this quality of the present administration was to be found; if he was to ascribe to it any one marked characteristic, more appropriate to it than another, he should say it was an administration of most splendid pretence, and most inadequate and contemptible performance—of performance not only unequal to its promises, but in most instances in direct contrast with them. This character, he said, was to be traced from the first original formation, and concoction of the heterogeneous mass, through all their measures down to the present bill. What, he said, was the profession with respect to the formation of their government: it was to be formed, he said, on a broad basis, to unite all the wisdom, all the virtue, of every division of parties: and how was this performed? The comprehension of all parties was illustrated by the total exclusion and proscription of every man who had happened to preserve his friendship, his political friendship and connexion, at least, with Mr. Pitt till his death. It might be contended, indeed, he said, that there remained no persons of abilities in that party, after the death of that great man, who were to be compared with the transcendant talents which adorned the opposite bench. But if that were so, still he could not but think that there were some amongst them, who from the habits of office at least, had acquired some useful knowledge, some experience, some facilities in the detail of business, which he doubted not, if the present administration had condescended to think worth the attention of their superior wisdom, might have rescued them from the repeated disgraces to which their inability to do business, their total incompetency for all matters of detail, had daily, and was daily exposing them. He expected, he said, from the cheers of "hear him," from the opposite side of the house, that it was wished to ascribe this observation to some disappointment on his part, at not being honoured with a situation amongst this splendid assemblage of talents and of virtues. He was confident, however, that no man who heard him would so ascribe it. He did not, indeed, recollect ever to have professed in that house, what an hon. gent. (Mr. Whitbread) had, as he understood, when he happened not to be present the other night, stated him to have professed—namely, that he would never form a part of such an administration: but undoubtedly, all that he had ever said on the loss of character, the disgrace, and the public mischief which he conceived to attach to the coalition of public men, with known differences on the great and leading principles of the existing politics of the day, that hon. gent. had only done justice to him, in collecting from what he had so said, the sentiment which he stated him to have professed. It would indeed, he thought, have been presumption in him to have professed it; it would have implied an opinion in his own mind, that there was something in him which might have made it an object with the present ministers to have had him amongst them. But there were many certainly among Mr. Pitt's friends, to whom this did not apply, and whose exclusion and dismissal from office could hardly be ascribed to any thing but the principle of proscription on which the administration was formed. He next observed, that the first thing, from all the professions of the right hon. gent. opposite to him (Mr. Fox), whether in this house, or out of it, which might have been expected to be found to mark the formation of any administration to which he was to belong, was a great regard to the true principles of liberty, the principles on which it was established, and by which it was to be secured. The way, however, in which those professions were acted upon was by violating, in the formation of their cabinet, one of the very first and most acknowledged principles of liberty and a free constitution, by uniting the judicial and executive power in one person; he alluded to the appointment of his noble and learned friend lord Ellenborough, the chief justice of England to a seat in the cabinet; and however the right hon. secretary of state (Mr. Fox) had on a former night referred with triumph to the event of the discussions on that subject, he begged to assure him, that he was much mistaken, if he supposed that the impressions made upon the public mind, the disadvantageous professions to the character of the sincerity of his attachments to the real principles of liberty, had not been slight in point of effect; and would not be transitory in point of duration. The next thing, he said, which might have been expected, from all their former declamations against supposed abuse of power was this, that if they came into the possession of it, nothing would be so strongly marked, as the temperate moderation with which they would use it: the happy illustration of this temperance and moderation, he said, was to be found in their late conduct to the directors of the East India company;—an act, which if report did not strongly calumniate them, could hardly be equalled by any former instance of the most immoderate exercise of power, or the most eager grasp at patronage. The next point on which all their professions raised the greatest expectations, was that of regard to the true principles of economy. Of this, he said, the measure now before them was the happiest instance; for not only was a great expence incurred by it, but a great expence was incurred for the sake of trying a military experiment of the right hon. gent. which, on the loose estimate that we had had of it from themselves, was immediately to cost 330,000l. per ann.; but it was an experiment which had been shewn over and over again, he said, by an hon. general (sir James Pulteney), and by others, might have been tried with equal effect, if it should succeed, and with infinitely less danger, if it failed, actually for nothing at all. It was further illustrated, he said, by the manner in which the house was plunged into great part of this expence, without the least attempt on the part of government to help them to form an idea of its extent. And here, he remarked, that the indifference to the true principles of economy was, perhaps, more apparent in the maner of plunging the house into this expence, than even in the extent of the expence itself. For great expences the necessities of the country might undoubtedly, and did in many respects require; but no necessities of the country can require that the house of commons should be called upon by ministers to engage for the discharge of great expence, without those ministers condescending to endeavour, in compliance with the strong calls made upon them within this house, to let the house know what they thought, on the best estimate, or the best conjecture at least which they could form, of the amount of that expence. But this was not all; their regard for the public money was further apparent from the grant of a great pension, as he understood, to a convicted Irish judge, to purchase the resignation of his judicial office, which he should be considered as having forfeited by the offence which he had committed. That judge had been prosecuted, he said, by himself, when attorney-general, and had been convicted of one of the grossest libels against the Irish government that could be published; a libel outrageous and intolerable, if published by any man, but how aggravated, when considered as the act of a judge! but perhaps an offence against a former government, was merit in the eyes of this; and if he understood right, (and his learned friend the Attorney-General would contradict him if he was wrong) this convicted judge was not to be brought up for punishment, but was to be rewarded with a considerable pension. Other extravagant arrangements, he had understood, were likewise to take place; other resignations to be purchased upon terms equally in violation of every decent regard to economy; but as they were not yet finally closed, he should press them no further. Another instance of regard to economy, he said, was displayed in a measure, part of which was to be under the consideration of the house the next day; he meant the appointment of new commissioners for auditing the public accounts —their numbers were all at once to be encreased from eleven, the number now employed, including three new ones appointed by Mr. Pitt at the end of last year, to no less than nineteen; and he was convinced, he said, it would be seen, that this measure, to the extent to which it was proposed to be carried, was unnecessarily extravagant and expensive in the extreme: and he could not, he said, pass by this article of economy without observing, that it was not enough to say, such and such an application of the public money was no improper expence, was congenial to our feelings of generosity, and consistent with the character of a great and oppulent nation; but, considering the necessary calls upon the public purse, no new ones should be admitted without proof not only of their propriety, but their necessity. For how, he said, did the house stand at this moment, with respect to the ways and means of the year? The 300,000l. from the sugar tax had failed, the 500,000l. which was first to be had on iron, and then upon private breweries, and now at last was to be fixed on the assessed taxes, was to be reduced 200,000l. by abatements and allowances, there remains then a deficiency at this day in the ways and means, which the noble lord proposed to raise, as necessary for the year, of no less than 500,000l.: and when he represented those ways and means to be necessary, we had not then had opened to us the blessings of the right hon. gent.'s military plan. The additional money voted for the increased pay for the navy, the increased expence arising from these military plans, had occurred since; so that he did not think he was going beyond the truth, when he said that there was near one million of fresh ways and means now wanted by the noble lord, to make as ample a provision for the expences of the year as he intended to do when he opened his financial statement. One other instance of disappointing the expectations which might have been raised, he said he would mention, and that applied more particularly to the right hon. secretary for the war department (Mr. Windham). When he came into office, he said, it might at least have been expected that there would have been no useless legislation, no tinkering of acts of parliament, no marks of the laborious effects of a blind Cyclops, in the framing of them; as the disappointment of this hope he should content himself with referring to the miserable bill before them. These topics, he said, might be much enlarged upon, many similar ones might be mentioned and others seemed to be opening upon them in the remaining business of the session; and he should indeed be happy to see, when the session was closed, a correct collection of these and similar instances, in which the inconsistency of the conduct of the administration with its professions might be seen: it might be stiled a Florilegium on the beauties of the present administration. He trusted, however, that from what he had mentioned; from shewing how the promise of a comprehensive principle in forming their administration was illustrated by the exclusive and prescriptive one on which it was formed; how their love of liberty, by uniting the judicial and the executive character in one; their moderation in the use of power, by their conduct to the East India Company; their economy, by the new and unnecessary military expenditure; their pensions to convicted and retiring judges; the unnecessary extent of their intended increase of commissioners for auditing the public accounts; and their abstinence from all useless and clumsy legislation; by the slovenliness and uselessness of this and others of their acts of parliament —he said he trusted from all this, he should appear to have done no more than justice to the administration, when he had styled them a government of most splendid pretence, and most inadequate and contemptible performance. Yet this, he said, was that all-wise administration which they had been promised; this was the administration, uniting all the talents and all the virtues of all parties, which was to shame all former administrations by contrasting its wisdom with their folly, its competency and energy with their inefficiency and weakness, its purity with their corruption, its economy with their profusion, its love of liberty and moderation of power with their unconstitutional and arbitrary abuse of it. This, he said, was the proof of those benefits from an united and comprehensive administration, which so many well-meaning, but shortsighted men thought they could anticipate; it was for this that the consistency and character of public men was sacrificed and abandoned; it was for this the public was to look for a compensation for that distrust of the sincerity of the professions and principles of all public men, which such unprincipled coalitions necessarily produced. There was one advantage indeed, he said, that was derived from this broad-bottomed administration; they were not as yet sunk by the load and weight of the accumulated errors and absurdities of which they had been convicted, "a weight to sink a navy," a weight which must long ere this have sunk any administration which did not derive an uncommon buoyancy from its broad-bottomed formation. He said he had been led regularly, nay, necessarily, into the consideration of the general character of the administration on the discussion of this particular measure; because this measure proposed to give to his majesty powers over the public purse, which could not be justified except upon the peculiar confidence which might be safely reposed in his present advisers. From this examination he trusted the house would see, that whatever their claims or pretentions might be to that confidence, they had no title to any at all. He said he should conclude with only one observation, which was to guard his argument from the charge of inconsistency, which had already been applied to that of his noble friend: don't let it be said, he added, that he contended in one sentence that this act of parliament would give the king extravagant power, and in the next that it gave him nothing; for he contended no such thing. What he contended was this: that if the act did any thing, that if the act could effectuate in any degree what it was intended to do, it did give such powers as that house ought not to consent to grant: but that if it did not give such powers (which he contended was the case), then it did nothing, was unnecessary, and ought to be rejected for its futility.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* on the part of his majesty's ministers, positively disclaimed any such sentiment, as expressed by any of them, in or out of that house, that they combined all the talents, all the virtue, and all the influence of the country. It certainly was their wish to combine as much of those properties as circumstances could admit, and it was not their fault, that some right hon. gentlemen, friends of the late administration, were not connected with them. The hon. and learned gent. had complained of versatility in his majesty's ministers, because they had agreed to abandon some measures, and to modify others according to what they conceived to be the sense of parliament and of the country; but he could not conceive *that* to be reprehensible in the conduct of ministers, or a conduct which should render them undeserving of the confidence of parliament or the country. If he were to look out for a set of ministers who, from their proud pertinacity and unaccommodating perseverance in any measure, however obnoxious to parliament or the people, and disregard of the public confidence, would be the least likely to conciliate that confidence he had nothing more to do than to glance at the benches opposite to him. The learned gent. as well as the noble lord. had congratulated himself that he was not included in the present disgraceful administration; perhaps his exclusion was not so much a subject of regret on their parts as he seemed inclined to imagine. But probably, if ministers had the singular good fortune of his aid on this occasion, they might have had the advantage of those eminent legislative talents which he had displayed in the formation of his memorable volunteer bill, and the lucid constructions and counter-constructions he had afterwards felt it necessary to give to those consummate specimens of accuracy, consistency, and clearness. However, if the learned gent. and his colleagues possessed such talents as they were inclined to give themselves credit for, why did they abandon their places, and confess that their abilities for carrying on the affairs of the nation had expired on the death of a late right hon. gent? Why did they abandon their posts in despondency and dismay, upon the death of that leader of whom they were so prompt to acknowledge themselves the mere tools? At least they might have tried a little longer their talents to conduct the public business, though it was probable the experiment would have been more short-lived and inefficient than the learned gent. was inclined to think this bill would be. With respect to the India Company, the learned gent's. conclusions were founded in the grossest misrepresentation and misconception. And with respect to the learned judge in Ireland (judge Johnson) to whom the hon. gent. had alluded, whenever he thought proper to institute an enquiry on that or any subject of fair discussion, touching the conduct of his majesty's ministers, he would find them ready to meet the investigation. But, unfortunately there were some subjects upon which the acrimony of some hon. gentlemen outran their discretion, and every regard and feeling of decorum. Did the hon. and learned gent. recollect nothing about the judicial appointment and the grants of pensions, which took place in Ireland under the administration of which he formed a part? Would he condescend to ask the noble lord next to him (Castlereagh) a question on that point? Would his noble friend answer for him how judge Johnson came to be a judge? Would the noble lord condescend to say, whether there was or was not any judge in Ireland who enjoyed his seat, or any other man who enjoyed his pension or his place, as the price of his vote upon the union? Would the noble lord answer this question? Did his rt. hon. deceased friend wish to institute any enquiry upon this subject? Perhaps it would be more creditable to the hon. and learned gent.'s discretion to consult a little the ease of his friends' feelings, before he ventured to put questions likely to terminate but little to their peace of mind. With respect to the bill, Mr. Fox said, that administration might not perhaps, be very long lived; but he hoped that gentlemen would give them till next session to exist. It was intended that his majesty should be soon advised to follow up this measure with the declaration of what was his royal wish; and if the bill should pass the lords in its present form next session, an application would be made to parliament for its sanction to the completion of the system.

Mr. *Canning* said, that though he had no right to complain that the right hon. secretary had followed his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Perceval) into the more general topics of his speech; yet of his total neglect and omission of those parts which more immediately affected the bill before the house, he thought he and the house had a right to complain; for, surely, it was high time that some one at least of his majesty's ministers should now at length upon this last opportunity, afford some light as to their own sense and meaning in the measure under discussion; and if they could not (which they probably could not) contend that it was framed to answer any useful purpose, should at least condescend to explain what purpose they themselves had in view. All this however the right hon. secretary had thought himself at liberty to pass over, and to leave the question altogether in the same obscurity in which it had been left by its original mover (Mr. Windham). The right hon. secretary attempted to justify his unwillingness to enter into the discussion, by reproaching gentlemen on this side of the house for not having urged their objections at an earlier stage of the bill, either entirely forgetting, or wilfully overlooking the circumstance, that at any other earlier stage it was utterly impossible to discuss it with any prospect of utility; for never till the present stage was the bill in a shape at all intelligible. It was brought in, as the house would remember, as a companion to the mutiny act, and a sort of commentary on a new clause in that act, by which the whole constitution of the army was changed. This change the house had been always told to consider not by itself, but as coupled with the provisions and regulations of the Chelsea bill. The provisions and regulations were then in blank only; but there was at least the promise which the blanks to be filled up afforded, that something was to be provided, that something was to be enacted by way of regulation, of which parliament was to have cognizance, and upon which it was freely to exercise its judgment. Of course there was no possibility of exercising that judgment till the precise nature of these provisions was known: and this could only be learnt in the committee, where the blanks were to become speaking and substantive clauses. To the committee, therefore, the bill went, without any opposition; *pro forma*, as the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) assured them, that is as he understood it, in order to be made perfect and intelligible in its then existing shape. But in the committee, the amendments, so far from being formal, turned out to be no less than a total alteration of the whole bill—an alteration so total and radical, that upon comparing the bill as it came out of the committee with that which was referred there, it was hardly possible to trace a resemblance between them! He really had thought when this new bill was put into his hands, that the person who gave it him must have made some gross mistake; and as he understood that there was a committee sitting up stairs upon a bill for regulating the Chelsea water-works bill, that by the error of the name Chelsea, the water-works must have been imposed upon the right hon. gentleman instead of his own, and that all his own clauses might be now in the hands of the water works' committee. The right hon. gent. however, seemed contented to adopt the present bill; so there could be no such mistake about it. He was then reduced to the necessity of believing that the right honourable gentleman had, by the use of his own reflection, become so convinced of the absurdity of his bill, as originally brought in, that finding no opposition made from this side of the house, he had gone into the committee and opposed it there himself, and shewing the folly of all his own provisions, had been able to persuade the committee to strike them out. But this was a little hard upon the house. They were induced to vote the clause in the mutiny act, under a promise that the Chelsea bill should contain the specific regulations by which the principle of that clause should operate. So long as the Mutiny bill was under discussion, the phantom of a bill full of regulations was danced before their eyes, and they were led on by the expectation of seeing it assume a perfect and substantive existence. But no sooner is the mutiny act passed, than this delusion is withdrawn; and instead of specific regulations or provisions, the house is presented with a bill, which is in fact one great blank, or what is worse still, one undiscriminating enactment of unbounded confidence in his majesty's ministers. And in the mean time, by this mode of proceeding, discussion is made impossible, until the house have arrived at this last stage; and in this stage all explanation is denied. The bill, he has said, contained but one enactment; and even of that enactment the meaning was so equivocal, that while ministers denied that which his learned friend (Mr. Perceval) affixed to it, they refused to give any construction of their own. This was the point to which he hoped and trusted the right honourable gentleman who spoke last would have addressed himself. He trusted that he would have thought it decent and respectful to the house, to remove an ambiguity so perplexing and inconvenient; aad if he could not satisfy the house that either of the alternatives in which the words might be understood, were such as the house ought to sanction, that he would at least have told them which of the two of his majesty's ministers had in their contemplation. The bill promised on the part of the house of commons that they will make good the expence of whatever regulations his majesty may think proper to establish. Taken by itself, it was obvious that this engagement went to pledge the house of commons to an unlimited extent, and to put the public purse wholly at the disposal of his majesty's ministers. But to cure this construction, a notable expedient was resorted to. A proviso was added to the promise to this effect, "if parliament shall have sanctioned the same." How was this? If it was an effectual guard, it totally destroyed the efficacy of the engagement; for to promise to pay, if at the time when payment is demanded you shall think fit to pay, but not else, was equivalent to no promise at all. What was the object of any such previous engagement? The right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) had said—"Security to the soldier."—Well then; what was the nature of that security? If the engagement on the part of parliament was clear and unconditional, certainly the security was ample and unquestionable. Parliament engaged to make good whatever the executive government might promise. Certainly this was ample security to give to the soldier—but was it such as it was becoming to ask of parliament! On the other hand, if the engagement was not unconditional, if by the proviso annexed to it, it was intended that the house of commons should retain a full and free discussion to be exercised hereafter, whenever the particulars of the expence incurred came before them, then where was the additional security to the soldier! By how much more was he secure of the regulations in his favour being made good, by a pledge so vague and unmeaning as this, that parliament would make them good, if they should so think fit! In which of these two senses then he asked, did his majesty's ministers mean to have their bill understood? Was it an unconditional pledge, fettering the future discretion of the house of commons, or was it a conditional promise, liable to be fulfilled or not, according to future circumstances, and instead therefore of being a security, a mere trick and delusion upon the soldier? Neither of these senses were distinctly expressed by the bill, as it now stood; either of them might with equal fairness be attributed to it. Was it too much to require of his majesty's present ministers, or any one of those who stood at the head of the government, that they should have the goodness and condescension, not to argue against such feeble and unworthy opponents, and to prove their own intentions to be right—that would be too much to expect from them—but merely to let the house of commons know what it was that they commanded them to enact—in what sense their bill was to be understood—in what sense, if in any, they, in their great wisdom, understood it themselves?—But instead of giving us that reasonable satisfaction, the right hon. gent. rebuked those who required it at their hands, and charged them with the grossest inconsistency and contradiction in their arguments; "because, say they, your first objection to this plan was that it invaded the prerogative of the crown; and now you are all alive for the privileges of the house of commons!" Supposing this were so, where was the contradiction and inconsistency? Was it a recommendation to any plan that it commits two faults instead of one? Was it an atonement and mitigation? Was it not rather an aggravation of its faultiness, that having set out with invading the natural province of the crown, it concludes with assigning over to the crown what is the natural province of the house of commons? Was it inconsistent in those who detected and exposed the first of these faults, to apply themselves with equal readiness to the conviction of the other, when brought under their view? It had been complained of, and with great truth, (and the complaint had been supported by argument, which, if ill-founded, ought to have been refuted, but which remained uncontradicted to this hour) that by taking into the hands of the house the detailed regulation of the military economy of the army, you invaded the province of the crown, and that to the extinction of which the crown alone was competent. It was now complained of with equal justice, that in executing that part of your system, to which the house of commons was competent, and which it was its peculiar right and duty to administer the pecuniary part, you, by the bill now before the house, wholly exclude the house of commons from any cognizance of the matter, and delegate the power of the purse, with an uncontrouled discretion to the crown. The crown was to make the distribution, to settle the amount, and the house of commons had nothing to do but to find the means of meeting the expence. But no, said the right hon. gent., the time will come when the house of commons will have the whole subject before them, when the regulations themselves will be before them. Then, why not wait till then, before they pass any bill upon the subject? O! but it was necessary to have something to hold out to the soldier; some pledge on the part of parliament. So it was a pledge, then! and if a pledge that must be fulfilled, what became of the discretion of the house of commons? The dilemma was inextricable, and the right hon. gent. had not even made one effort to escape from it. But, after all, why were not the regulations ready to be laid before parliament now? Was it possible that the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) who certainly had given his undivided attention to this plan; for nothing else of any sort or kind he had done, or appeared to think he had to do; was it possible that after so many years consideration out of office, so much mature reflection in office before he brought forward his plan at all, that after that plan had now been two months announced to the house as perfected in all its parts, he was not now ready to bring forward the regulations, which after all were the vital part of his whole system? It could not be. He had them ready: for he had framed the bill originally with clauses to detail them; and precious clauses they were; particularly those which were to give his majesty, in compensation to be sure for those parts of his royal prerogative which were taken away from him, a prerogative which he never dreamt of exercising, an unlimited power over the almanack. Days were to be weeks; weeks, months; and months, years, at his command; two years were to be one, and one year was to be two. Such clauses there were; but what was become of them? Has the rt. hon. gent. altered his own mind about them in the short time that has elapsed since he brought them in? And was he prepared to urge that whimsical variety and instability of judgment, that perpetual fluctuation of counsel, as a ground for the house of commons giving unbounded credit and confidence to what he might produce hereafter? The whole of the argument, if argument it might be called of the right hon. gent. resolved itself simply into a claim of confidence on the part of administration. The house were to vote this bill, they were to take the pledge contained in it, in perfect confidence that the ministers would exact nothing from them in consequence of that pledge, but what the house must approve, when it should come to be submitted to their consideration. And the right hon. gent. who spoke last seemed to take it very ill that this confidence was withheld, and the propriety of giving it questioned, by persons who, as he said, at the outset of the present government had professed a desire to support them. For my own part, said the right hon. gent., I have no pledge or promise of that sort to account for: I have nothing to retract, or qualify, or explain. I never offered any general professions of support. I never thought myself called upon to do so. I have given my opinion freely, as a member of parliament, on the measures of the government, as they have been brought forward: and sorry have I been to find, that scarcely one of the measures which have originated with them has been such as I did not feel myself bound to oppose. And I quite concur in the opinion expressed by my noble and learned friends (lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval) as to the general character both of the system of the present ministers, and of the manner in which it has been carried into effect, and in which public business has been conducted in this house, since this great administration came into office—that nothing can form a more ludicrous contrast than their promises and their performance. Of one noble person indeed, in the other house of parliament (lord Grenville), who forms a part of the administration, I have once before had occasion to speak. Perhaps it is to that occasion the right hon. gent. alluded. I did once say (it was early in the session, and before the measures and system of the government had been developed) that I was desirous of placing confidence in an administration of which he was the head. My personal confidence, my personal esteem and regard for that noble person, continue unimpaired: but to talk of him now at the head of the government; after all that we have heard, all that we have seen, to consider him as the presiding and directing mind, is impossible. I am sorry for it: But I admit no claim for confidence arising from an expression which was applied to an individual, and which was founded on an error as to his weight and situation in the government. In his colleagues I neither have, nor ever professed to have, the confidence which they now demand; and by my vote of this night I shall certainly refuse to give it to them.

The *Attorney General* spoke in support of the bill, and said it was one that ought to be considered, not as distinct from, but *pari passu* with the mutiny bill; and that the provisions of both stood equally pledged upon the faith of parliament and the discretion of his majesty.

Mr. *Rose* considered this the only explanation given as yet. He complained of the enormous and unnecessary expence in which this measure would involve the country, and concluded by expressing his conviction that a noble lord, whom he had hitherto been taught to consider as the head of his majesty's councils (lord Grenville) had no hand whatever in concerting these measures. He had always heard that noble lord alluded to by his majesty's present ministers of this house, as at the head of his majesty's present government; but he now found there really was no ostensible minister in that department but the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox). For the noble lord (Grenville) and his consummate talents and high character, his own esteem never sustained the smallest abatement; but as to his colleagues, he was quite sure that the whole history of parliament never presented such a period of ministerial imbecillity, inefficiency, and confusion, as since his majesty's present administration was formed.

Lord *Temple* rose with much warmth, and expressed his utter indifference as to what opinion the right honourable gentleman or his friends might form of the talents of himself, or those with whom he had the honour to act; but he could now assure that right hon. gent. that he spoke the language and sentiments of his noble relation (lord Grenville), when he stated that he thanked no man for compliments paid to him at the expence of his colleagues.—After a few words from Dr. Laurence, in support of the bill, the house divided, Ayes 65; Noes 30; Majority for the bill 35. The bill was then read a third time, passed, and ordered to the Lords. Adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, June 13.

[MINUTES.] In the appeal Seymour v. the earl of Euston and lord Henry Seymour, Mr. Richards was heard for the respondents, after which the further consideration of it was postponed till the next day.—The royal assent was given by commission to the Property Duty bill, the Irish Sugar bill, the Irish Stamp Duties bill, the Irish Additional Force Repeal bill, and several private bills. The commissioners were the lord Chancellor, lord Walsingham, and lord Auckland.—Lord H. Petty, and several other members of the house of commons, brought up a message, stating that the house of commons requested a conference with their lordships, on a subject in which the reputation of the country, and the interests of humanity, justice, and sound policy, were deeply concerned. The house agreed to a conference presently in the painted chamber, of which the messengers from the commons being called in, were informed. A committee was appointed to manage the conference.—The house being informed that the commons waited the conference in the painted chamber, the committee appointed to manage it, consisting of the duke of Norfolk, earls of Radnor and Romney, lord Falmouth, the bishop of St. Asaph, lords Holland, Keith, Dundas, Ellenborough and Lauderdale, went forth to the painted chamber. Shortly afterwards they returned; when the duke of Norfolk reported that the commons had communicated to them a certain resolution relative to the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

[MUTINY BILL.] The order being read, for going into a committee on the above bill, the house resolved itself into the same accordingly, lord Walsingham in the chair.—After a short previous conversation, of an explanatory nature, between the earls of Westmoreland and Spencer, as to the regular mode of discussing the provision or enactment of the bill, which it appeared was in one of the schedules,

The Earl of *Westmoreland* rose, and in a speech of considerable length, expressed his objections to the clause alluded to. He contended that it was an invasion of the royal prerogative, inasmuch as it prescribed the exact term for which men should be enlisted to serve in the army, and precluded his majesty from enlisting men upon any other condition. This was an abridgement of the power and an infringement of the prerogative of the crown, by taking from the king that power over the army which had hitherto been constitutionally vested in the crown. A measure too which went to change the whole constitution of the army, was introduced in the shape of a clause in the Mutiny bill, thus leaving that house no choice but between the dangerous nature of the experiment attempted to be tried, and the inconveniencies which would result from the disorganization of the army in consequence of not passing the Mutiny bill. Thus also would his majesty be called upon to sacrifice a material portion of his power and his prerogative, because it would be said that the Mutiny bill must be passed or else the army could not be kept together. Those who on a former occasion advised his majesty not to give his assent to a bill which went to abridge the king's prerogative, but the refusal to sanction which only left things as they were, could not now say that no other consequence would result than leaving things as they were, they might say, your ministers have made a bill different to that which your majesty ordered to be brought in, but a Mutiny bill must be sanctioned or the army cannot exist.

Earl *Spencer* spoke to order. The noble earl had, he said, no right to state, that his majesty had ordered a bill to be brought in.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* proceeded. The present measure was, he said, of the same character with those before proposed by an administration, in which it was said so much of the talent and ability of the country was concentrated. To judge of their measures *ex pede Herculem*, it was Hercules with his club, acing the part of a destroyer, and not as a renovator; former measures were done away and destroyed, but where were the substitutes? He professed the highest respect for the noble lord at the head of his majesty's government, for his ability, his integrity, and his anxious desire to serve his country. For the head of the administration he had the highest respect, but he did not like the stern of it; he did not like the principles of the stern; he feared their operation. With respect to the measure which was more immediately the subject of deliberation in the committee, wonderful effects, it had been predicted, would be produced by its operation. It had been said in other places, that the condition of the army would be improved, its strength increased, that bounties would decrease, and desertions be diminished. He did not believe that any such benefits would result from the measure. How was it possible, that under the proposed regulations relative to limited service, the army could be kept up? Taking the whole number of the army at 200,000 men, enlisted for limited service, as proposed, at the end of 7 years, and every year afterwards a seventh part of that number must be discharged, amounting to about 28,000 men; this, added to the waste of men in the course of a year, amounting to about 12,000, would make up the number of 40,000 men to be recruited every year, and how was it possible to raise such a number of men in this country in the course of one year? He was thoroughly convinced that the army could not be kept up in that manner without having recourse to a military conscription, or some compulsory measure of that description. Such a measure as that now proposed would, besides, give rise to a system of continual recruiting, drunkenness, and canvas for the purpose of inducing men whose terms were near expiring to enlist again. He begged pardon for trespassing so long upon the committee and preventing the noble master general of the ordnance (ld. Moira) from rising, who he was sure would oppose this measure and would tell their lordships that by the effect of this measure the artillery would be destroyed; who would tell them that men in that corps, from the experience they gained in the course of 7 years of service, became expert engineers, and were capable of obtaining great emolument in various ways, and who would not therefore stay a moment longer than the expiration of the first term of service. That noble lord would therefore doubtless tell the committee, that under the operation of such a measure the artillery could not be kept up. What, likewise, would be the effect upon our colonial service? Was he to understand that in the West Indies, after giving 70l. or 80l. for slaves to form black regiments, that those persons, after their terms of service had expired, were to be thrown loose upon society, and under the measure now proposed, his majesty would not have the power to retain them? How, also, would it affect the troops sent out to our colonies? It would be impossible for the commanders to ascertain with any precision the number of men it would be necessary continually to replace; they might send for a number of men instead of those whose terms were near expiring, whilst in the mean time those whose terms of service were longer, might be carried off by disease. The regiments also, whose terms of service were near expiring, would hesitate to go to a distant clime on any emergency. Another objection also arose from the effect which such a measure would have upon the army as already constituted. Men whose services were for life could scarcely see without jealousy others by their side whose terms of service were continually expiring, and who were thus enabled to return to their families. These objections pressed forcibly on his mind, and operated directly against this measure, which had been rejected after mature deliberation by his right hon. friend deceased (Mr. Pitt), who was then at the head of administration; and he trusted the modern Alexanders would pay some respect to the plans of Philip. He concluded by moving to leave out all the words of the oath which contained the limitation of service.

Earl *Spencer* said, he wished to state shortly to their lordships the reasons which induced him to support the proposed plan of limited service. He thought, in reasoning upon this subject, that it was impossible to draw any other conclusion, than that men would be much more readily induced to enlist into the army for 7 or for 10 years, with the prospect of being enabled to return to their families at the expiration of that period, crowned with laurels, and enjoying those benefits which this measure held out to them, than to enlist for life, and of course without any such prospect. It was a necessary conclusion drawn from experience and observation of human nature. The relations and friends of those inclined to enlist would besides rather encourage, or at least not throw obstacles in the way of such an inclination as they were disposed to do under the present system, where the man was taken from them for life. The operation of this principle would, he thought, continue to fill the ranks of the army in succession, as the terms of service of others expired, and would induce many of a better class to enlist where there was a certainty of their being enabled to return to the bosom of their families, or resort to other occupations, at the expiration of a certain fixed period. The noble lord had argued as if it would become impossible if the present measure was carried into effect, to have men for a longer period of service; but surely there was in this case no obstacle, the man enlisted for the first term of service might again enlist for the next term, and continue to engage himself for the remainder of his life. The noble lord, in the beginning of his speech, had argued, that this measure was an invasion of the king's prerogative. It was certainly true that the power of the sword, as it was called, rested with the king; but it unquestionably belonged to parliament to limit that power. There were acts of parliament on the statute book which actually prescribed the exact term for which certain troops therein mentioned should be raised, and beyond which there was no power to retain them. This was the case in two acts, one of the 18th Geo. II. and the other the 29th Geo. II. in the latter of which a certain force was to be raised for 5 years; and it was remarkable that the year in which this was done, 1756, was the first year of the seven-years war, and, that the five years consequently expired before the termination of that war, yet no reference was made to that circumstance. Many other acts might be quoted, most of which were in their lordships' recollection, and therefore he would not state them, the object of which was to raise troops for limited service. It had therefore clearly been the practice of parliament to limit, in this respect, the prerogative of the crown, and nothing more was attempted in the principle of this measure than what had been done before by parliament upon various occasions. He was clearly of opinion that this measure would operate to decrease the bounties and diminish desertion. Men would be induced to enlist for a certain and fixed term, and that not a long one, for a much less sum than when the enlistment was for life; and as to desertion there would certainly be less temptation to desert when the soldier was sure of returning to his family at the expiration of that period; and when, besides that, in case of desertion, he would lose all the benefits which otherwise would attach, if he conducted himself well during his period of service. As to expence, he did not think there was any objection, as he had no idea that the expence of raising men in the manner proposed could be nearly so great as the mode of raising them at present followed, whilst at the same time there was every reason to believe, that the vacancies occasioned by the expiration of the terms of service would be easily filled up from the operation of those principles in the minds of men which were always operative, and which would meet with a stimulus from the effect of the measure now proposed. As to the noble lord's observations upon his majesty's ministers, he should merely say, that he contributed his humble abilities to the service of his country, in conjunction with those with whom he had the honour to act, and whom, he was confident, were only actuated by an anxious zeal to promote the welfare and happiness of their country.

Lord *Boringdon* argued against the clause, on the ground of its being unnecessary, and not called for by the state of the army. At any rate, he thought that the measure ought rather to have originated as a boon from his majesty, in which case it might have been first tried upon a small scale, than to be at once extended to the whole constitution of the army. The measure also appeared to him defective, inasmuch as there was no provision made for those who, by being disbanded at the conclusion of a war, were precluded from serving the whole of their term of service; and he thought it was a little too much to say that they were to pass this measure, and leave it to ministers to bring other measures forward afterwards to correct its defects.

The Earl of *Carnarvon* deprecated the doctrine which had been attempted to be set up, of the power of the sword vesting in the crown without the controul of parliament. The command of the army undoubtedly vested in the crown, but the limitation of the military force of the kingdom unquestionably remained with parliament. He considered the present measure as tending materially to improve the condition of the army, and not liable to any of those objections which had been raised against it.

The Duke of *Montrose* opposed the clause, as limiting the exercise of the royal prerogative. He conceived that it would operate as a bounty to induce men to leave the regiment to which they belonged, at the expiration of their term of service, since by doing so, they might be entitled to as large a bounty as they had at first received, by entering into another regiment. He contended, that, in the present state of society, a better description of men would not, in consequence of limited service, be induced to enter the army.

The Duke of *Gloucester* warmly supported the measure. Many officers of eminence and reputation with whom he had conversed, in those counties in which he had travelled, had given their opinions decidedly in favour of limited service, which they considered as productive of the most beneficial consequences to an army. He was also decidedly of the same opinion, and he considered such a mode of enlistment as peculiarly congenial to this country, where freedom was the birthright of its inhabitants, where the love of freedom animated them in all their contests and inspirited all their exertions. Nothing was more clearly convincing to his mind than that enlistment for a fixed term of years, as proposed in the present measure, would operate as a strong inducement to many who would not otherwise venture to enlist; and when they returned to their homes and related the battles in which they had been engaged, the glories which had been achieved, the laurels they had won, and the benefits they had received, it would be a still stronger inducement for their younger relatives to enter into a service where they had the same prospects of honour and reward, and returning in the same manner to their families. If only ten men in a regiment returned in this way to their families, the benefit to the army produced by this means would be incalculable.

Earl *Grosvenor* said, that the plans hitherto tried had failed effectually to recruit the army. It was therefore necessary to resort to some new means of effecting that desirable object, and upon this principle he supported the present measure, which seemed to promise the accomplishment of a purpose so much wished for.

Earl *Camden* opposed the measure, and warmly supported the amendment.

The Earl of *Limerick* contended, that our colonial service was peculiarly incompatible with limited service, since before the soldier became seasoned to the climate, he might become entitled to his discharge; and thus our colonies might be perpetually supplied with raw soldiers, to whom the climate was peculiarly fatal. From his own experience he had found, that were a higher description of persons to enter the army, it would not contribute to its subordination and discipline. He had found, that those who could read and write were often the most troublesome, and most inclined to faction. Besides, it was not to be supposed that those who had enjoyed the comforts of life would readily submit, without murmuring and discontent, to those privations to which the soldier must necessarily be exposed.

Lord *King* observed, that it was not wished to introduce a higher class of men into the army, but only the more considerate and reflecting of that class, who now entered it as soldiers. This would add both to the numbers and discipline of the army.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* supported the bill in its present shape, which, in fact, he thought no more militated against the royal prerogative, than any of the Mutiny bills their lordships were in the habit of passing yearly.

Lord *Hardwicke* opposed it, and noticed the slight effects produced by limited service during the American war, as a proof that little was to be expected from this new system.

Lord *Rosslyn* thought, that the only way of rendering unnecessary the present high bounties, and of removing the odium under which the military life so generally laboured, was by ameliorating the condition of the soldier, and this the present clause was eminently calculated to promote. High bounties were one great cause of the desertions which had so much prevailed of late, and if the cause were removed, which could only be done by some measure similar to the present, the effect would cease of course. At present, nothing but the event of his being disabled, could give the soldier the hope of retirement; and it was not to be expected, that considerate men, or indeed any but the thoughtless, or those driven by necessity, would prefer being tied up for life, to limited service. As to canvassing between the officer and soldier, he was confident, that British officers would never degrade themselves by permitting any relaxation of discipline, to induce their men to continue in the service. They were convinced, that the attachment of the soldier could only be gained by fair and liberal conduct, and by the strict and impartial exercise of discipline.

Lord *Hawkesbury* declared, that notwithstanding all he had heard from the noble earl who had spoken last, and the other noble lords who preceded him, (and the opinions of some of them he knew were entitled to considerable weight) notwithstanding all the arguments which he had heard so ably advanced, in support of the system which was to be founded on a clause in the bill now before their lordships, he had not heard reasons stated, which were capable of effacing from his mind the impression which it had previously received, namely, that this was, in its very essence, a most dangerous, and might possibly be in its consequences, an almost ruinous system. Artillery, cavalry, and infantry, foreigners and native subjects, white men and blacks were all to be disbanded at the expiration of the term of seven years. He was well aware that it was utterly impossible that any thing like a general discharge could take place at any given time; but then it was within the line of probability that great numbers would have completed their term of service nearly at the same time, and must necessarily be discharged just at the eve of the breaking out of a war. This would be such a case as would most seriously affect the interest (though he would always place the utmost confidence in the loyalty and bravery) of the nation, yet it was possible that the occurrence of such an event might endanger the safety of the country. It was wise and politic for statesmen to be guarded at all times against even a distant possibility of such danger, and he conceived it to be unwise and impolitic in ministers to make such an innovation on our military system as this was, during a period of war. The manner he thought peculiarly liable to censure, as by the system being introduced in the form of a clause in the Mutiny bill, which was within ten days of expiring, their lordships must either agree to this plan, or subject themselves to the painful feeling that they had left the state without a mutiny bill at a period of war.

Lord *Holland* observed, that after the able and elegant speech which had been made in favour of the measure by the illustrious person whom he had in his eye (the duke of Gloucester), a speech which must have made an indelible impression on the minds of all who heard it, he was surprised that the noble lords on the other side should have persisted in their objections. He then adverted to the necessity of increasing our army, in opposition to a noble lord who had said that our disposable force was already great enough. In order to attain this object, we must now have recourse to a measure simple in itself, but likely to be most powerful in its effects, after all the nostrums which had been tried and had failed. This country ought to have more than its money to depend upon in order to secure it from danger, and to maintain its respectability. The effects of subsidies had already been seen. It had been said that this country was now in the zenith of its glory. It might be so, perhaps, for it was one of the effects of a burning sun to have no shadow, and certainly our sun had lately left no shadow of glory to those upon whom it had lately shone. A noble lord had compared our volunteers, for whom he certainly had the greatest respect, to the Macedonian's phalanx. The comparison was not a happy one, but we had undoubtedly lately followed the system of Philip, and depended more on our gold than on the force of our arms. There was this difference, however, that his gold led to victory, ours to defeat. He denied that this was any infringement of the prerogative, which no one could be more anxious to defend than he would be, because he thought that its security was necessary for the safety of the liberties of the people. It had been said by some noble lords, that the present ministers had got into the Elysium, for which they had long been anxious, and that they could not conduct themselves with moderation. The noble lords on the other side were in the seats of sorrow and suffering; but they were not, it appeared, without some consolation, for one of them had hinted a sort of hope that ministers might do something which would restore him to his fields again. When his friends therefore should be disposed to solicit his favour, he might, perhaps, console them as Falstaff did justice Shallow, when in great anxiety about his thousand pounds —"Trust me, Master Shallow, I shall be sent for anon." But as those who were in Elysium were said to be employed in the same pursuits which engaged their attention while alive, so ministers followed the same course which they had recommended when their recommendation had not such a good chance of being attended to. He defended the measure on the grounds of its humanity, as it would almost remove the temptation to desertion, and the punishments consequent upon it. It would improve the character of the army, and spread a great number of veterans over the country, who would be of the greatest service in case of its being the seat of war. It was not a mere speculative theory, for the thing had been tried and found effectual in other countries. As to the colonial service, he mentioned that in the Spanish army, those only who enlisted for a limited period were sent to the colonies. He concluded by expressing his conviction that this measure would produce the most essential advantages.

The Earl of *Moira*, in allusion to what had fallen from a noble earl (Westmoreland) early in the debate, begged to express his thanks to the noble earl for the speech he had been so good as to make for him, as expressive of the terrors he was supposed to feel for the ruin of the artillery corps from this measure. He really did not recollect that he had ever entertained any such sentiments, and he trusted noble lords would do him the justice to believe the language was not his. He really had no such terrors; and so far was he from having cause to feel such apprehensions, that he was convinced nothing would be a greater punishment to an artillery-man, than to dismiss him from the service, and deprive him of the many advantageous prospects of preferment in his view. The boys now inlisted for the artillery service, were turned over to the battalions as they attained proper size, and were of course enlisted for life. The term of 12 years limitation could only operate on those who enlisted hereafter, and could have no effect for 12 years to come; and with respect to the general term of limited enlistment, he would read a letter to their lordships from experienced and practical, not from speculative authority, from a general officer now in our service, but formerly, and for 20 years, in the service of the nation in Europe most analogous to our own, namely, that of Holland. This letter stated, that during 20 years of that officer's service, there were 72 battalions of the Dutch army, serving both at home and in their distant colonies, in which it was the uniform practice to enlist the men for limited periods of 3, 6, and 9 years, without any other stipulations than that their discharges should only be demanded in the month of October, or at the end of a campaign, consequently during a war; and that no inconvenience whatever had arisen from the usage. He then adverted to the wonderful effects which the seats on the opposite side seemed to have had on some of the noble lords, when they produced sentiments and feelings so unusual. As to the point of the prerogative, that had been so clearly treated by the illustrious person near him (the duke of Gloucester), that it was scarcely necessary to say thing further about it. He expressed his satisfaction at having heard from a person of his high rank, a speech which displayed such a truly British spirit; a spirit which he hoped this measure would spread over the country. A noble lord had rather indiscreetly hinted that a certain personage ought to have those about him who would be anxious to preserve the prerogative unimpaired—he said, rather indiscreetly, because the hint almost entirely destroyed the merit which he might have otherwise claimed for his zeal for the prerogative. As to the military opinions of officers, he thought that it would not have been proper to have produced them, for it would be natural for other officers to ask, Who were the favoured few who were thus consulted and whose opinions were to regulate the army? But in measures of this sort, officers ought not to be taught that their opinions were to guide the conduct of government or that of parliament. The distinctive character of soldiers ought always to be preserved. They ought always to be taught to keep in mind that they were the instruments to execute, and not the springs to set in motion. If you invited them often to that house, you would find that they would at last come without being invited. They would first come by petition and then by remonstrance. He concluded by stating the necessity of having a larger regular army than we had ever had before, and by expressing his conviction that in order to secure this desirable object the present plan was the only one which offered even a chance of success.

Lord *Mulgrave* expressed his astonishment at the opinion expressed by the noble lord, who was himself a soldier, and of justly high character, as to what might be the consequence to, or the disposition excited in the minds of military men, by being called to give their evidence at their lordships' bar; and he totally denied the justice of the inference. With respect to the bill, he was a friend to its principle, but feared it would be inefficacious, and ought only to be tried partially as an experiment.

Lord *Grenville* rose with the sincerest satisfaction to recommend most earnestly to their lordships the adoption of a measure of which, for many years past, he had entertained the most perfect conviction, that it was the only measure likely to become permanently efficacious in keeping up the necessary force of the country, under the unfortunate necessity that of late years had been imposed upon the countries of Europe, of keeping up large armies; and as most congenial to the spirit and feelings of Englishmen. It had been asked early in the debate, what statesman with a statesman's mind, had ever proposed to any country such a measure for adoption? He would declare the statesman on whose authority he would offer the measure. It was that consummate statesman (Mr. Pitt) whose irreparable loss the country so recently had to deplore. It was from him that he had learned the principle. It was one which he knew occupied his great mind, and was decisive in his opinion for very many years. There was not a single argument that had been offered against the bill in the course of this debate, that had not been urged by himself against the principle to that great statesman, in repeated discussions between them on this subject, and that was not ably and convincingly answered by his right hon. and lamented friend. He had considered, with the most mature deliberation, the subject over and over again, and the more he considered it, the more thoroughly was he convinced of its propriety. As to the measure being an invasion of the royal prerogative, he was astonished to hear it asserted, particularly by those who had had so much share in the military measures of the last four years. Could it be pretended that any army which was to be maintained in this country could be maintained independently of parliamentary sanction and controul? The king incontestibly and by the first principles of the constitution possessed the command of every species of military force; but that force was subject to the regulations of pay, controul, &c. which parliament directed. Nay, after we had seen that the very regulations as to limited service had been adopted as to what constituted peculiarly our home defence, would it be pretended that it was unconstitutional that the regular army, that which might be employed abroad, should be enlisted on terms which had been sanctioned in the other? It was in vain therefore to say, that this was an invasion of the royal prerogative, and hostile to the constitution. Indeed, after the able and convincing speech of an illustrious person (the duke of Gloucester) that night, it was clear what were the sentiments entertained by every branch of the family on the throne on this point. Never since that illustrious house sat on the throne had any pretention been countenanced of an army not subject to parliamentary controul.—His lordship then entered into a consideration of several of the objections, particularly as to the expence of the plan. He argued that it might be assumed as a doctrine, that of the persons surviving at the different periods when their services expired, one half would re-enlist. Of 120,000 men at the average casualty of one in twelve, 10,000 men a year were necessary; which would be 200,000l. calculating that one half re-enlisted, there would only be 16,000 wanted a year, and that not till the expiration of 15 years, and the additional part of the expence could not occur in full extent till after 30, so that the whole benefit was obtained before the expence of recruiting commenced. Thus, instead of two or three millions, the expence of recruiting would not be above 200,000l. at first, or afterwards 300,000l. at 20l. a man. As to the expence of future provision, it was grossly exaggerated, and if there was any addition of expence, it was a fair remuneration to the veteran, which, in consideration of the expence of living, &c. would, independently of this measure, have been fairly due. In a constitutional view too, the measure was highly advantageous as giving the soldier new motives of attachment to the civil liberties of the country, to which he would always look with a consciousness that they were his. The peculiar advantage of this measure, too, was, that it was clear, short, and intelligible. The people of this country could not mistake it. It would teach them, by a sort of intuitive knowledge, that a soldier was not placed for life in a situation different from the rest of the community, but that after having served his country, he was at liberty to re-enter the civil state if he pleased. The measure required no lawyer to explain it; it demanded no recruiting officer to catechise parish officers. It called upon no secretary of state to read voluminous lectures on acts of parliament; but would impress itself on the feelings of the people at large, and while it increased the numbers of the army, would preserve and increase its constitutional spirit. His lordship concluded by expressing his strongest approbation of the measure as simple, constitutional and efficient.—The Committee then divided on the clause: For it 91: Against it 34. Majority 57.—The house was then resumed, the report received and agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time on Monday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 13.

[MINUTES.] Sir T. Metcalfe brought up a bill for incorporating the Globe Insurance Company. After a few words from Mr. Prinsep, sir W. Curtis, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the debate on the first reading was postponed to Tuesday next.—Lord H. Petty, from the bar of the house, declared that he had to report that the lords had agreed to a conference with the Commons, on the subject of the abolition of the Slave Trade, and that they had appointed the same to take place immediately in the Painted Chamber. A Committee was instantly selected, who proceeded to the conference. On their return ld. H. Petty reported to the house that the committee had communicated to the Lords the resolution of the House of Commons on Tuesday last, and that they had left a copy of the same with their Lordships.—Mr. Fuller brought up a bill for the erection of a jetty or jetties in the port of Brighthelmstone; which was read a first time.—On the motion of Mr. Wickham, an humble address was ordered to be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to cause a copy of the articles of the treaty between his majesty and the elector of Bavaria, in the year 1800, by which it was stipulated that commissaries should reside on the part of Great Britain, with the subsidiary corps; also, a variety of papers tending to shew the instructions given to the said commissaries, and the opinion of the commissioners of the treasury thereon.—On the motion of Mr. Grant there were ordered to be laid before the house a copy of the report of the committee of the court of directors, on the subject of the Carnatic Debts, &c. and various letters relative thereto.—Mr. Fox brought up a bill to prevent ships from clearing out for the African Slave Trade, that had not hitherto been employed in the same trade; which was read a first time.—Sir J. Sinclair brought up the report of the committee on the Broad Wheeled Carriage act, which was ordered to be printed.—Sir J. Newport obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the Election Laws of Ireland, and a bill for the better regulation and collection of the Duties on Spirituous Liquors distilled in Ireland.

[WEST INDIA ACCOUNTS BILL.] Lord *Henry Petty* moved the order of the day for the house to go into a committee on the West India Accounts bill, which being read, his lordship said, that before he moved that the Speaker do leave the chair, he wished to make a few observations respecting the objects of the bill, by way of obviating the objections thrown out against it on a former night by the right hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Rose). He then stated, that in the year 1800 and 1801, commissioners were sent out to the West Indies, for the purpose of investigating and auditing the public accounts in the different islands; that they proceeded in the execution of the trust reposed in them, but found the accounts so complicated, and so much mixed with accounts kept in England, that they could not proceed with any effect, and were therefore under the necessity of sending home one of their number, (Mr. Bearcroft) to communicate their difficulties to the treasury, at the risk of the commissioners on the islands being at an entire stand. Mr. Bearcroft arrived in England in 1804, and in the course of that and the year 1805, took examinations of the accounts in England, for the purpose of dectecting the various frauds that had been committed. It was, however, found, in consequence of these examinations, that none of the authors of the abuses in the West Indies could be called to an account with any effect. The principal object of the present bill was to examine into the former powers, and to give the commissioners more extensive ones. And in order to obviate the inconveniencies and difficulties which had antecedently occurred, so as to frustrate the intention of the legislature, and all the efforts of the commissioners, who had been obliged to send home one of their members, there were other provisions in the bill, to form a new board, one part of which shall reside in the West Indies, and the other in England, which two boards shall continually correspond with each other, and communicate such difficulties in the West Indies, as cannot be cleared up without communications from home. Thus, the two boards would be enabled to make continual progress in the investigation and auditing of the accounts. No time would be lost, as had been the case in sending home Mr. Bearcroft; the commissioners would, on the contrary, be efficient; and how the right hon. gent. could call it a sinecure, he was at a loss to account for. There was also a clause in the bill, empowering the treasury to appoint clerks and secretaries, but not commissioners, as had been stated by the right hon. gent. As to the patronage alluded to by the right hon. gent. there was a considerable difficulty in procuring proper persons to accept of these places, which would compel them to go to the West Indies. As to the point of salaries, he thought these ought to be fixed, and paid regularly. He also obviated the objection, as to the commissary acting with the commission, by stating that this commissary was not a public accountant, but a comptroller of accounts. He considered this bill as in every point of view of the most essential importance.

Mr. *Rose* said, the noble lord could not be more desirous to have the abuses in the West Indies inquired into and redressed, than he was. The circumstance of Mr. Bearcroft, the gentleman alluded to, having returned home, and been useful to the auditors, he thought afforded no competent reason for making the public incur the enormous expence of aditional appointments, even before the exertions of the former commissioners had been fully tried. He was inclined to ascribe much of the motive for introducing such a bill (which appeared to him entirely unnecessary) to a violent desire for patronage in his majesty's present ministers. There was no instance in the annals of parliament of the commissioners of the treasury having the power to appoint a secretary with powers so extensive under a warrant of the Great Seal. He objected to this precedent of granting to these commissioners of the treasury a greater power than had ever been conferred by any former act of parliament. He considered that considerable danger might arise from collusion between the parties by the appointment of intermediate commissioners. In short, the bill contained nothing which the former one did not already embrace sufficiently for the purposs intended, except the clauses which related to the punishing of perjury. He had formerly made an objection to the preamble of this bill, and he still should do so, as it amounted to a kind of a slur upon the former ministry and commissioners, who, in his opinion, deserved well of their country for the exertions they had used, and the numerous services which they had rendered. The additional appointments would amount to nothing but sinecures. He had conversed with people who had been in the West Indies in various capacities, and he was now perfectly convinced that no auditors but those who acted on the very spot could be of any use in a business of such a nature; and he should therefore think it his duty to take the sense of the house on it.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* said, that he had himself experienced the difficulty of finding proper candidates to go to the West Indies. If Mr. Bearcroft had been found so usefu here, it would be strange, if commissioners residing here with greater powers than he had, should be found useless. It was very erroneous, therefore, to suppose that those offices would be sinecures. Many persons would, no doubt, fly to this country to escape the rigour of the inquiry in the West Indies, and it was proper to be prepared for this. Besides, the commissioners would go in rotation to the West Indies. He therefore did not see any occasion for the right hon. gent's. amendment.

Mr. *Perceval* said, he thought it would be infinitely more difficult to procure persons to go to the West Indies by rotation than to send out persons immediately after the first engagement for such a purpose. After having enjoyed a salary and sinecures for no less that two years here, it would no doubt be difficult to persuade men to leave their friends and relations in order to go to a dangerous climate, where they might succeed to a much more laborious and disagreeable occupation. He conceived it would be a more difficult task to engage gentleman to go abroad after the expiration of two years, than to persuade a man to go abroad immediately. Nothing was a greater proof of the patronage than the confession of the right hon. secretary (Mr. Fox), who acknowledged that he offered situations in a department with which he had no official connection.—The house then resolved itself into a Committee on the Bill.—On the clause being read for the appointment of five commissioners for auditing accounts, two to act in the West Indies, and three at home,

Mr. *Rose* objected to it as an unnecessary and unprecedented creation of new and sinecure places, merely for the purposes of patronage. He stated, that so far was this from being sanctioned by the example of the Board of Treasury, under which he had the honour to act, that in 19 years that Board suppressed upwards of 100 sinecure places, of from 2000l. to 800l. a year. Two sinecure places of 8000l. a year, and which at this time would have amounted to 40,000l. were vacant, and in the gift of his right hon. friend deceased, (Mr. Pitt); but instead of nominating to them, and thus extending his patronage, that great minister suppressed them, as he did all the others, when vacancies occurred. There were at one time forty of them vacant, and he suppressed them all; a fact which he was ready to prove, if any gentleman thought proper to dispute it; for there was nothing he had more at heart, than that the conduct of that Board, during the 19 years that he belonged to it, should be examined into. There was no danger of any persons now flying from the West Indies to this country, to escape inquiry, as they would be equally liable to it here, since the passing of the act of 1802. As he considered this new creation to be a matter of patronage and mere formality, without producing any benefit whatever, he should, on a future day, move for an examination at the bar, to enquire what use they could be of.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* expressed his surprise that gentlemen should put this bill on such a footing, as to suppose that three commissioners here, in constant correspondence with the commissioners abroad, could be of no use to the auditors of public accounts. As to their refusing to go abroad in rotation, that was no more to be expected than in other branches of service, where gentlemen accepted of employments subject to all the contingencies that belonged to them, and indeed there was the less chance of such a refusal, as, after residing two years in the West Indies, they would also in the same rotation come back again. Amongst the many virtues of his noble friend (lord Grenville) now at the head of the treasury, industry and attention were far from being excluded; and he would pledge his life and reputation, that if the situations of these commissioners should turn out to be mere sinecures, instead of being laborious and operative, the board of treasury would be greatly mistaken in what it was about.

Mr. *Rose* then moved an amendment, "that instead of five, there should be only three commissioners."

Lord *Castlereagh* argued against the clause at considerable length. The principal points he dwelt upon were, that it was an alarming thing for the house to be now called upon to create an additional class of auditors, who, if they were to be operative, would render the final auditors, to whom the country looked for responsibility, a mere sinecure. Upon the whole, he could see only three effects that could arise from it. Either this new creation would embarrass the existing auditors, or they would turn them into sinecures, or be sinecures themselves, in any of which cases he must consider the measure to be mischievous.

Mr. *Fox* adverted to the observation made, of its being a proof of the patronage, that he had offered these places, though belonging to a department he was unconnected with. Now, the fact was, that finding there was a difficulty in finding persons worthy of trust, who could be prevailed on to go in this situation to the West Indies, he happened to know two persons whom he thought qualified, to whom he proposed it, and who objected to it. Had they done otherwise, it was surely natural, that he, knowing of these difficulties from persons with whom he was in daily council, should say, "I know one or two persons whom I think duly qualified, and whom you may have, if you are not already provided with better." This could not surely be tortured into an attempt to procure patronage; so far was it from being the case, that, after the bill was passed, if, in looking over the list of commissioners, the gentlemen should find the names of any person recommended by him, he would allow them to draw whatever inference they pleased from it. A right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) while he accused the present ministers of creating new offices, denied that the Board of Treasury, to which he belonged, had made any such creations, and boldly challenged an investigation of the fact. It was not his purpose at present to enter into that subject; but he could not help observing, that the noble lord near him (lord Castlereagh) carefully abstained from making such a challenge, or holding out any such defiance, notwithstanding all the imputation with which he loaded his majesty's present ministers (observing lord Castlereagh at this time whispering to some member near him, he continued). The noble lord did well to address those about him, as he would find it much easier to convince them, than any other part of the house. The noble lord was too prudent to throw down the gauntlet with the same boldness that was done by the right hon. gent. for if he did, he assured him that he was ready to take it up, or, at least, that it would quickly be taken up by some of his own countrymen, now in the house, who would not scruple to affirm, that if not here, at least in one part of the united kingdom, new places were created, and compensations and sums of money were given in the way that the world called bribes, for purposes of patronage and of corruption. He would not, however, assert, that the consciousness of having done so himself, should prevent the noble lord, as a member of parliament, from arraigning the same practices here: but such an admonition from him should be preceded by repentance. Gentlemen opposite, however, did not, he thought, act a very seemly part in thus, upon every occasion, throwing every possible difficulty in the way of every inquiry proposed by the present ministers, though that was but following up with effect what was professed to be the design of their predecessors.

Mr. *Perceval* said, that he and those with whom he acted, acknowledged the propriety of the object intended, but differed as to the mode of doing it. The plan was now to create, 19 auditors, instead of 11, which was the number thought sufficient by the late minister; and in the present pressure of the country, under such a load of taxation, they objected to such an expence, merely for the purpose of patronage. In respect to the attack made upon his noble friend (lord Castlereagh) by the right hon. secretary, he had to observe, that before the proceedings relating to the union with Ireland, which the right hon. secretary condemned so much at the commencement of the session, were arraigned, he would have done well to recollect, that my lord Grenville, with whom he now acted, was then secretary of state, and very active in promoting that very salutary measure. (A cry of hear! hear!) He said he meant not to make any charge against the noble lord on that account, but he doubted if the right hon. secretary (mr. Fox) was dealing fairly by his colleagues and associates, by stating that as improper conduct, which would involve them in the disgrace.

Lord *H. Petty* was anxious to rescue the character of his noble friend (lord Grenville) from the imputation of having been a party to the disgraceful jobs, and other artifices, employed for the purpose of effecting the union with Ireland. That noble lord, as secretary of state for foreign affairs in England, could not, under the widest ideas of responsibility that could be conceived, be made at all accountable for the corruption practised in Ireland, at the time that Ireland was in independence, and therefore could not be implicated in the conduct of those alluded to by his right hon. friend (Mr. Fox). His lordship then entered into a general defence of the measure before the house, observing, that the new commissioners would have to audit West India accounts to the amount of several millions, which remained unsettled for the last eight years, and that the additional number was required on account of the additional inquiries which still remained to be made.—The committee then divided on the amendment; Ayes 41, Noes 91.—Majority 50.

[AMERICAN INTERCOURSE BILL.] Lord *Temple* moved the order of the day for the second reading of the American Intercourse bill.

Mr. *Perceval* did not think it right that this measure should be now brought forward, the house being already exhausted by a long debate; he, therefore, hoped, that it would be postponed to a future day.

Lord *Temple* felt the force of what the learned gent. had said; but he did not think it too much to ask, though gentlemen seemed determined to give every opposition to the measures of his majesty's ministers, that the bill should be now read a second time, and that the debate should take place on the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. *Perceval* could not agree with the noble lord: he thought the bill of such importance that it should have the fullest discussion; and he thought it probable that he would have to divide the house, not only on the second reading, but also on the question of the Speaker's leaving the chair.

The *Speaker* reminded the house, that there was a petition on the table against the bill, and that there was an order to hear counsel.

Lord *Temple* said he gave way, not to the suggestion of the learned gent. (Mr. Perceval), but to the convenience of the house.

Mr. *Rose* observed, that his hon. friend had merely said, that it would not suit the convenience of the house, that a measure of such importance should come on at midnight.

Lord *De Blaquiere* did not think the noble lord should have spoken with so much warmth, as to tell his learned friend, that he did not give way to his suggestion. The house had a right to debate on every stage of the bill, and he demanded the opportunity.

Mr. *Perceval* thanked his noble friend, but declared that he did not think the noble lord had spoken so warmly as was supposed.

Lord *Temple* said, that any warmth he might have manifested, was entirely owing to the rough manner in which the learned gent. had desired him to postpone the second reading.

Mr. *Fox* conceived the bill to be highly useful, but could not allow it to be by any means of the importance described. It was by no means a measure of a permanent nature, but one altogether temporary. Neither was it without a precedent: 20 years ago the Navigation acts, among many others, had been suspended for a longer period, he trusted, than would be necessary on the present occasion.

Mr. *Rose* explained that, on that occasion, it was only suspended during the then war. Here it was not for the present war, but a general suspension during every war in which we might be engaged.

Sir *C. Price* also disapproved of the bill.

Mr. *Fox* declared his readiness to confine the bill to the present war; and if his doing so could remove the objections of other gentlemen, who, from misconceiving the effects of the measure, opposed it, he would even consent to limit its duration for a time to be specified, or during the war.—The bill was then ordered to be read a second time on Tuesday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Saturday, June 14.

[SEYMOUR APPEAL CAUSE.] In the appeal cause, Seymour, an infant, v. earl of Euston and lord Henry Seymour, the Solicitor General was heard in reply.

Lord *Eldon* stated the circumstances of the case, and the reasons upon which his own decree was founded, and immediately left the house.

The *Lord Chancellor* contended, that the house ought to judge of the case entirely according to the evidence before them; and after delivering his own opinion at considerable length, concluded by moving four resolutions. 1. That so much of the decree made by the court of chancery in this cause, as goes to authorise the appointment of the earl of Euston and lord Henry Seymour, as guardians to the appellant, be reversed. 2. That so much of the said decree as dismisses the petition of the appellant, praying the appointment of Maria Fitzherbert, as her guardian, be affirmed. 3. That so much of the said decree as authorises the appointment of the marquis of Hertford, as guardian, be reversed. 4. That inasmuch as the marquis of Hertford, (nearest in blood to the appellant), and the marchioness of Hertford, appear willing to become guardians: it is ordered, under the particular circumstances of the case, that the said marquis and marchioness of Hertford be appointed guardians to the appellant.

Lord *Ellenborough* observed, he had not the honour of being in the least known to any of the noble family in question, save the head of it, the noble marquis, who sat near him. Having the highest respect for his character, he could not object to the appointment of such a guardian; but, he thought, there was such a degree of novelty in many of the circumstances of the present case, involving considerations of such feeling and delicacy, as to induce considerable difficulty in deciding upon it. Perhaps, the noble guardian, feeling for the situation of the child, in kindness and indulgence to her feelings and attachments, might act so as to make very little difference in her present circumstances. He was happy in the consideration that the appointment was under the sanction of the house. He doubted not but the functions of guardian would be fairly executed; but could not avoid observing, that he thought it would be preferable to bring up the child with her brothers and sisters, as the mode affording the best chance of a certainty of moral conduct; and seemed to think it would not be improper, were the noble marquis to state his intentions in that respect.

The Marquis of *Hertford*, feeling himself particularly alluded to more than once in the course of the discussion, thought it incumbent on him to trouble their lordships with a few words. He first adverted to the letter he had received from the agents of the respondents, to which he certainly had not thought proper to answer. With respect to the consideration of guardianship, in his mind, it should be regulated by a principle, that the guardian should not enter into any explanation or promise as to his intentions, lest he should place himself in an anxious and arduous dilemma, either to do that which might, under the circumstances, be injurious to his charge, on the one hand, or forfeit his word of honour, on the other. He should therefore enter into no explanations of the kind. With respect to the present situation of miss Seymour, he had deemed it incumbent on him to make particular inquiries, when apprehension of her removal was entertained; by what he could learn, such a step was likely to be attended with danger. He meant no reflection whatever on his noble relatives, but their lordships knew that men might see things in different lights. He had seen his niece at his own house, and at other places, and had every reason to be pleased with her manners and behaviour, the formation of which seemed to be attended to with particular care. The same could be said of her religious education; as, independent of what he was assured by the bishop of Winchester, it might be perceived, that greater attention had been paid to that important consideration, than was usual with the generality of young ladies. Should he undertake the guardianship, it would be accompanied by an understanding, that he pledged himself to nothing; should he deem it likely to conduce to the benefit and advantage of the child, he would suffer her to remain; should he think it necessary to remove her, such a step should be taken: this was before known to be his solemn determination; and so far, he solemnly declared it to be his opinion, that were his late brother and lady Horatia alive, they would not blame him for such a line of conduct. Whether such a plan would eventually prove the most prudent or politic, was another consideration. He had to observe, that the child was long in a most miserable state of health; that in fact her mother was in a dying state nearly the whole time of her pregnancy; and to add, that if any circumstance should make it necessary to remove the child, his house should be her home.—The questions were then put, and the Resolutions agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 16.

[MINUTES.] Lord Grenville gave notice that he should bring forward his propositions relative to the judicature of Scotland on Wednesday next, for which day the lords were ordered to be summoned.—Lord Auckland observed, that as a measure was about to be brought before Parliament for increasing certain allowances to seamen, it was necessary that their lordships should be in possession of information upon the subject when it came under discussion in that house. He therefore moved for several accounts relative to the revenue of Greenwich hospital, and the chest at Greenwich, which were ordered.—The Irish Malt Duty bill and the Chelsea Hospital bill were read a 2nd time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 16.

[MINUTES.] Sir J. Sinclair brought up the report of the committee on the Forfeited Estates in Scotland.—The Irish Election bill was brought up, and read a first time.—The Gibraltar and Malta postage bill was brought up, and read a first time.—Sir J. Newport moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the Irish Spirit License act of last session.—Sir J. Newport moved for leave to bring in a bill to revive and amend an act of the Irish parliament, of the 28th of the king, for appointing commissioners to examine into the state of the funds and revenues of the schools in Ireland. He stated that the powers of this act had been continued by others acts up to the year 1796. Though great abuses had been discovered, no legislative measure had as yet been brought forward for remedying these abuses, and preventing the misapplication of the funds in future. The object of the present bill was to appoint a seperate enquiry, so that, from a comparison of the various reports, some data might be obtained for a permanent legislative measure, as the subject was of the utmost importance. Leave was given.—Mr. Bernard requested to know from the chancellor of the exchequer for Ireland, if it was his intention to bring forward any measure, during this session, to regulate the paper circulation of Ireland. He stated the great inconvenience which existed in that country on account of the great issue of bank paper, and the numerous frauds practised by persons styling themselves private bankers, who were not possessed of any real property whatever. The people of Ireland, he knew well, expected some immediate redress upon this head, and looked with considerable anxiety to the right hon. baronet, from the great information he possessed respecting that and other subjects relative to that part of the united kingdom. Sir J. Newport replied, that he certainly had intended to bring forward certain propositions relating to that subject, but had been prevented from submitting them at present, in consequence of several failures, which had produced considerable distress among the banking companies in Ireland; and therefore he conceived that any step of that kind, would, for the present, do more harm than good.—On the motion of Mr. Paull, the following gentlemen were ordered to attend the house, when the charges against lord Wellesley should be taken into consideration:—W. Cowper, esq. John Stracey, esq. J. Riley, esq. lieut. col. Merick Shaw, and Henry Strachey, esq.—Mr. Bankes gave notice, that on Wednesday next, immediately after reading the first charge against marquis Wellesley, he should move that the house should entirely dismiss the same.—Sir. H. Mildmay begged to learn from a noble lord, whether any measure relative to an exchange of prisoners between France and England had been agreed upon by the two governments? He was induced to put this question, from the circumstance of certain French naval officers having been allowed to return to France. Lord Howick replied, that no exchange of prisoners had yet been agreed upon. Some persons had indeed returned from France, who could not be considered in the light of prisoners; he meant those who had been detained on the breaking out of the war. Only one naval officer, Capt. Gower, who had been a prisoner, had been permitted to return to this country, and he had come on his parole.

[NABOB OF ARCOT'S DEBTS.] Mr. *Hobhouse* rose to postpone the second reading of the Nabob of Arcot's Debts bill. Before he fixed a day for that purpose, he wished to say a few words to the house. The bill had now been 3 months before them, and there certainly had been full time for the consideration of it. Besides, it ought rather to be considered as of the nature of a private bill, and he was therefore anxious that it should pass in the present session. He certainly felt some reluctance in postponing the second reading; but he was unwilling to press it in the absence of several gentlemen who wished to deliver their opinions upon it.

Mr. *Francis* contended that the bill was of a public nature, and one, indeed, of great general interest. He wished it to be put off till an early period in the next session, that, in the mean time, the subject might receive full consideration.

Mr. *Hobhouse* did not mean to say, that the bill did not affect the interests of the public; but as the interests of individuals were immediately concerned, he had brought it forward as a private bill.

The *Speaker* stated that, according to the forms of the house, it was certainly a private bill.

Mr. *Ryder* observed, that any unnecessary delay in passing of the bill would subject a number of private individuals to great distress.—The bill was ordered to be read a 2nd time on Thursday.

[IMPEACHMENT OF LORD MELVILLE.] Mr. *Whitbread* did not conceive that the motion which he should now make could meet with any opposition, and therefore he should content himself with moving, that a committee should be appointed to inspect the Journals of the Lords, with relation to their proceedings on the trial of lord Melville, and to report to the house what they should there find.

Sir *H. Mildmay* wished the hon. gent. to give some explanation to the house respecting the object of his present motion.

Mr. *Whitbread* replied, that some kind of information might probably be obtained from the lords' journals by which the house might be regulated in their future proceedings on this subject.

Mr. *Dent* did not think the answer to his hon. friend satisfactory. It was surely not too much to ask, what that future course to be pursued by the house was to be?

Mr. *Whitbread* was anxious to make the hon. gent. as wise on this head as it was possible for him. He did not know what was on the Journals of the Lords, and therefore could not satisfy him in that respect. If rumour was to be depended upon, certain questions had been submitted to the judges by their lordships, and these, with the answer of the judges, he thought desirable to have produced to that house. What course it might be expedient to follow, would depend on the report of the committee.

Mr. *R. Dundas* wished to know, whether the whole of the proceedings of the lords were to be laid before the house?

Mr. *Whitbread* answered, that the committee were only to report what they should find in the Journals to the house.

Mr. *Fuller* did not know what the Journals of the Lords contained, but certainly understood it to have been stated by a noble lord opposite (lord H. Petty) on a former occasion, that if lord Melville should be acquitted, his expences should be paid by the public. This was the more just, as he had been compelled to go from one court into another, where the expence incurred was infinitely greater.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that when the subject alluded to by the hon. member was mentioned during the discussions before the trial, he had said, that whatever might be proper to be done in that respect, must be determined after the trial, and not before; but he had never given any promise, such as the hon. member conceived.

Mr. *Whitbread* said, that lord Melville had no blame to impute to the managers on that account; he had been taken into the court in which he was tried, by his own particular friends, after the house had possitively determined, that he should be tried in the court below.

Mr. *R. Dundas* recollected perfectly, that the observation of the noble lord had been made on the occasion when the comparative expence of a trial in the house of lords and in Westminster hall was under discussion, and undoubtedly the removal of the trial from the bar of the house of lords to Westminster hall had greatly increased the expence, and was not imputable to the other house.—The committee was then appointed.

[GREENWICH HOSPITAL.] Lord *Howick*, on consideration, felt that the motion, of which he had given notice for this day, for leave to bring in a Bill to make more effectual provision for the Pensioners of Greenwich Hospital, could not properly be submitted to the House, without a message from his majesty to recommend the measure. No time, however, would be lost, as in the mean time he should move for the production of such information, as would have been necessary to be produced to the House before the second reading of the bill. The noble lord concluded by moving, "That there be laid before the House a copy of the minute of the Commissioners and Governor of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich, of the 5th instant, relative to the mode of ameliorating the condition of the Out-Pensioners, and making provision for the inferior wounded and disabled Officers of his majesty's navy." On the question being put,

Mr. *Canning* said, he entirely agreed in the object of the noble lord, and in the course which he proposed to pursue for the attainment of that object. He was happy to have at length a recognition on the part of one of his majesty's ministers, that any boon to the military ought to originate in a message from his majesty, because that was the proposition that had been so often lately, and so distinctly urged from his side of the house. The noble lord's conduct on a former occasion, had been even frequently adverted to in the course of these discussions, and he was happy to find that noble lord, for whose character and person he entertained so high a respect, not influenced by the example of his colleagues, but persevering in the constitutional practice.

Lord *Howick* could not but be gratified by an expression of approbation of his conduct from any member of that house, but particularly from the rt. hon. gent. who had just sat down. But when this approbation was given by contrasting his conduct with that of his colleagues in office, he could not persuade himself, that it was not bestowed rather with a view of condemning others than of complimenting him. The present instance could be no precedent, as the right hon. gent. would have known, if he had waited for the information which he proposed to have laid before the house. The assistance intended to be given, was to be derived from a certain proportion of prize money which was to be transferred to the Hospital. Prizes were exclusively the property of the crown, and there was no instance of a grant out of such property, without the authority of a message from his majesty. The noble lord again disclaimed any compliment at the expence of his colleagues.—The paper was then ordered; as were also, an Account of the revenue and expenditure of the Royal Hospital of Greenwich, on the 31st of December 1805, distinguishing the several branches; A copy of the minute of the Supervisor of the Chest of Greenwich, relative to the mode of ameliorating the condition of the In-pensioners of that Hospital; and An account of the revenue and expenditure of the Chest at Greenwich, on the 31st December 1805, distinguishing the several branches.

[WEST INDIA ACCOUNTS BILL.] Mr. Hawthorne brought up the report of the West-India auditors bill.

Mr. *Rose* said, that there was no provision here that any of the commissioners should go to the West Indies. He had therefore an amendment to propose, which was, that three of the commissioners at least should positively go to the West Indies.

The *Speaker* informed him, that his amendment ought to be brought forward as one to the body of the bill. He was at present to put the question that the blank should be filled up with the word "two," purporting, that two commissioners should go to the West Indies. If this should be carried in the affirmative, the right hon. gent.'s amendment must be proposed in a subsequent stage.—Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Long, and Mr. Sturges Bourne, contended that it was absurd to send only two commissioners to the West Indies, where the burthen of the business lay, and where there was the greatest risk of mortality, while three remained here doing almost nothing.

Mr. *Ryder* also contended that most of

the evidence might be better taken in the West Indies, and therefore thought it absurd the commissioners abroad should not have that power of residing which the commissioners here had. He thought the measure was only calculated to increase the patronage of the treasury.—Lord Henry Petty, lord Howick, and Mr. Morris, on the other hand, contended that the burthen of the business was not in the West Indies, for the gentlemen on the other side seemed to forget that this commission was not only intended for the investigation of abuses, but also for the bringing up of the accounts in arrear. After a few words from Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Wm. Smith, the House divided on Mr. Rose's amendment, that the blank should be filled up with the word "three" Ayes 21; Noes 72.

Mr. *Rose* then repeated his former assertion, that the places about to be created by the bill would be mere sinecures, and serve only to extend ministerial patronage. This assertion the right hon. gent. expressed his resolution to repeat again and again, however it might be resisted by the noble lord, who ought, in his judgment, to have sought much more experience before he had ventured to originate a measure of this nature, which betrayed a total ignorance of official business.

Lord *Howick* expressed his surprise at the quarter from which the house had just heard such vehement objections against sinecures. After much lofty declamation upon political purity; after such high tones of independence, and such ardent expressions of solicitude for the economic expenditure of the public money, the house would naturally look for some evidence of the right honourable gentleman's sincerity, and no doubt that sincerity would be evinced very soon, perhaps the next day, by the right honourable gentleman's resignation to his sovereign of the sinecure which he himself held. With regard to the right hon. gent.'s allusion to his noble friend (Petty's) want of experience, it was true, the noble lord observed, that his noble friend was not possessed of that experience which might be looked for from a veteran in office. There was, however, a great deal of the experience to which, perhaps, the political success of the right hon. gent. was owing, which he rather thought not desirable to his noble friend; while such experience as was really valuable, could not be difficult of attainment to that assiduous application of active talents for which his noble friend was so eminently distinguished. But upon the subject of want of experience in the arrangement of this measure, the right hon. gentleman dealt, in fact, only in assertion; for experience, even very recent, was in favour of that provision in the bill of which the right hon. gentleman complained. It was notorious that in consequence of the sending home one of the commissioners from the West Indies in the course of the last administration, the inquiries of the commissioners were materially assisted, and frauds to a great amount were discovered; therefore the right hon. gent.'s assertion was not entitled to credence. It was strange, the noble lord observed, how resolute the right honourable gentleman and his friends were to carry on debate. He had hoped that the debate, on this subject at least, was at an end before that evening; but the right honourable gentleman and co. still determined to persevere—rather more, to be sure, in bringing forward accusations against ministers than in adducing arguments against their measures. Among those accused indeed, he understood the right hon. gent. had thought proper on a former occasion to include him, principally, as he was informed, in consequence of some appointments that were recently made in the department over which he had the honour to preside. Had he been present at the time the accusation was made by that right honourable gentleman, he most probably should not have felt it necessary to take any notice of it. But he now thought it proper shortly to remark upon the cases alluded to. And first, with regard to the removal of sir A. S. Hamond from the navy board, the fact was, that the hon. baronet had made application for leave to resign before the patent of his appointment to the admiralty was actually made out. The application was acceded to, and he had felt it his duty to recommend that the honourable baronet should, as is usual in such cases, be allowed three-fourths of his salary during life. At the same time, he had to mention, that the reason of this grant was solely on account of the honourable baronet's length of services. The noble lord added, that the ground of the honourable baronet's application for leave to resign was indisposition, and consequently inability to attend to the duties of the office; but yet he was happy to see that the hon. baronet was already so far recovered as to be able to attend all the debates of that house. To sir A. Hamond a successor (captain

Dickens) was appointed, in every point of view unexceptionable; but this gentleman being disqualified by illness to act, capt. Nicholls, an officer of character equally unquestionable, was substituted for him. Of the other three new appointments made in the naval department, the noble lord declared that so far from having any view to patronage, the only desire was to procure persons capable of an efficient discharge of duty in a branch of service where such efficiency was but too visibly wanted; and of those who were appointed he had to state that not one was at all known to himself or any of his colleagues in any other way than from the report of their qualifications. There was a fifth appointment about to be made in his department to which, perhaps, some part of the right honourable gentleman's censure might be pointed; that was with regard to sir C. Saxton's office at Portsmouth: that officer's age unfitting him for his present station, he was about to retire, but required that which he thought it his duty to resist, namely, that he should be allowed to retain the whole of his salary. Upon the retirement of that honourable baronet, the noble lord stated his intention of recommending an officer (captain Grey) to succeed him, his connection with whom should not prevent him from saying that he was fully qualified for the office. With respect then to his own conduct the noble lord felt that the right honourable gentleman's imputations were as unfounded as those which he had thought proper to direct against the proceedings of his noble friend, and the measure before the house.

Mr *Rose* thanked the noble lord for the opportunity afforded him by the allusion which he had thought proper to make to the subject, of explaining the sinecure granted to himself. He was before disposed to do so, but he now felt it to be necessary, and should enter into the explanation upon a future day. The right hon. gent. panegyrised the talents and public services of Sir A. S. Hamond.

Mr. *S. Bourne* was astonished at the line of argument taken by the noble lord who spoke last but one; namely, that because a public man held a particular sinecure, he should be precluded from objecting to the establishment of any further sinecures. Would the noble lord argue, that in consequence of his right honourable friend the secretary of state for foreign affairs holding two sinecures, (Mr. Rose exclaimed three), and his noble friend at the head of the treasury holding two, they were disqualified to resist the proposition of any new sinecures? If the noble lord would not contend for that, upon what grounds could he call upon his right honourable friend, (Mr. Rose) who had got a sinecure, which was but a just reward for 30 years great public services, to shut his mouth, and say nothing upon such a measure as that before the house? With regard to the official conduct of the noble lord, he did not believe that it was the intention of his right honourable friend to cast the slightest imputation upon it. But yet he could not help saying, that he was sorry the noble lord did not, in the administration of his office, rather act upon his own good judgment than follow the advice of others.

The *Attorney General* commented upon the species of experience of which the right hon. gent. on the other side (Mr. Rose) seemed to be so very proud. This experience consisted in a knowledge, for the last twenty years, of the abuses which it was the object of the bill before the house to correct, and yet no adequate measure was ever taken by the right honourable gentleman, or his colleagues, to put a stop to them. No; the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues were reposing on the "bed of roses" which they were now using every endeavour in their power to render uneasy to their successors. With regard to the bill before the house, he could not conceive any reason for the earnest opposition made to the provision for appointing a part of the proposed commissioners to inquire, in this country, into the abuses committed in the West Indies. For he could not suppose it possible that any member of parliament would carry his solicitude for public accountants, introduced to office through his patronage, so very far, as to shelter the conduct of such accountants as had taken refuge in this country, from any investigation whatever.

Mr. *Johnstone*, adverting to the "bed of roses" alluded to by the last speaker, observed that when he first heard the phrase he was certainly rather surprized at it. But, upon subsequent reflection, seeing that the gentlemen on one side felt so much regret on leaving it, and the gentlemen on the other side so much anxiety to get into it, he could not help thinking that there was something in the place much better than he had at first imagined. With regard to the crimination and recrimination upon the subject of sinecures, &c. which the house had witnessed from both sides of the house, such a practice might avail something among the parties themselves, but could have no effect for or against any proposition upon the minds of independent men, or when addressed to the dispassionate understanding of the country. It was of little consequence to those who were anxious for the right to find that both parties were wrong. In the case before the house, he thought that some of the proposed commissioners would be useless; and it was no defence for those who proposed the bill to make out that their opponents had also created sinecures. On the contrary, whenever the present ministers should be guilty of any thing prodigal or arbitrary, he would think their guilt, considering their former professions, greater in a tenfold degree than that of their predecessors. When in opposition, those gentleman were perpetually professing a love of economy, an hatred of arbitrary power, and a desire to limit the increasing patronage of the crown. For the fulfilment of these professions he had looked since their accession to office. But he had looked in vain, and he had recently seen them from the lust of patronage make a most extraordinary use of the prerogative in order to dismiss from office an old, meritorious, and highly useful servant of the public (sir G. Barlow). From the conduct, therefore, of such ministers, the honourable gentleman professed his incapacity to entertain a hope of much public good.

Lord *Howick*, in allusion to the remarks of an honourable gentleman on the other side (Mr. S. Bourne), observed, that having been but a short time in office, and being comparatively unacquainted with the business of his department, he should feel it a great presumption for him to act without taking the advice of others.

Dr. *Laurence* said, whatever sense his hon. friend might now (at the end of three months) find in the expression of "the bed of roses," his right hon. friends about him felt it, however their duty might compel them to occupy it in a situation of toil and anxiety, beyond what they could ever hope to be repaid for by the consideration of the country. He maintained the necessity of an enlarged investigation.

Sir *W. Young* detailed the manner and circumstances of drawing the bills from the West Indies; and contended, from the facility of suppressing the evidences there, that the best chance of tracing them was through the indorser in this country.—The bill was ordered to be read a 3rd time to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 17.

[MUTINY BILL.] Ld. Grenville moved the third reading of the mutiny bill:

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, after the full discussion the bill had undergone, he would not detain their lordships by going over the same ground again. His object now was to move an amendment, which was calculated, in his opinion, to render the measure before the house less objectionable. Many of the arguments urged by noble lords against the bill, still remained unanswered, and formed in his mind very strong objections to the measure. He was still of opinion, that if a choice was allowed to persons enlisting to enlist either for life or for seven years, that ninety-nine out of a hundred would prefer the former. The only fair way of trying the measure in this way would be to allow persons to enlist in either way, giving 16 guineas bounty for enlistment for life, and 12 guineas for 7 years. As it was, however decided by the house, that enlisting for a limited period should become a general measure, it only remained to him to propose what he conceived would be a beneficial alteration of that period. He was of opinion that enlisting men for the short term of seven years would produce little benefit to the army, whilst at the same time it would not be any real advantage to the men enlisted. He thought that 20 or 21 years would be a period much more likely to prove advantageous. Let a man serve for that period, and then, if he survived the contingencies of the service, be entitled to a pension for the remainder of his life. The army would, by this means, always have a certain number of experienced soldiers; the value of whom were well known to all military officers. On the other hand, it was to be feared that if men were enlisted for only seven years, they would become restless and unsteady, and the army not derive much benefit from soldiers of that description. The present bill rendered the period of military service shorter in this country than it was in any other state in Europe, without, as he conceived, promising any adequate advantage. On the contrary, great inconvenience must necessarily arise from such a system in drafting regiments, and with respect to our colonial service. His lordship, after recapitulating some of the former arguments against the bill, concluded by moving to insert in the oath the period of twenty years, instead of seven.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* expressed his astonishment that such a motion should come from the other side of the house. On a former evening noble lords on the other side had arraigned his majesty's ministers for trenching, as they alledged, on the king's prerogative, by the enactment relative to limited service contained in this bill, and now they themselves came forward to propose another limited period of service, which was as much an invasion of the king's prerogative, according to their own arguments, as the proposition made by his majesty's ministers. He thought it wholly unnecessary to argue as to the superior inducement which there must be to every man to enlist for seven years rather than for life, as such a disposition was clearly deducible from the slightest experience of human nature. The same argument was equally applicable to an enlistment for seven, instead of twenty years. If noble lords on the other side were told that they must remain in a state of sorrowing and suffering, as it had been termed the other night, for twenty years instead of seven, they would doubtless declaim loudly against it, and endeavour to make the period of seven years still shorter. The opposition made to this measure appeared to him very singular, as the principle of enlisting for a limited period had been applied by noble lords on the other side before they quitted office, to the marines, and it was from the success of this very measure that a very convincing argument was to be deduced in favour of the general application of the principle to the whole army. His lordship stated an order made on the 3d February, 1806, directing men to be enlisted for the marines for a limited period during the war, and read extracts of letters from general Campbell, to prove the success of the measure in obtaining recruits, but did not state the numbers enlisted. As to the objection taken by the noble lord, with respect to drafting, it was well known that when a regiment was ordered to a distant clime, or on foreign service, that there were always individuals belonging to that regiment, who, from age or other causes, were incapable of encountering the fatigue of a voyage, or the heat of the climate to which the regiment was destined, and who were, therefore, drafted into other regiments. If this measure was carried into effect, he did not believe that there would be at any time more men to draft on account of their terms of service being near expiring, than there were now for other causes. Another objection had been taken by the opponents of this measure, as to the expence with which it would be attended; and, he must say, that this had been most unfairly argued. Those who had argued on this ground, had included in their estimate the pensions given to disabled and retired soldiers, when it must be evident that these pensions were what soldiers disabled by wounds or age were justly entiled to, as a provision for the remainder of their lives, and that they formed a strong inducement on the side of the recruiting service. He would not detain the house by entering into any further discussion of the subject, the arguments urged on the other side had already been fully and completely answered. He should therefore merely declare his determination to oppose the amendment.

Lord *Hawkesbury*, in explanation, said he had no knowledge whatever of the order alluded to by the noble earl.

The Earl of *Suffolk* argued generally in favour of the bill, and objected to the amendment.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* repeated several of his former arguments against the measure, and denied any knowledge of the order to which the noble earl (Lauderdale) had alluded. He supported the amendment.—The question was then put, that the word "seven" stand part of the bill, which was carried. The bill was passed, and a message was sent to the House of Commons to acquaint them therewith.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 17.

[MINUTES.] The Irish Export and Import bill, and the Irish Spirit Licence bill were read a first time.---The Irish Election bill, the Irish Miners bill, the Gibraltar and Malta Post bill, the duke of Grafton's agreement bill, and the Prussian Yarn bill were read a second time.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA]. Mr. *Wallace*, with a view to shew that no blame was imputable to the late board of controul for resisting the production of certain papers on the subject of India, on the ground that their production would be injurious to the public interest, moved that these papers, comprehending the correspondence between lord Wellesley and col. Scott, in the years 1799, 1800—1, respecting the conduct of the nabob of Oude, and which was not already on the table, should be laid before the house.

Lord *Morpeth* objected to the motion upon the same grounds which induced, as the right hon. mover stated, the late board of controul to meet the same motion before. The part of the correspondence which was withheld, contained particulars relative to the private conduct of the nabob of Oude, which it would be highly improper, in his opinion, to lay before the public, especially as they related to a prince at present in amity with this country. The noble lord had no objection to afford any private information desired upon this subject, but he would resist the idea of giving publicity to the case to which the motion referred.

Mr. *Paull* animadverted upon the singul arground laid by the mover of this proposition, that though he had resisted, when in office, the production of certain documents as injurious to the public interests, yet he still would press his successors to grant precisely the same documents. He was, however, ready to support this motion, as he wished the house to have the fullest information relative to the affairs of India. As to the objections which were expressed against these papers, because they contained some statements upon the misconduct of the nabob of Oude, he was prepared to say that he could prove such misconduct was the result of oppression, injustice, and tyranny practised towards that prince. It was idle therefore to say that the real motive for refusing these papers was a desire to avoid injuring the character or feelings of that prince. There were, however, as he wished the house to be sensible, several extracts in the papers moved for, which had no reference whatever to the conduct of the nabob of Oude, but which were material to elucidate some part of the conduct of lord Wellesley.

Sir *A. Wellesley*, on the part of his noble relation, desired that nothing might be brought forward which could have a tendency to injure the nabob of Oude, even though the production of such documents might be somewhat advantageous to his own case.—After some further remarks, the motion was withdrawn.

Mr. *Paull* asked the noble lord (Temple) whether it was his object to press coming to a final vote upon the charge against lord Wellesley to-morrow? he was induced to apply for information upon this point, as there were several gentlemen as well as himself, who did not clearly understand the noble lord's object. It certainly would be rather singular if the noble lord should press for a final decision upon the charge the very same day on which the evidence respecting it was to be examined.

Lord *Temple* replied that his object was to prevent delay in the investigation of this business; and his notice simply was, that, if no motion upon the subject should be made to-morrow, by any other person, he would feel it his duty to bring it forward. The hon. gent. therefore, having given notice of a motion for to-morrow, his purpose was answered, and he meant to give way to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. *Paull* called to the recollection of the house, that his notice on this subject was given the day before the debate took place upon the noble lord's motion, and he appealed to the judgment of the house, whether any delay in the prosecution of this business was attributable to him.

[AMERICAN INTERCOURSE BILL.] Ld. Temple moved the 2nd reading of the American Intercourse bill; and on the motion that counsel should be called in,

Mr. *Rose* spoke to the following effect.—No man, in this house rates the abilities of the right hon. secretary (Mr. Fox) more highly than I do, but he has not considered this subject with the attention it merits. He says the bill under consideration repeals no law. It is true, sir, the word "repeal" does not occur in it; but the enactments do effectually and expressly remove all the colonial restraints in the navigation act, the principle of which was established as early as the time of Richard II.; further regulations were made for the benefit of British shipping in subsequent reigns, till that of Charles II. when the system was brought to nearly its present state of perfection. Under the wise and provident restrictions of the law then passed, our naval power has grown to its present strength; it is on that ground, I contend, no permanent alterations should suddenly be adopted:—the distinction between a repeal and a perpetual suspension, as in this case, will be found to be rather a nice one. The act of the 12th of Charles II. ch. 18. provides "that nothing shall be imported into, or exported from the plantations," except in British ships, on pain of forfeiting the ships, &c. Under this bill the importation and exportation in foreign vessels into and from our islands is unlimited; but we are told, that in point of fact, this act has been supended from time to time, the truth of which, during the last and present war, partially and for limited periods, I admit; but that was, however, done under a severe and strict responsibility of the governors of the several islands, who were amenable to the secretary of state for their conduct, and on whose representation their indemnity from parliament depended; there was therefore reasonable security against the misapplication of their power, and that is completely rescinded by this measure. We are told indeed that the responsibility is only shifted to his majesty's ministers; what reliance we may have on that may be judged from what fell from the right hon. gent. who professes a decided opinion that this is indispensably necessary in time of war, and thinks it may be fit to be continued also in peace. Such sentiments from an authority so high and respectable are seriously alarming; and if acted upon, a deadly blow will be given to our naval power. I will bring under the view of the committee as shortly as I can, the regulations made for governing the trade between Great Britain and her colonies, and the American States, from the time of the separation of the latter from the former. After the conclusion of the American war, the new situation in which we were placed by this event, led to an act being passed in 1783, to enable his majesty by orders in council to make regulations for carrying on the trade with America, under the authority whereof a proclamation was issued, confining the trade between the United States and our colonies to British ships exclusively. At that restriction the assembly of Jamaica, and the West India proprietors in general became greatly alarmed, and made lively and strong remonstrances to the council against it, urging that the consequences of it must be ruinous to the islands. These complaints were immediately attended to, and the parties were fully and patiently heard before the committee for trade: they were permitted to produce evidence as long as they had any to offer, and all other persons were called upon who were thought likely to throw any light on the subject, including merchants resident in Great Britain, late governors in America, and British settlers in that country. This enquiry, conducted with the utmost impartiality, lasted two or three months, and ended in a report recommending that the proclamation confining the trade to British ships should be enforced. It could indeed have no other termination, as it was satisfactorily proved to the lords that the supplies to the islands might be regularly furnished in these ships at moderate prices; and that the sale of rum would not thereby be prejudiced. The trade was accordingly so carried on from that year (1784) to 1793, without the slightest inconvenience having been experienced in either of those respects by the islands; they were plentifully supplied with lumber and provisions at moderate prices, and they found a ready and fair market for their rum and melasses. The good effects of this adherence to the navigation laws, were as striking as they are incontrovertable, as will be seen by the rapid increase of colonial shipping, contrary to the assertion of the West India planters before the committee for trade in 1785, who then stated that any shipping being fitted from the islands was hopeless.—In 1790 belonging to the West India islands, 706 ships, 86,010 tons, 5,115 men. In 1804, reduced to 67 ships, 7,629 tons, 626 men. To continental colonies, in 1790, 229 ships, 24,900 tons, 1,452 men. In 1804, 100 ships, 11,906 tons, 734 men. In 1792, British ships in the American trade inwards, 197 ships, 42,035 tons, 22,400 men. In 1794 ditto 11 ships, 2,152 tons, 134 men. It must, however, be admitted that the whole of the falling off of the ships from Great Britain was not owing to the suspension of the navigation act, as there were other causes that contributed to that.—I have already admitted that the governors of the islands began so early as the year 1793, or 1794, to relax from a due observance of the navigation laws, and I believe it was, in most instances at least, necessary they should do so: because, on the breaking out of the war the trade in British ships was much interrupted, and measures were not taken for furnishing regular convoys; the suspensions were, however, only partially restrained to particular articles, as well as limited in time—and on the appointment of a noble duke and myself to the presidency and vice-presidency of the board of trade, in 1804, we made enquiries, the result of which inclined us to think, that even during war, the terms of the proclamation alluded to might be acted upon, if convoys could be furnished. Instructions were indeed sent out to the governors in the West Indies in 1804, and 1805, in consequence of the communications from the committee of trade, that occasioned the relaxation of the navigation laws to be very much narrowed, and fortified, by which the governors were preparing the islands for an adherence to them, except in cases of real and urgent necessity. The governor of Barbadoes, in particular, strongly expressed the support he derived from his instructions, and his hope that he should succeed to the extent desired, making great complaints of the unnecessary interference of foreigners with our colonial navigation, and of the illicit practices of the Americans in particular. In other islands the supplies in neutrals were restrained, as far as related to provisions, but under the provisions of the present bill, all the proceedings of the late committee of trade will be rendered utterly useless, and the whole trade to our colonies will be completely thrown open to foreigners. We are told, however, that this is a measure of absolute necessity. I deny that; it is also denied by persons much more capable of forming a correct judgment on the point than any of us in this committee. What is it then we ask? Not that our opinion shall at once be acted upon, but that an enquiry shall be had to prove who is right, and that a determination may be taken conformably thereto. I will undertake positively that such an enquiry shall be gone through in four or five days, at the utmost, before a committee up stairs, which would not delay the progress of the bill a single hour; if that shall be granted, I have good reason to believe it will be proved to demonstration that the opinion entertained by the noble duke before alluded to, and myself, respecting a regular supply to the islands in British ships, is a correct one; there are merchants of the highest respectability, and ship-owners, who are ready to embark in circuitous trade from hence to America, the West Indies, and home, as soon as they can be assured of convoys, if this bill shall be dropped: that can be proved before a committee. Will you then refuse to men entitled to every attention that can be shewn to them, the opportunity of establishing these facts by proof, when no possible inconvenience can arise from your doing so? I believe there is no instance of an enquiry being refused in such a case: what then will be thought of our proceedings if we should shut our doors against such petitioners as are now before us, who tell us we are about to adopt a measure as injurious to the country, as it must be ruinous to them; and that if we withhold our hands, their ships, now rotting by the walls, will find profitable employment? Has this been asked for? If by any body, let us know by whom. Since the bill came into the house, some West India gentlemen, who now, as on other occasions, expressed an approbation of it;—if an enquiry is granted, the petitioners undertake to shew to those gentlemen that they could not suffer by the navigation laws being enforced, that they would send out ships, and settle correspondences to ensure a regular and ample supply for the islands, which would ensure increased means for bringing home the crops, whereas it was notorious that for want of a sufficiency of ships in the trade, more than 20,000 hogsheads of sugar were left in Jamaica in the last years, and great quantities in the Leeward islands. Can his majesty's ministers, under such circumstances as these, refuse an enquiry? Can they so treat men entitled to respect and consideration? And I will venture to ask also, will they so set at defiance the public opinion? without being able to suggest any reason whatever for such a refusal, for as yet we have heard none, nor can I form an imagination of a plausible one. If they are confident they are right, why not take to themselves the triumph of proving that, and exposing our error? By refusing investigation, the impression on the minds of all impartial people must be unfavourable to ministers; there has been no enquiry even before the committee of trade to justify this measure, a thing likewise unheard of. The noble lord has suggested the difficulties that may attend regular convoys being granted, from the gigantic efforts of our enemies for the destruction of our trade in this war; what answer has been given by the admiralty to the question to them respecting convoys before I left the committee for trade I cannot tell; but after the almost total destruction of the naval power of all our enemies, I did not expect to hear any dread expressed of their gigantic efforts on the seas; I certainly entertained a hope that one of the good consequences of our great and brilliant naval victories would be a facility in protecting our trade in every part of the world.—I cannot be less anxious than the noble lord, or any other member, that there should be no uncertainty or fluctuation in the supplies to the colonies in the West Indies, as I have as deep an interest there, in proportion to my whole fortune, as most men in this country; many of my nearest connections have also considerable property in them: that consideration, however, cannot turn my attention from other interests both of a public and private nature; but let me not be understood to take any great merit to myself in that respect, because I am acting under a conviction that the islands would be as regularly and as well supplied in British ships, as they are now even in time of war, if convoys can be furnished. In time of peace nobody can doubt it; experience has put that matter completely out of doubt. I trust, therefore, the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) will reconsider his opinion of the probable necessity for relaxing our navigation laws in peace, as the promulgation of it may do incalculable mischief if uncontradicted. If we look to the effect likely to be produced by this measure to our continental colonies, we shall not find the ground of objections weaker: the system which has been pursued since 1784, has been nearly as mischievous to these as to our navigation; instead of advancing rapidly in cultivation as they were doing previously to that time, that has been checked, and their trade with the West Indies has fallen off very considerably, as appears by the accounts on your table. This evil is the more serious, and should be the more guarded against, as in the event of a breach with America, it is on our remaining settlements on the continent that the West Indies must principally rely for their supplies.—On looking on this bill apparently so simple in its provisions, gentlemen are not aware how many important interests are likely to be injured by it. The American ships which supply our islands with lumber and provisions, do not confine themselves to these articles, nor indeed does this bill restrain them to such; they have been in the practice, as we have learned from the governors and naval commanders, as well as from seizures made of cargoes to the islands, great quantities of East India piece-goods, (which from the superior advantages they have in the Indian trade, they can afford much cheaper than the British merchants), as well as German linens, not only for the consumption of the islands, but for the free-port trade with the Spaniards. It has been said that British ships may do this as well as foreigners, but experience has proved that they did not do so; nor is it likely they should: American vessels in that trade are chiefly of small burthen, and can more easily escape than large ships, and there is a further security against such practices by British ships, as they may be followed and seized on subsequent information.—The Irish provision trade is also entirely overlooked by this measure. The Americans, who had in some of the islands been materially checked, and in others entirely restrained in furnishing supplies of beef and pork, will by this bill be set free from all restraint, and will infallibly undersell the merchants of Ireland.—The noble lord has not yet endeavoured to shew the contrary, but has dwelt on the necessity of pursuing the system of relaxation as a necessary one, contenting himself with round assertions that the West India colonies cannot exist under any other; now that is the whole matter that is at issue between us, and for which I so earnestly implore enquiry. Grant us that and we will be satisfied. If the interest of our navigation must give way to the preservation of our colonies, let us at least know that the sacrifice we are about to make is a necessary one. Many other objections to this measure occur to me, but I fear I have already tired the committee with a statement of these important points. The noble lord says it is perfectly right to shift the responsibility from the governors of the islands to the privy council, but the slightest attention will convince gentlemen, that if you release the governors from responsibility, you leave none any where; they are the only persons to whom any either can or ought to attach, because they alone can have any knowledge whatever of the circumstances which should lead to opening the ports to foreigners; with a severe responsibility upon them, they will never do so except in cases of real and pressing necessity, as on that their indemnity must depend. By what possible means can ministers in this country have a knowledge of famine or distress in the West Indies, in time to instruct the governors to admit supplies in American ships? It is an insult to our understanding to talk of it. If this bill shall pass into law, there will be neither restraint nor responsibility of any sort or any where. The noble lord has, however (somewhat unguardedly perhaps), assigned a reason for this measure of a very different nature from any I have yet alluded to: he has told us that the governors of the islands cannot know all the political circumstances which should guide our conduct in regulating our trade with America. That indeed opens a new and wide field for discussion; it admits of a possibility that it may be thought right, from considerations of policy, to relax not only the laws of this country, hitherto held sacred, but what the writers of all nations have uniformly decided to be the fundamental law of Europe: that the parent state shall enjoy, exclusively, the trade to its own colonies. In American newspapers, however, loud complaints have been made of our navigation laws having been enforced, as acts of injustice, and it is notorious there is an impression of this sort in the United States; this is surely not the season therefore for abandoning the principle of them. I am confident no one can rationally doubt this who considers with attention the relative situation of this country and America at the present moment. We are, however, about to give up gratuitously to America an important point, which it seems she has not even asked for, either as a matter of right or of favour, and which it is more our interest now than it ever before was to withhold from her. The noble lord has told us, that although the principle of the navigation law was a wise one when it was passed, it has ceased to be so; and that many instances may occur in which it may be expedient to depart from it. I am inclined to think, however, that his lordship has taken up that opinion from some recent publications, in which there are confident assertions founded on false facts. One of the authors I allude to has told you, that it is good to employ foreign ships in war, that we may have our own seamen for the navy. Can that gentleman tell us where, in such case, will be found a nursery for raising seamen to man our fleets in future? The largest proportion of your seamen certainly come from the merchants' service, and if you dry up that source you will hereafter find the inconvenience of it, and will probably recur to a due observance of your navigation laws, when it will be too late to derive any advantage from your doing so. But however important as nurseries for seamen the shipping of G. Britain and of her colonies is, it is not exclusively to that we are to look for resources; the fisheries both at home and on the coasts of our continental colonies as well as at Newfoundland are very extensive and important sources; a due encouragement given to them might be essentially useful, and afford another reason for a due observance of the navigation laws. After all I have said, however, in favour of maintaining those, I do not mean to contend they ought not in any instance to be deviated from; I could not indeed consistently do so, because I have acted otherwise; in cases that might be beneficial to our commerce and manufactures, and could not be injurious to our navigation, there is an act, 43 Geo. III. c. 153. s. 16. in force, to permit neutral ships to come from enemies' ports, from whence, of course, no British ship can come; and another, 42 Geo. III. c. 80. continued by 44 Geo. III. c. 30. which repealed all the suspended acts of the last war, and confining the importation in neutral ships to the produce of foreign possessions in the West Indies, the cargoes of which shall be warehoused for exportation; a third which admits hides and tallow under particular circumstances, is hardly worth alluding to; some of the acts in the last war (originating with what was called the Dutch property act) certainly gave advantages to foreign merchants as well as to foreign ship-owners, because the cargoes imported under those in neutral ships were warehoused, and the duties not paid till the goods were taken out, either for home consumption or exportation; the foreigners saving thereby the advance of money for the duties, and paying only for the quantities taken out, while the importers in British ships paid the duties on importation, and for the whole quantities imported. My reason for believing that British ships can carry all the articles which our colonies may want, arises from very long and laborious enquiries which I have made from ship-owners both in G. Britain and in the West Indies, and others who are best qualified to give information upon the subject; I am prepared even to enter on the detail as to the times when they should sail from this country, take in their lading in America, &c. &c. but it is unnecessary to trouble the house with these particulars: I will establish the whole clearly before a committee, if I am allowed to go to one. I will undertake to prove that the planters would be regularly supplied with all they want as early as shall be necessary, and at an extra expence, not exceeding 2 per cent. on the freight. I have only to add, that in the event of hurricanes, or other unforeseen emergencies, the governors must unavoidably have the same discretionary power to open the ports, that the government of this country always exercises in such cases at home. These are the grounds upon which I ask the noble lord to consent, and wish the house to agree to go into an enquiry before a committee; no possible delay can be occasioned thereby; I will pledge myself that it shall be closed before the papers now copying for our information can be on the table; if it is not, I will agree to the bill proceeding without waiting for the result of that enquiry; I will attend the committee myself from day to day for as many hours as shall be necessary, and I am sure there are other gentleman who will do the same, till the report shall be made. Is it possible that under these circumstances enquiry can be refused? You have at your door imploring for it a great number of men very highly respectable in their several situations as merchants, ship-owners, ship-builders, persons in the various branches of trade dependant on the building and equipping ships; you know that not an hour's delay can be occasioned by your hearing them, and will you, or can you refuse to do so? I will not yet believe that you will do so unprecedented a thing, because I am certain no reason can be assigned in support of it. In every commercial and political point of view the subject is a most important one, and one respecting which (above all others) the fullest investigation should take place before a material alteration is made in it; in the present instance there has been none either before the council or in this house. Let me therefore repeat my earnest entreaties, on the part of the public and of the petitioners, that this matter may be carefully examined before a committee above-stairs.

Lord *Temple* denied, that by any perversion of reasoning it could be established, that his majesty's ministers had insinuated to such a respectable body of men as the ship owners connected with the present subject, that they were blockheads, and that they did not understand their own interests. Nor would the charge, that they were precluded from a fair and candid hearing appear better founded, when it was considered that leave was given to the persons concerned to have their cause pleaded by counsel, at the bar of the house, and that now they declined availing themselves of this permission, and thought such a proceeding unnecessary. The right hon. gent. had stated, that it was desirable to allow every case to stand on the exigency of the moment. This would be the consequence of the proposed bill. Did it go peremptorily to order the ports to be opened? No. The language of it was. "when from the necessity of the case it should appear to his majesty, with the advice of his privy council, that the opening of the ports was required." The ship-owners wished for security. Security would be granted to them by this bill. What security had they when the opening of the ports was at the discretion of the governors of the West India islands? They could be no judges of the state of our markets, nor of the time of the sailing of our convoys; neither could they judge if the relief to be afforded from this country could be sufficient to meet the wants experienced there. What security, however, had they not by the present bill? Had they not the pledge of that duty which his majesty's ministers owed to the country, that while they endeavoured to foresee the wants of the colonies, and devised the best means of supplying what might be necessary, they would do so with every regard to the interests of the ship owners of this country? Would not they themselves have an opportunity of going to ministers and shewing them that from the quantity of tonnage cleared out to the plantations there was no necessity, or that they ought not to open the ports? The bill, therefore, gave a security to the ship owners, which it was utterly impossible they could have in any other way.

Sir *C. Price* had taken great pains to inform himself on this subject. He had consulted those who were most conversant with it, and on the whole he was convinced that if this bill passed into a law, it would be attended with the most pernicious effects. Government might as well say to the ship-owners, "Discharge your men, take no more apprentices, build no more vessels." We should lose not only the carrying trade, but a great nursery for our seamen, which would be transported to the other side of the Atlantic, an event that he earnestly deprecated. Feeling, therefore, the necessity of pausing on such an important and dangerous measure, he must second the amendment of his right hon. friend.

Sir *W. Young* thought it right that hon. members should be anxious for the commerce and manufactures of the country, but they ought also to attend to the necessities of the West Indies; and certain he was, that the colonies could not be supplied from this country in the two great articles of necessity, provisions, and lumber, nor by any other than America; he should therefore support the bill.

Sir *W. Curtis* urged the propriety of hearing the ship owners before a committee of the house, that they might have an opportunity of proving the truth of their statements. For his part, there were two important parts of our constitution, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Navigation Act, which in his opinion ought seldom to be interfered with, and never suspended but in cases of the most urgent necessity.

Sir *F. Baring* said, in all cases the navigation laws gave way to necessity; when we wanted provisions, we gave invitations to all nations to furnish them, and never confined them to do it in British ships; on the contrary, we took them as we could get them. He insisted on it, the ship-owners of this country could not supply the colonies, and it would be dangerous and cruel, as well as impolitic, to trust to them, at the risk of starving thousands, in case they should fail in the attempt. He was therefore a friend to the bill.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* had no objection to leaving the exercise of a discretion with ministers, convinced that they would not abuse it. There were, however, clauses in the bill which alarmed him. One in particular, where the importation into the West India islands was extended to all goods whatever, and to "manufactures," a word which he thought ought to be omitted, as all the Islands could require under the bill was lumber. By another clause, a liberty of exportation was given, extending to sugars, &c. which he thought ought to be omitted. If these alterations were understood to be agreed to, he should not object to the bill, otherwise he must oppose its further progress.

Lord *Temple* said, that generally speaking, he saw no objection to the alteration proposed by the hon. member.

Mr. *Perceval* rose and spoke as follows:—If, sir, this bill goes into a committee, I have no doubt that the noble lord will acquiesce in the amendment proposed by the worthy magistrate who spoke last, and by which some of the objections to the bill will unquestionably be in a degree removed. But however those objections may be removed, I apprehend that after all that can be effected by giving way to the desire of the worthy magistrate, the house will upon reflection be of opinion that there will still remain objections in principle, which will render it extremely unwise to pass this bill in any shape whatever.—An hon. baronet (sir F. Baring) whose authority on mercantile subjects stands (in this house as well as every where else) extremely high, has given us to understand, that he is decidedly of opinion, that the ship-owners of this country who oppose this bill are desiring to have the monopoly of a trade which, if they had that monopoly, they could not carry on: that the trade which they seek, and which they say they are ready and eager to enter into, is actually impracticable. Now, sir, with all the respect and deference which I most unfeignedly feel for the opinion of that worthy baronet, and without pretending to have an opinion of my own worthy to be mentioned with his upon any commercial question, I cannot forbear from remarking, that this is only opinion against opinion, and judgment against judgment, not mine against his, for that I should not have the presumption to state, but the opinion of great, intelligent, and wealthy merchants of this city, against the opinion of the worthy baronet; and these merchants, thus qualified to judge, give this pledge of the sincerity and strength of their conviction, that they declare themselves ready and willing to embark in this very trade, and risk their interests on its success: and, I am confident, that however valuable and deservedly eminent the opinion of the worthy baronet is upon this subject, yet the house must feel that it would be too much deference to be paid to any opinion, and I am persuaded that no person would be more sorry than the worthy baronet himself, that such deference should be paid to his, if the house should rest so far satisfied with the authority of that opinion, as to preclude any body of men in this country from having a full investigation of a subject so interesting to them, before any final decision upon it was adopted. What I wish is, that this point may be investigated by a committee nominated by this house, in order that we may be enabled to judge between the two opposite opinions, and to determine whether those who are concerned in the trade, who are acquainted with it, who are disposed to embark their property and their interest in it, have formed the true opinion, or whether the hon. baronet is right in his? the hon. baronet, had he been in the house on a former night when this subject was discussed, would have heard on behalf of those who oppose this bill, merchants in the city of the most respectable character, and of the first intelligence, a declaration that they were now actually engaging in this trade; that they had actually taken up shipping for the purpose of carrying it on; nay, that in so doing they were not engaging in any new untried speculation, but were merely reverting back to their former trade; that they had done the same before, had taken these voyages, had carried on that very trade which the hon. baronet deems impracticable, and were now disposed to embark in the same again, provided that such protection should be given to it as they asked; provided convoys should be afforded to them; provided that facility of opening the ports to neutrals which had lately obtained, should no longer be continued; and that the trade should be properly secured to the British subjects, under these circumstances. All we intreat is, that the house should not be hurried on with such precipitate and eager haste, without a pause for enquiry upon a subject which the hon. baronet himself, and all who support the measure, admit to be of extreme importance. All that is proposed by my right hon. friend is, that there should be a temporary suspension of the proceeding on this bill, until a short enquiry shall have taken place into some of the leading facts on which its merits must depend—the whole delay on account of this will not be more than four days: four days is all the time which is asked for the purpose of ascertaining the fact, on which there exists at present such a diversity of opinion. Now, sir, I do think that this house can hardly do otherwise than grant the request of my right hon. friend; it is only to follow that course which is consistent with the well-understood practice of this house, constituting as it were a part of its character, the practice of giving a ready hearing to every thing that can be offered upon any subject which is before them; and more especially on a subject of such vital importance to the best interests of our trade and navigation as this is. When the first proposal was made for a committee above-stairs, the delay which it would occasion was then stated to be very short; from some reasons moving as much from the other side of the house as from any other quarter, 14 days have elapsed since that proposal was made; during less than one half of that period, the whole of the enquiry proposed by my right hon. friend might be gone through, and then we should not have had to rest the debate on the opinion of one individual or another, who may casually deliver his sentiments in the house, but we should have had the authentic opinion and report of a committee, drawing their judgment from a proper source, namely, the evidence which they would have examined. I am sure the house must think it extremely unfortunate, that such a course was not taken at first; that would have been satisfactory to us all; the committee would have stated the facts, would have shewn the grounds on which they had proceeded; so that every member of the house would have been able to judge for himself as to the correctness of their statement or the fairness of their conclusion. But, sir, I now feel indeed that there is a very substantial ground for the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in endeavouring to hasten this bill forward. It is now apparent why they should be so desirous of passing this bill into a law; they have a ground which I was not apprized of in the least degree, until I came into the house this day. The order of the secretary of state, which I now hold in my hand, and which I presently will state, sufficiently explains it.—We are entitled, and that from the admissions of the hon. gent. who spoke last, to say that this bill is at present capable of a variety of constructions, and that it is full of errors and defects, and might, if passed in its present shape, most mischievously affect our trade in the West Indies. That admission indeed of itself, I should have imagined, might have been a tolerable good reason why the bill should not go through the house in haste; but we are told that the bill itself provides that it is never to be acted upon, except in cases of absolute necessity; and the hon. gent. thinks there is great weight in that circumstance. It is that which seems particularly to reconcile him to the passing of this bill, that the power given to the privy council is guarded by the proof which they are required to have of the necessity of acting before they put it into execution; that they must, therefore, before they give any directions or instructions that any thing should be done in this matter, make all the necessary enquiries, and that ministers will not act blindly under the discretion when they possess it. The hon. gent. from his confidence in the present administration, may be disposed to give these powers, in full trust that they will use them with this discretion. But, sir, before this house gives the power to the privy council, that is to the present ministers, which this bill is calculated to give them, I could have wished that those ministers had shewn some disposition not to make an unnecessary and inconsiderate use of it, that such directions as they might give would only be from time to time, as the exigency of the case may require; and that they would so guardedly conduct themselves as to be able to correct their errors, if they should find out that their conduct was erroneous; at least it might be required, that they should have done nothing from which the contrary disposition might be inferred; that they would have taken no step without making some enquiry into the prudence of it; that above all they should have made no order on the subject matter of a bill which they intended to bring into parliament, before the sense of parliament had been taken on it; and that they would not have made any order whatever upon this subject at any time, under any pretence, for an unlimited period; this is what might have been expected. The house shall now see, sir, what has been the fact. A right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) whose situation as secretary of state of the colonies, makes it proper, at least, if not necessary, for him to be present at this discussion, although he does not seem to have any disposition to attend to it, is now, I am sorry to observe, about to withdraw from the house, at the moment when I am going to make an observation on his conduct as a minister, when I am going to advert to an act which he has done of a most extraordinary nature. After all that has been said in defence of this bill, on account of its giving the privy council power to act only in cases of emergency, and that they cannot do any thing under it, except in cases of proved necessity, and that much of its merit depends on its not giving the privy council power to act, except in such cases of emergency or extreme necessity, what will the house say when I tell them that I now hold in my hand an order issued by that right hon. secretary three months before the time in which I have the honour of addressing this house upon the subject; that that order authorizes the governors of the West India islands to do that which the hon. gent. seems to think would be improper for the privy council to do after this bill is passed:—not to suspend, during an emergency of proved necessity, for a limited time, the law which prohibits importation by foreigners into the colonies; but generally, indefinitely, during the continuance of the war, to suspend the navigation laws as far as they respect this subject: and this three months before he deigns to come to parliament to ask for power to do so? This, sir, may be a proper act, no man can doubt that: but it was done in a very improper manner, during the sitting of parliament, without asking its authority, without waiting for its sanction; and, sir, it is no less strange and unnecessary than it is improper, unless indeed we are to suppose that ministers are actuated by some political motives which they do not think proper to disclose to us, or unless they may think it will serve to shew the authority which they have in this house, that they take measures of this kind, anticipating the determination of parliament, for the purpose of displaying their own power, and the confidence which they feel that this house is prepared to sanction whatever they may think proper to dictate. And are we now to be told that we are safe in trusting to the discretion of these gentlemen, that they will make none but a right use of the legal power which this bill will give them, when we have this instance before us, even where they assumed the power before it was legal, of acting upon it with so little discretion and reserve? What shall we say, after this, of the discretionary power to be given to such ministers by the present bill, of their limiting the exercise of it to the case of a proved emergency—when we see that before they were well warm in their seats, and before they had had time to make any enquiry into the existence of the emergency, or the probable duration of it, they assume an authority which the law had not given them, and act upon it to an extent which their friends admit would have been wrong, even if the authority had legally existed? This order, however, is the substantial reason which his majesty's ministers have for pressing this bill through the house; they want an act of parliament to countenance them in the illegal act which they have committed, and if enquiry should produce the proof that no justifiable necessity exists, the same enquiry they feel would produce their own condemnation, for assuming a power which had not only not been granted by parliament, but which parliament might determine was not proper to be granted at all. Sir, what fell from the noble lord makes it difficult to know exactly what is to be the intended operation of this bill, because, until all the clauses are gone through, we know not what articles are to be specified in the bill, as those which alone may be permitted for importation. The noble lord agrees generally to limit the bill according to the ideas of the worthy alderman who spoke last; I know not, therefore, what power is intended to be ultimately given to his majesty in council, with respect to the articles to be imported; but I apprehend that as the bill now stands, every article of the produce of the West India islands may be exported from them to every part of the world.—(No, no, no, from the ministerial side of the house.)—As this is doubted, sir, I will read the words of the act, that they may speak for themselves.—(Here the hon. and learned gent. read the clause in the act of parliament, ending with the words, to import to, and export from any of the West India islands, &c.)—By these words it is evident there is no limit to the exportation, neither as to the quantity nor quality of the articles, nor the places to which they may be carried. How all this is to be altered I know not, but so it stands at present. We have argued it, as if the importation was to be permitted only from America: it is, however, no such thing; every neutral country, as well as America, may, under this bill as it now stands, be permitted to import any article of the growth and produce of their respective countries. On this part of the bill much remains to be explained, and we must wait to be informed upon it, and to understand it, till we come into the committee. My impression, sir, of the whole of the bill, is most undoubtedly, that it is perfectly impolitic and unjustifiable, because it is perfectly unnecessary. The authors of the measure, indeed, found it upon necessity. They tell us their reason for introducing it, is to afford necessary relief to the colonies to save them from starving, and to enable us and them to profit by their produce. If it were necessary for these objects, I should indeed agree that these objects would justify it; but it is demonstrable, nay, it is demonstrated, that it is not necessary for them, they are attained; they have been secured by the system, as it at present prevails, and which has been acted upon during the present war.—In all the history of parliamentary proceedings, it seems to me, therefore, there is no parallel to this measure. I know of nothing equal to the character of inconsiderate improvidence and impollicy which attaches to it. We are all agreed that the system of the navigation laws is most essential to our greatness and our existence, and should not be broken in upon, but in cases of grave necessity: yet the noble lord's own statement, his own argument to prove that necessity, shews that it is unnecessary, distinctly proves that no such bill is required.—For the last 13 years, he says the colonies in the West Indies have been obliged to be supplied from America with every thing they have wanted. The law, prohibiting such supply, has been obliged to be broken. Notwithstanding then the existence of the law, which the noble lord contends it is absolutely necessary should be altered to enable the colonies to be supplied, and to protect them from starvation, it stands admitted, that for 13 years the colonies have been in fact supplied. This I say is a practical proof that the bill is unnecessary. I say it cannot be stated to be necessary to have the law altered, to enable you to do that which you have been able to do without that alteration of the law, for 13 years together. I admit, indeed, that this supply has been by an infraction of the law, and that as a general proposition, it cannot be doubted that it is better, by parliamentary provision, prospectively to legalize any act, than retrospectively to indemnify the illegal performance of it: and therefore whether there is not more seemliness, more legislative propriety in suspending the law, as is intended by this bill, than to leave it to be broken, may be matter of argument, and it will depend upon the weight of the objections to be stated against such proceedings, whether it ought to be adopted or not. But it is impossible to found the measure upon that sort of necessity which the noble lord has asserted, a necessity which is supposed to be created by the utter starvation of the colonies, and destruction of their produce, which, but for this measure, would ensue; there must be an end, therefore, of all the declamation we have heard about this starving and ruin of the colonies; it is wholly inapplicable to the case; it is totally beside the merits of this question; for we find, nay, it is the foundation of the argument for the bill, that we have had an opportunity of supplying the colonies with provisions, and of bringing home their produce for 13 years, during war, notwithstanding the law as it now stands; the argument therefore, built on the necessity of this measure is at an end, as that necessity is shewn not to exist. Then comes the consideration whether or not policy demands, or even admits of this measure: or whether the impropriety of continually submitting to the breach of the law, continually recognizing that breach, and continually indemnifying it, as has certainly been the case, is not so objectionable as to outweigh the objections which can be urged against the bill which is now proposed? Now, sir, as I have said already, I am perfectly willing to admit that as a general proposition (but not applicable to the state of our colonies) it is as unfit to continue the law in such a state, as to make the breach of it necessary: and that it is better to suspend or relax it, when you can reasonably anticipate the necessity of breaking it. As a general proposition, I say again, I am ready to admit it. But the question here is, first, whether it is a proposition which is true, as applicable to the particular situation of the colonies, with respect to the navigation laws? and another question naturally arising out of the first, is, whether it is wise to act upon that proposition, supposing it to be generally true at the present moment? Upon the first question, it must be remembered, that the main ground on which it is contended that authority should be given to the privy council, instead of suffering the power of relaxing the laws of navigation, and the power of opening their ports to remain with the governors of the islands, as it has done of late, is this:—That the situation of those governors, their constant, daily and familiar intercourse with the planters, who are naturally led to seek the cheapest mode of supplying the islands, exposes them to exaggerated statements of the necessities of those islands, and to a pressure from the importunity of the planters which is almost irresistible. But I apprehend the arguments from the importunity to which the governors are exposed, shews the necessity of making it more difficult for them to yield to it, and of protecting them from the effect of that importunity, rather than the propriety of making it more easy, by vesting them with the discretion which this bill through the privy-council would give them. At present the governor, if he suspends these laws, must suspend them under his own responsibility; he must be able to justify the violation of the law, by making out a strong case of necessity; and the noble lord seems to think that this is highly improper, for that the governors of the West India islands can know nothing of those various matters, the consideration of which ought to govern the decision of the question, whether our ports shall be opened to foreigners or not? that they can know nothing of the state of the market here, of the general circumstances of Europe, of the state of convoys, of the prudence of our ships sailing for the islands; of their readiness to sail; of what they are about to carry with them to the supply of the islands: and that all these things are known only, or best known to the privy-council; that a governor of one of the West India islands can know nothing of them. Now, sir, he certainly cannot know much of any of these matters; but he knows that which is more valuable for the present purpose than all the rest put together; he knows the state of the island that seeks to be relieved for want of supplies infinitely better than the government at home; he knows its wants, and possibly the means of its relief, which government here cannot know. Now, let us suppose that under the probability of being able to provide the islands from hence, government were to give directions to shut the ports of the islands, and rigorously to enforce the navigation laws, what would be the state of the governors in the West Indies if the islands should be in distress when such directions should arrive? precisely the same situation, I contend, as it is now. For the refusal of the privy-council to authorize the opening of the ports, would not make the obligation on the governors not to admit of foreign importations stronger than the navigation laws make it at present. A necessity similar to that which justifies their opening the ports now, would justify it equally when this bill is passed, for they would not under the authority of any law or order to enforce that law be led to cause the absolute starvation of the islands: after this law passes, therefore, the same inconvenience must again subsist, the same system be resorted to, unless the privy-council is uniformly to authorise the importation; and if that is the intention, it would be more candid and manly to avow it at once, and let parliament itself make this alteration, instead of leaving it to the privy council. But government are to send out, under the authority of this bill, directions to the governors of the West India islands how they are to conduct themselves; why cannot they do so now without any authority under this bill? Can any power which they may derive from this act of parliament give them additional information as to the propriety of opening or of keeping shut at any particular time the ports in the West Indies? depending, as we are told that question does, on the state of Europe, and of the markets here, the state of convoys, or the state of ships and cargoes, on which the privy council are supposed to know all, and the governors of the islands to know nothing? They may as well send out all this information without this bill as with it. But then, on the other hand, when we know that the necessary supplies for the West India islands are not to be had from hence, but that they must be had from the American market, what reason is there for supposing that government here are better judges of the mode of obtaining such supplies, and the necessity of obtaining them through foreigners, than the governors of the islands are? I contend, and contend, I think, irrefragably, that government here can know nothing of the state of the islands, or at least very little at any time in comparison with the knowledge of the governors of those islands; that government can have no means of knowing any thing upon the subject, except such as they derive from the governors; that with such materials it is impossible for them by orders from hence to meet the necessities of those islands; that they can seldom, if ever, send instructions from hence in time to be acted upon, so as to be useful to the islands in the hour of distress; but there the governors must know, and can act upon the necessity of the moment. This, sir, leads me to think that it would be better to leave the law as it is, and to leave the governors of the islands to act under their own responsibility, as they have done, rather than to remove from them all the responsibility, and to shift it on government, who, however well disposed, cannot have such good means of judging as the governors on the spot. And I feel, sir, an increased reluctance to repose this confidence in government, when I find that the present and prevailing opinion of its members is not to issue reluctantly such orders as may from time to time appear to be called for by necessity; but that the present mode is to issue general and sweeping orders at once, nay, the very desire to have this extended power which the bringing in of this bill implies, is a reason why it should not be given them, as it could not have been asked for but from the wish to exert it. I should therefore say, that I would not assent to any law to enlarge the discretionary power of a government, whose course of conduct was of this description. Gentlemen are therefore running away from the subject, when upon supposition that the discretion of the privy council will prevent an unnecessary use of the powers under the bill, they refuse to grant an enquiry, to see whether the necessities of the colonies could not be supplied by leaving the law as it is. The time such an enquiry would take up, however great, would be no argument against the propriety of it; but the time would, in fact, be extremely short. The conduct of government in issuing the order to which I have alluded, makes it a moral certainty, that if that law pass, (such is the opinion and impression of his majesty's present government) that the whole power given under this bill will be employed, and be continued during the whole of the present war. I say this from the best authority—from the actions of his majesty's ministers; from the directions to that effect already given; and I am confirmed in this opinion by what fell from the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) on a former discussion of this subject, when he said there was no likelihood that any event could occur, in which the exercise of the discretion by the privy council would not be necessary during the whole of the present war. The truth of the matter is, that the government has no idea of the possibility of this trade being carried on in any other way than they now propose it to be. The same opinion prevailed at the close of the last war; but an enquiry was then instituted, and it was found that it could be carried on by our own shipping. No man can doubt, that if the same trade be possible during the war, that it ought to be encouraged; that it would be infinitely desirable not to suspend any part of the navigation laws: why then refuse ourselves the opportunity of knowing the fact? of affording satisfaction to those who allege that the trade is practicable? who say they are ready to embark in it? In satisfaction to our own country we ought to hear them, in order to shew that we do not sacrifice any of its interests unnecessarily; and even if we were convinced that these gentlemen have taken up a wrong impression, we ought to hear them, if it were only to satisfy them of their error. But as this is not the opinion of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), nor that of the other secretary of state, and as they have so many other points to attend to, what chance is there of their instituting the enquiry? The enquiry must be made by the house or it will not be made at all.—Above all, the house would do well to consider the doubt expressed by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox), whether the provision of this bill will not require to be extended even to a time of peace; that is to me, sir, a most alarming doubt coming from such a quarter. It is true, indeed, he stated no fixed opinion upon the subject; but he stated his mind to be in doubt upon it, and if his mind doubts whether the policy of this measure would not be applicable to a time of peace, we can have but very little hope that he or any of his colleagues will consent to institute an enquiry into the possibility of dispensing with it during war. The house will do well to consider that it is now called upon to adopt a measure, the principle of which is to legalize the suspension of that system of navigation law, which has long been felt not only in this house but out of it; not only in this country but out out of it; not only in Europe but over all the globe, to have been the foundation of all our naval power, of our real strength, of all our greatness, from which is derived our glory; which has made us what we are, the admiration and envy of the world; a system adopted and followed up by the wisdom of our most enlightened ancestors, and recommended to our regard and veneration from the benefits which we have uniformly derived from it; benefits which other nations are endeavouring to grasp from us, and which such measures as these will tend to fling into their hands. Sir, these are serious considerations, and if ever there was a period when the policy of such a measure as this could be particularly doubtful in point of time, the present is that period. The world supposes at least, that there are at this moment many serious points, points of the greatest delicacy, connected with our colonial monopoly, and our belligerent rights as affecting our navigation system, depending between us and America. What can be the prudence then at this time, of adopting any measure which shall shew, that our principles of policy, whether respecting our colonial or our belligerent rights as connected with our navigation system, hang in any degree more loosely about us, than they did at any former period? Whatever may be the sentiments of government on the measures which may arise out of these points so under discussion, whatever may be the disposition or the determination of his majesty's government on the subject of them, if contrary to every state policy which has always guided us, our government is about to make concessions (which I trust is not the case, though I fear it is) on the subject of that main bulwark of our strength, and foundation of our power, our navigation laws and our colonial system, policy requires that they should not betray a less regard for those laws, and for that system, than was felt by our ancestors. For they will render the sacrifice which they may be prepared to make of less value by shewing the light estimation in which they hold what they concede, and will purchase less returns of gratitude or other considerations for what they sacrifice. But if on the contrary this system of our policy is intended to be upheld; if at the time we insist upon upholding it, we appear by our conduct to undervalue it; our adherence will be attributed to our pride, to our obstinacy, to our ill will, to any thing in short but those true principles of just and rational policy on which alone our determination to adhere to it, ought to appear to rest.—In addition to this, sir, there are circumstances in the present time which I should think make the policy of this act of parliament the most dangerous that ever was, or ever could be adopted in this country. For what do gentlemen say in support of it? they are loud to assert that for the last 13 years we have seen that we cannot supply our West India colonies without the assistance of America. To legislate upon this principle, what is it but to tell them and the world that America may do what she pleases with us. The honble. gentl. a minister opposite, cheers at this idea, as if he seemed to think it a pleasing consideration that we cannot exist, that is, that our colonies cannot exist, without America; that we must have her assistance or we cannot supply them. Surely every man must doubt the policy of telling America this, by the solemn assurance of an act of parliament. It cannot be very wise to enact laws which will have the effect of telling the Americans that we are in their hands, that they may do what they please with us, that if they shut their ports against us our colonies in the West Indies must perish. Is it wise for the legislature of this country to speak this language to America, especially at a time when some persons of considerable influence there, do not seem indisposed to quarrel with us? But if the policy of such conduct be doubtful, what shall we say to the spirit and the dignity of it. The chosen opportunity for bringing in this bill is just upon the arrival of intelligence from America of an act having been passed there giving to the president conditional powers of shutting up their ports against our trade, according as he does or does not receive satisfaction on given points within a certain period from this country. If we by passing this act do that which is convenient to America, which seems to favour her views towards our colonies, it will be attributed to a principle of fear in this country, impressed upon our councils by this act of the American legislature, a principle of action most baneful to a state at any time, most particularly so to ours at the present, and the manifestation of which would be as detrimental to the interests, as disgraceful to the character of this nation.—Upon the whole then of this great question, it appears to me, sir, that we have made out these propositions: that all the necessity for this measure arising from the fear of the starvation of the West

India colonies, and from the impossibility of their getting their supplies but through the means of this act of parliament, is wholly done away by our having shewn indisputably that they have been actually and sufficiently supplied, before this act was thought of; that the loss which has been sustained in our shipping and navigation interests by the departure which has been admitted from our navigation system, has been demonstrated; and the consequent necessity of endeavouring to adhere to our former practice, instead of systematically and authoritatively abandoning it still further, cannot, with any shew of reason, be denied; that it is our interest to hold in our hands the power, and to shew that we possess the means of carrying the necessary supplies in our own ships to the colonies, instead of being at this particular moment obliged to acknowledge their necessary dependance on America; and that the political consideration of the whole question with reference to our maritime strength, and the great interests dependant upon that strength, and with reference to our honour and dignity in the character of our conduct and proceedings at this moment towards America; that the adoption of this measure will be most unwise and most impolitic, called for and justified by no necessity, recommended by no utility, and under all the circumstances attending it, as disgraceful to our character, as it is useless and unnecessary to our interests; and therefore speaking for myself, I must say, that whatever alterations may be adopted in any of the provisions of the bill in the committee, I must continue to object to it. The noble lord may in the committee remove the objections which others have to it, my objections are radically against its principle, such as cannot be cured in a committee. But the object of my right hon. friend near me (Mr. Rose), I can assent to most readily, because his object is enquiry to give information to the house, without which the house cannot with propriety proceed to act, because without it the house cannot be said to act with its eyes open; if therefore gentlemen on the other side will yield to his motion, and let the consideration of this bill be postponed for another week, and in the mean time go into an enquiry above stairs, it will not only be doing the house justice, and acting seemly and decently with regard to this great national subject, but it will also be proceeding with no more than due respect and attention to those who conceive their interests so much concerned as to apprehend their ruin on its passing into a law. But however well or ill founded those apprehensions may be, it must be admitted to be wise at all events in this house to proceed only on information on which it may rely, and to refuse to proceed without it, and not to confess by its conduct that it is compelled blindly and upon confidence to adopt this measure in ignorance, and as it were in contempt of those dangers to our navigation interests, and our maratime preponderance, which those most interested and best informed, anticipated from its adoption.

The *Attorney General* argued, that there were no manufactures carried from America to the colonies, but only food for the slaves, and a few other articles which could not be supplied by Great Britain. The law had been violated during a period of 13 years, and at the discretion of the governors of the colonies. It was said, that lately, government had recovered from its trance, and that some alteration was to have been proposed. But to go on in this course of violating the law was admitted to be, generally speaking, a monstrous proceeding. It was even contrary to the oath of the governors, who, in exercising this discretion, were committing something like perjury, and he was surprised to hear his learned friend contend that this was a better system than the one now proposed. They wanted to postpone the further proceeding on this bill for 7 days, and why? For the sake of inquiry. An inquiry into what? No inquiry had been thought of for 13 years, when all was at the discretion of the governors, who might open the ports a month before our ships had arrived at the colonies, and by that means render the out-fits almost useless. And yet the hon. baronet under the gallery (sir C. Price), the representative of the Shipping Interest, preferred that to this system; which did what? Permit the American trade? No; but merely enable the privy council to prevent it, when it was necessary. The necessity had been shewn by the practice of 13 years, and the right hon. gent. over the way (Mr. Rose), with his great experience, his great knowledge, his great purity, and his great attachment to public principles, had permitted it to go on for 13 years. But now he began to find out that all this was very dangerous. But where had the danger been for 13 years? As to the ship-owners they might have been heard by their counsel; and if they could, as they said, supply the colonies, why did they not do it? There was nothing in this bill, to prevent them. (Hear! Hear!)

Was there any thing to prevent them? If there was, it was certainly more than he knew, for he had read the bill, and saw no such thing. Great Britain could not, in fact, at present, supply the colonies. He then went on to state that the navigation laws had been partially, and for a time suspended in several instances, such as in the trade with the Cape of Good Hope. He also contended, that there were many things relative to the state of Europe and to the situation of this country which would bear on this question, and which could be known much better by the government here than by the governors of the West-India islands. As to the advice which his learned friend had given to ministers, who knew so ill what they were to do, he left them to take the benefit of it. He left them also to profit by the instructions of another right hon. gent. of great experience (Mr. Rose), who always gave most salutary advice upon the purest public principles, without any personal considerations, and without any wish to oppose ministers farther than his notions of duty compelled him. It was certainly very good and condescending in him to give ministers the benefit of his great experience, and to desire to relieve them from the cares of government, for certainly, after having been in office 22 years, he had in some measure acquired a sort of right to retain it for 10 or 12 years more at least, and, to be sure, it was very great presumption in inexperienced people, who had been only 5 months in office, to take matters out of his hands. Under these circumstances, his advice ought, no doubt, to be listened to with all the attention which it deserved.

Mr. *Canning* rose, and spoke as follows:—The hon. and learned gent. who has just sat down, seems to think that every suggestion and advice from this side of the house is to be received with distrust by ministers, unless accompanied with a declaration of friendship for administration. I have always considered it a sufficient apology for every member of parliament who delivers his opinion in the fair execution of his duty, if he professes to have in view, not the pleasure of the administration of the day, but the interest of his country. Upon that principle I shall take the liberty of considering the subject now before us, than which I am confident there never was a matter brought into this house of greater importance, not so much for its immediate effect, as on account of the political principles connected with it. Many propositions have been submitted to parliament which have been liable to one or other of these objections, either that they were altogether unnecessary, or that being called for by a supposed necessity, they have been pressed to an extent which would produce a greater mischief than that which they were intended to remove; but I do not recollect any measure which comprehended so much of both these objections as the present; originating, as I think has been most clearly shewn, in no necessity whatever, and at the same time teeming with so much practical mischief.—The necessity in which it is contended that this measure originates, I take to be this, that under the circumstances of war it has been deemed impossible for Great Britain to supply the West India colonies with the articles which it is absolutely necessary they should have, and that America alone can supply them. If it had been contended on this side of the house that the latter mode should in no case be adopted, but that measures should be taken to preclude the furnishing of supplies from America, in cases where it was found impossible for the West India colonies to do without them, I should understand the eagerness with which this measure is supported. But in arguing this question, I think myself at liberty to put the West India supplies entirely out of my consideration, not because I think them of no importance, but because they are nowise affected by this bill. Whether this bill passes or not, the West India interest may be equally well secured, as it has hitherto been by the continuance of the discretionary power of the governors of the colonies. I desire to know in what instance the exercise of this discretionary power of the governors has been either rashly checked or severely enquired into; in what instance the responsibility attached to that exercise of power has prevented any governor from exercising it in case of necessity; in what instance the exercise of that power, with that responsibility attached to it, has failed to receive the sanction of parliament, and an indemnity by law. So confidently is this indemnity anticipated by the present government, that there is now on the table of this house a letter of the secretary of state, on which I shall have occasion to remark bye and bye, promising on behalf of parliament what he calls the usual indemnity to all the governors who are called upon to act under it. If then there has been no disposition shewn to prevent the exercise of this discretionary power upon all occasions, which appear to require it; if there be no intention in any quarter either to abridge that power, or to enforce more severely the responsibility attached to the exercise of it, there can be no necessity for the bill now before us. There can be nothing like a necessity for an act to provide for the doing of that which perpetually has been done, and as constantly sanctioned whenever the occasion for it has occurred.—My hon. and learned friend (Mr. Perceval), is stated by the hon. and learned gent. to have admitted (and as a general truth it undoubtedly must be admitted) that when a necessity is so constant, and so urgent that you cannot escape out of it, you should endeavour to provide some permanent remedy applicable to the continuance of such necessity; and the hon. and learned gent. triumphs in this admission. But where is the ground for that triumph? The admission concedes nothing. My hon. friend says, that where the necessity is constant, some permanent remedy should be applied; but that is so far from being an admission of the propriety of passing this bill, that it is a direct condemnation of it. For if the authors and supporters of this bill are to be credited, it is according to their own statement nothing more than a temporary remedy; they themselves say this bill is not an abrogation, but a suspension merely of the acts of parliament which regulate our navigation system, not a permanent but a temporary law. —My hon. friend contends, that for a permanent evil there ought to be provided a permanent remedy; and that to ascertain the extent of the evil, and to enable yourselves to judge of the fitness of the remedy, you ought in the first place to investigate the whole subject carefully and diligently, to get together and digest all the information that can be collected upon it. The authors of this bill refuse all enquiry, reject all means of information, and propose to pass a law, of which their best defence is that it is only temporary; and doing this, the hon. and learned gent. opposite yet fancies that he obtains some advantage from what he calls the admission of my hon. friend. So far from wishing to retract or qualify my hon. and learned friend's admission, I admit, or rather I contend with him, that you ought to go thoroughly into the discussion of the whole subject, and endeavour to find out some effectual and lasting remedy to this perpetually recurring evil. But no man has admitted or contended that the undigested, crude, incompetent measure now before us, has either been founded on a sufficient investigation of the whole subject (the very reverse is notorious) or that it is to be considered as a permanent and adequate remedy for the necessity from which it is said to arise. The admission therefore of my hon. and learned friend is of itself an argument sufficiently conclusive against the passing of the present bill.—But, considering this as what it alone pretends to be, a temporary measure, let us examine what is the difference between it and the usual indemnity granted to the constant exercise of the discretion of the governors of the West India colonies? It is said that it is better that this power of a temporary suspension of the navigation laws should be lodged with his majesty's ministers, than with the governors of the West India islands; that ministers are more competent to the task of judging of the necessity of the case, as far as the West Indies are concerned; while on the other hand, they will have the opportunity, which the governors of the colonies cannot have, of hearing every thing that may be advanced on behalf of the ship-owners, before they consent to open the ports in the West Indies. This, they say, is so manifestly for the interest of the ship-owners, that it is almost inconceivable that the ship-owners should oppose this measure. Now, sir, these are very fine words, but men of sense, and of business, are not likely to be deluded by them. How does the case of the ship-owners now stand? It has been proposed, that before you provide a measure which is to continue in operation during the whole war, you should go into a committee to ascertain what are the claims, pretentions, and interests of the ship-owners? they tell you, that according to their belief, this law will operate to their incalculable prejudice; that it will absolutely annihilate their trade; and this they say they are ready to prove to you in a committee above stairs. Ministers answer, No! We will consent to no such committee. Why not? Is it for want of time? the time of bringing forward this measure is of the minister's own choosing. Nor do they now appear to feel themselves hurried in other matters. Much of their important military arrangements remain to be settled. There is therefore session enough remaining, and there can be no apprehension of danger even if this measure should go off until the next session; for whatever the necessities of the West India colonies may be, the governors there can act upon their responsibility, and will have their bill of indemnity as heretofore. But for whatever reason, they are determined it seems to have no investigation now. They will have no previous enquiry into the nature of the case, for which they are now providing a law. They say, " leave the discretion in our hands," " let us be judges of the necessities of cases as they occur, and we will hear you, the ship-owners, hereafter, upon each particular case, but we will not hear you now." That is, you will not hear them now, when you might receive useful information from them, and profit by their advice; you will not hear them now, when you have the leisure for going into a full investigation of the case, without danger of mischief to the colonies from the delay of decision, as well as with the least injury to the interest of the ship-owners. When this investigation might be pursued with the least possible inconvenience to any individuals, and with the least possible risque to the public interest, you refuse to enter upon it; you wait until an application shall come to you from the West Indies, accompanied perhaps with an assurance that the colonies are starving, that an insurrection is apprehended every hour, that immediate instantaneous relief can alone avert a public calamity; that is the opportunity which you will take for hearing the ship-owners expatiate on the nature of the trade, and on the possibility of going from hence with provisions to the West Indies; that, it seems, will be the time for going into the investigation of the whole matter, into a discussion of the best means for regulating the whole system of supplying the West India colonies, by means of British shipping; then it is that the season will arrive for hearing counsel, and collecting evidence, and balancing the advantages and disadvantages of adhering to, or relaxing the navigation laws. Ministers, undoubtedly, will enter into this cool deliberate discussion with great advantage, under the pressure of a sudden and immediate necessity, when the colonies are starving! Undoubtedly the ship-owners will then be entitled to a favourable hearing, when the question is not (as now) one of general prospective policy; but simply whether the governors of the West India islands, under the stimulus of immediate want, shall be permitted to let in supplies from America! Why, sir, to say to gentleman who use this argument, that there is nothing in it, to expose to them the fallacy of it, I am sure is needless; thy know it is fallacious, they know it full well; but they want to evade the present proposed enquiry; and they hold out to the ship-owners and merchants, whose interests are to be sacrificed by this bill, a prospect of indulgence, to be granted to them hereafter, at a moment when they know that the necessity will be so urgent as to preclude the possibility of deliberate investigation. One main proposition upon which this bill is to be supported is, though not in terms, in substance, this; that an urgent, local necessity can be judged of by those who are at a distance, better than by those who are on the spot. I ask, whether it can be necessary to do more, than state this proposition, in order to shew its absurdity? But even this absurdity is only subsidiary to that other of which we have been speaking, the notion that the ship-owners will be heard to most advantage when the necessities of the West Indies are immediately under discussion before the privy council. It is plain, that if you hear the ship-owners now, your whole policy may be governed by their statements; you will learn from them what they can do upon proper encouragement, what means they possess if it should be thought fit to bring them into activity, for meeting the necessities of the plantations. If they can shew that their means are equal to those necessities, or can be made so, then this bill is wholly unnecessary; if they can do so only to a partial extent, then the bill would require modifications conformable and commensurate to that extent. It may be said, no doubt, that the prospect of commercial gain may lead men to promise more than they can perform; but it is true, on the other hand, that it must operate as an encouragement to them to do all they can: whereas the passing this bill, which will put an end at once to all hope of employment, will slacken their exertions, and diminish their enterprize to such a degree, that if they should be called hereafter before the privy council to make their offer to carry on this trade, they must come there not only with abated ardour, but with their general capacity for the purpose considerably impaired; so that by this bill we shall then have lost what can never be recovered. But neither is this the extent of the absurdity: ministers will not hear now what the ship-owners have to say upon the general state of the British shipping, by the comparison of which, with the general amount of the demands of the West India colonies, they might be enabled to draw their own conclusions as to the general policy which they ought to adopt. They will examine the ship-owners from time to time, on the spur of each particular necessity. In the name of God, what can the ship-owners know more than I, or any other member of this house may know of the state of things in the West India colonies, at any particular moment, when application is made for relief from a sudden pressure? Or what probability is there, that called upon, on a sudden, after years of neglect and depression, they will be prepared to come forward to meet the necessity of the moment? So that now, when you might avail yourselves of the unbiassed intelligence of these gentlemen, when their patriotism and adventurous spirit might be called into action for the service of the state, you will have nothing to do with them; and when that spirit is enfeebled by disuse, or soured by discouragement, and when the points under your enquiry will be confined simply to the existence or degree of a particular necessity in the West Indies, upon which their testimony can be good for nothing, then you propose to call them before you for examination, and to require from them exertions which you will previously have disabled them from making. But we are told there is a more simple, as well as a more constitutional view in which this matter is to be looked at, and this proceeding recommended. It is said—"that we have been under the necessity of subscribing to the repeated violations of a law, and that it is more prudent, as well as more constitutional, to provide by legal means for a necessity which we cannot obviate." The objection to this proposition is that it assumes too much—for it assumes that you cannot at any time supply your colonies: it is indeed stated to have been proved by the practice of thirteen years, that we cannot supply our colonies; it is stated as a cheering piece of intelligence to the people of England, that they cannot supply their colonies; it is stated to the ship-owners, that they cannot, and shall not, even be permitted to try what they can do towards effecting that object. The hon. and learned gent. the attorney general, exults and triumphs in the supposed truth, that we cannot supply our colonies. I presume the honourable and learned gentleman cannot mean to say that we ought not to be desirous of doing so if we had the power. He cannot mean to deny, in one instance, that which is the fundamental law of every country, admitted to be so in all books, and in all writings of all authors on the law of nations; never known to be contradicted by any rule adopted by any nation in the whole history of the world; namely, that a nation possessing colonies has a right to reserve to itself the exclusive trade with such colonies. This is a principle which it would be at least desirable to have observed between this country and the West Indies: whether it can be so or not in every instance, is the question which is now in agitation, but I own it was to me matter of some surprize, that the attorney general of Gr. Brit. should appear to think it matter of triumph and exultation, that the united efforts of G. Britain and the British American colonies should not be equal to the constant necessary supply of the West India islands. The learned gentleman, however, seems to imagine that all mankind have uniformly acquiesced in his doctrine, for that no endeavour has ever been made to prevent this practice of supplying the wants of the colonies from America, instead of supplying them from G. Britain, and he particularly points this observation at the conduct of my rt. hon. friend (Mr. Rose) who he says was in office 22 years without making any attempt to alter the practice of suspending the navigation laws, and he especially blames my rt. hon. friend for not having made such an attempt towards the conclusion of the late war. First, as to the fact. It is well known, though the hon. and learned gent. chooses to appear to forget it, that my rt. hon. friend (Mr. Rose) was out of office a considerable time before the end of the last war, and before the experiment which he now recommends to this house, of trying what we may do by British shipping alone, could have been tried. It is worthy of remark, also, that my rt. hon. friend, while in office, during the late war, was in a situation which gave him no power over measures of this nature, and it is fit that the hon. and learned gent. should be informed, that no sooner did my rt. hon. friend return to office, and become vice-president of the board of trade (in which situation he has rendered his country so much service) than he did take up the consideration of this subject, and before he had been many days in office, did make an effort to discontinue the practice which both he and myself are now opposing. But whatever he did for this purpose, the present bill unquestionably is intended to destroy. The hon. and learned gent. is, therefore, incorrect in his apprehension of the fact, when he supposes my rt. hon. friend to have made no effort, while in power, to discontinue the practice of thus suspending the navigation laws, for the enforcing of which he is now an advocate, and therefore I may without offence infer, that all the observations which the hon. and learned gent. has made, and all the sarcasms which he has attempted on that part of the subject, are wholly unfounded. Something of the same kind the hon. and learned gent. insinuated against the hon. baronet, (sir C. Price) one of the members for the city of London: he has asked where that hon. member was when all these suspensions of the navigation laws took place, and when bills of indemnity were passed for those who advised such suspensions. This question can be answered, I believe, on behalf of the worthy baronet, as satisfactorily as it has been on that of my rt. hon. friend. Surely it is in the recollection of those who are, or who ought to be, on the bench opposite to me, that that worthy baronet did call the attention of the house to the very subject which the learned gent. has accused him of neglecting, and did more than once complain of the suspension of the navigation laws, and if I am not misinformed, he was prevented only by the promise of the government itself, to look seriously into the question, from making it the subject of a regular motion in this house. All that the learned gent. has said, therefore, of the supposed acquiescence of those who oppose the present bill, and who support the interests of the ship-owners, all that part of the reasoning of the learned gent. falls to the ground, because all the facts upon which his reasoning is founded are removed from under him. —So much for the learned gent.'s facts. Now for the general policy which the learned gent. recommends to us. He says that rather than violate a law frequently, you should enact another to make that violation legal. When you cannot enforce an act of parliament in its strictness, you should do what? pass another to amend and modify it? No, pass another that is a direct repeal and contradiction of it: when a law becomes difficult to be enforced to its full extent, when it becomes inconvenient, or troublesome, or distasteful to ministers, what is the natural course of a government, at least of an omnipotent government, such as this country is at present blessed with, a government which abhors detail, which scorns to descend into the little affairs and petty interests of any class of men; what but to abrogate it at once, and for that purpose to bring before parliament one grand sweeping clause to do the whole away, without the difficulty of descending into particulars? This they are pleased to call revising the system of our laws; but one way of revising a system is to examine it, and one way of understanding a thing is to examine it with deliberation, and after having so done the result is what we call, decision: in this case act with as much decision as you please; but what I ask of you is, that your decision should not precede enquiry, but what you do should be the result not of arbitrary will, but of well-considered information.—But the hon. and learned gent. thinks that the navigation laws will be found inconvenient in some particular instances, or incompatible with the extent of empire which we may enjoy; but must these laws be altogether repealed because they may be found inconvenient in some particulars? I trust not. Do I mean to say, therefore, that it is better that our colonies in the West Indies should starve than our navigation laws should be made to give way? Nothing of the kind. I do mean to say, that there are means of moderating the rigour of these laws, and that like any other laws they may even be suspended in cases of absolute necessity; and I say too, that notwithstanding this same experience of 13 years, I am persuaded there are, or may be, means of supplying the colonies from this country in a manner nearly, if not entirely, adequate to their necessities; and I contend, that it would be extremely rash to suspend an entire system, because in some few instances you find that it cannot be enforced to its utmost rigour: revise the system, if you will; but in that case what I contend is, that you ought to receive information upon the subject before you proceed upon your legislative enactments.—But it seems the responsibility of these suspensions of the law of navigation is not to be abandoned any longer to the governors of the islands, but is to be transferred to the great and wise men at home who constitute his majesty's present ministry. Now I beg the house to consider of this responsibility. At present the governors of the colonies are left to act according to their discretion upon a view of local circumstances, of which they have perfect knowledge. They are bound to prove that they have acted under such circumstances with a sound discretion; and upon this proof they are indemnified: a rational responsibility, inasmuch as it attaches to those who have the means of knowing precisely what they do. The alteration proposed upon this system is, to take the whole power and discretion out of the hands of those who alone can have any knowledge how it ought to be exercised, and whose conduct parliament is necessarily to review, (for their conduct is of course brought under the view of parliament the very next session) and to put it into the hands of those who can have no knowledge whatever of any of the local circumstances by which discretion may be guided; who are subject indeed to a responsibility, but a responsibility of a very different nature, one which never can be enforced except in such momentous cases as may compel parliament to call great ministers of state to an account for high misconduct, a very cumbrous process, and one which is never resorted to except in extreme cases. I would ask, therefore, is it advisable to take away the responsibility of those whose conduct must come under the revision of parliament every session, and to fix it upon those whose conduct you can never examine without grave suspicion of criminality? In fact, upon a subject like this it would never be examined at all.—But as we are speaking of the discretion to be intrusted to ministers, let us see how that discretion has been already used on this very subject. We find on the 2nd of April, while this bill was only in contemplation, but before it had been mentioned to parliament, his majesty's secretary of state for the colonies thinks fit to write to the governors of the West India islands, not to exhort them to take care how they exercise their power, not to say that they will be held to their responsibility if they should in any instance relax the navigation laws unnecessarily; but he sends out to the governors of the West Indies one general sweeping direction to suspend the navigation laws during the present war, during the whole war, without any qualification whatever! a most unusual, and, I will say, a most unjustifiable exercise of authority; and with a confident anticipation of the decisions of this house, he adds, that the ministers will take care that the usual indemnity shall be provided! (hear, hear.) This is before the act of parliament has passed. The ministers assure the governors of the West Indies they will take care that parliament shall pass an act according to what they consider "the usage of parliament." Now I do say, that no person whatever is entitled to write in this manner prospectively of what parliament will do: "an act of parliament *shall* pass according to the *usage* of parliament." I should be glad to know by what usage of parliament any one of the king's servants at home can tell the king's servants abroad that parliament shall pass an indemnity for an act which when ordered to be done was against law. I must say, that it is a most extraordinary and indecent exercise of ministerial power. But have we any better security for the safety of our colonies by shifting the responsibility from the governors of the islands to the ministers at home? Is it not obvious that the evil of the discretionary power must be increased? I will suppose the case of a representation coming over from the West Indies, in which it should be stated that there was an absolute necessity for a certain immediate supply; suppose the ship-owners, on being heard, were to persuade government that they would supply the wants of the islands, and that government, yielding to their suggestions, send out an order to the West Indies against opening the ports; suppose that before the supplies could arrive from hence the inhabitants of the colonies were starving; I trust that the rigour of that order would not be obeyed by the governor of any one of the islands in such a case; but that every one of them would consider it as his duty to his sovereign and to his country, to disobey it; but if he adhered to that order he could not be called to an account, for under the authority of this bill there is no discretion left to him. Surely this is putting the governors in the most painful situation, a situation unjust in the extreme, at the same time that it exposes the colonies to unnecessary hazard. So much for future discretion and responsibility: at present, I defy you to call any governor whatever to account for any the most wanton suspension of the navigation laws. The sweeping authority which the rt. hon. secretary of state, (Mr. Windham) has sent to the colonies, provides for the suspension of the whole of the navigation laws during the whole continuance of the war. Such is the foretaste which ministers have given us of the use which they will make of the discretionary power which they require at our hands. We are now called upon to sanction the rt. hon. gent's. letter, by enacting the substance of it into a law. For one, I cannot consent to do so; nor can I hesitate in saying that ministers ought to take more care than they have done in this instance that their own acts are right, before they make them the foundation of any legislative measure.—At all times, and under all circumstances, the multiplying laws unnecessarily is a great evil. I think it is not contended on the other side of the house that there is that urgent practical necessity for the passing of this bill, which would make you overlook all other political considerations; what you now propose to have an act of parliament for doing may be done at any time without an act of parliament, if necessary to be done at all. If there be no instant and urgent call upon you, it is clear that you ought not to adopt such a measure without inquiry; go into that inquiry you will find the measure unnecessary altogether: we are not now providing for the urgent and immediate supply of the islands, that is secure. The principle on which any permanent provision on so important a subject should be founded is surely matter fit for the gravest deliberation of parliament; and I would venture to ask whether, before coming to a decision on such a subject, it does not become parliament to consider the political state of the world, to consider in what way the adoption of a permanent measure of this kind may bear upon any points which are or may be in discussion between us and America; and how far the government of America, or at least considerable parties and leading individuals there, whose sentiments towards this country are avowedly of the most hostile nature, may be likely to consider the passing of this bill as a concession on the part of this country.—The hon. and learned gent. who spoke last, professes to be acquainted in a peculiar degree with the manner in which the trade is carried on between America and our West India colonies. He has stated that no articles of any kind but lumber and provisions are imported from America to those colonies; but I understand that, in point of fact, other articles, such as soap, candles, leather, and other manufactured articles, do find their way from America into the West Indies; and if so, if they do now find their way before the passing of this bill, they will afterwards find their way still more, for this bill, whatever prohibitions you may insert in it, will obviously facilitate the intercourse; the trading, in the first instance, will be general, and you will be left to take care of your exceptions in each particular instance. Thus you will be giving to America a very great boon, not only to the extent which you admit, but much beyond it; it will be impossible to prevent many things from being done under colour of this act which cannot be done at present: and if you do in fact give such a boon, it is idle to pretend ignorance or indifference about it: either you mean it, or you do not; if not, why pass the bill at all? our colonies can get what they want without it. If you intend to gratify America, how does she receive it? as a favour for which she is thankful, or as a concession which she claims?—It is notorious that there are points of great delicacy in discussion with America. I do not wish to give or to ask any opinion upon them; but I must ask the rt. hon. secretary (Mr. Fox) whether be is already so weary of the approbation and applause which he received for his conduct in the dispute with Prussia, that he cannot persuade himself to act in the same spirit towards America? I know he will tell me that this act has no direct reference to America, that America is no party to it. But however that may be, it is no less true, that considerable advantages are afforded by it to America, and that by this measure you may embarrass yourselves in the consideration of any treaty you may have to enter into with that country. Suppose you should hereafter wish to repeal this bill at a time when America might be again, as she is now, in a state of ferment with regard to this country, would not they think the repeal of a law so beneficial to their commerce a measure so injurious, that the continuance of it may perhaps be made the price at which the friendship of America is to be purchased? and they will not be without arguments to sustain their claim: "Was not the law necessary to your own convenience, they may say, and founded on the experience of 13 or 14 years before it was adopted? Did you not upon deliberation adopt it as a measure of state policy? Did not we receive it as a measure of conciliation? Why, when the same reasons are still in force, should it be discontinued, unless as an indication of hostility to us?" Such may be at some future and perhaps no distant time the language of America. Do I therefore say that all concession is in its nature necessarily bad? No, I do not; but I do say, that concession may be good or bad according to the circumstances of the time in which it is made; and I do further say, that a worse moment for this country to make any concession to America could not be chosen. What greater sacrifices could any country, friend or foe, expect from you than this which you are now about to make to America? Has France, has even France with all the extravagance of her pretensions, ever been bold enough to ask you to suspend your navigation laws? I do not say that America asks you to do so; but I do say, that in the situation in which you stand you ought to take care to be above even the suspicion of an undue compliance. This measure, on the face of it, carries the appearance of a concession at a moment wherein it is your duty to stand upon your rights; it is at least liable to this construction, and if you pass it at the present moment it will be so thought of in America. Once again, where is the necessity for this measure? Cannot our West India plantations be supplied with every thing they want without it? Will they not be supplied exactly in the same manner whether this bill passes or not? If there is no necessity for it, think of the danger there is in passing this bill into a law, not only on account of the injury you sustain by the suspension of your navigation laws, while that suspension continues, but also because you will by such a suspension as this bill provides, make it difficult, if not impossible, to revert to your former system. It is not denied that it is an evil to suspend the navigation laws; but the evil is in some degree unavoidable. Be it so; but why aggravate what you cannot altogether avoid? Why make that suspension permanent which when temporary and occasional has fully answered every purpose? You say, you are only doing what has been already done for many years, that you only mean to do the same thing in a different manner. You may mean what you will; but certainly the effect of your bill will be to suspend permanently laws which have hitherto only been suspended temporarily, to take responsibility from those who acted from knowledge of the necessity of each particular case, and rendered an annual account of each act of discretion, and to place it in the hands of others who already have shewn us what an extravagant use they mean to make, and how little account they propose to render of it, who have already anticipated for the whole of the war the existence of a necessity, which has hitherto been ascertained annually, and never acted upon until ascertained.—And you do this at a time and under circumstances which induce inevitably the suspicion that while you are thus sacrificing the leading principles of your navigation system, as well as the interests of that class of men, by encouraging whom you would encourage the maritime power of the country, you are making this sacrifice to a foreign power at present no way favourably disposed to you, and in whom the appearance of concession is likely to beget an encreased spirit of encroachment: and all this you are doing rashly and precipitately, shutting your eyes against the facts which are offered to be proved to you, and relegating the evidence of those best capable of giving you information, to a period when it can neither be received with the same confidence, nor listened to with the same effect, when the mischief will have been incurred, and when the means of remedying it will be incalculably diminished.—This is the way in which you are passing this most unnecessary and mischievous bill; these are the pretexts on which you endeavour to recommend it to this house; these are the dangers to which it will expose you; these are the evils which it will produce. I think it likely to be fatal to the best interests of the country, and therefore I shall give it my decided opposition.

Dr. *Laurence* observed that the gentlemen who said any thing against this bill, seemed to found their opinions entirely on a fallacy; they spoke as if they considered that a system, which in fact was nothing more than a provisional regulation for the benefit of our shipping, and for the occasional supply of our colonies. These gentlemen, however, who were so extremely tender about the navigation laws, and who were so constantly in the habit of extolling the great virtues of the rt. hon. gent. now no more, (Mr. Pitt) did not seem to recollect any thing about the Dutch property act that was passed during the administration of that gentleman. When it was apprehended that Holland was about to be annexed to France, at first an order in council was passed, permitting the landing of Dutch property in this country from neutral vessels. This practice was afterwards by a positive law extended, and was in that extended state continued for upwards of 4 years, to the total ruin of our navigation laws. Let those gentlemen then triumph in their long experience in that administration; but let them not at the same time affect a tenderness about our navigation laws.

Sir *John Newport* rose, merely to state the effect that the proposed regulation had produced in Ireland. The persons concerned in the provision trade, instead of supposing themselves at all injured by this bill, considered that it would promote the export of provisions from that country. They considered that it would be much safer to embark in the trade of supplying the West Indies with provisions, when the discretion was in the privy-council, than formerly when it was vested in the governors of the islands. At the same time they had now sufficient notice, that if they were not able to supply the markets, the ports would be open to the American vessels. He felt a considerable degree of surprise at finding that this bill was opposed by the ship-owners, as it appeared to him that it was much more to their advantage, that the discretion which must rest somewhere, should remain with the privy-council, than that it should be given to the governors of the islands, who sometimes might be supposed to act capriciously, and from the influence of the planters. In letting this discretion remain with the privy-council, the decision was brought to their own door. As to the provision trade, when the latter had been so much dwelt upon, the gentlemen on the other side should also have considered the bounties that were given on exportation from our colonies, and the pains that were taken to give this country and its colonies every advantage in supplying the West India market. He could declare most positively, and he could bring documents to prove it, that when the persons concerned in the provision trade in Ireland had been applied to upon this subject, their answer was, that they would embark in the trade with much greater confidence and spirit, when they knew that it would be governed by a fixed rule, laid down by the privy-council, than they would have done when the discretion remained entirely with the governors of the islands, and when they were not sure but that on the arrival of their provisions some arbitrary and capricious order might, by giving an advantage to the Americans, prevent the sale of them. He concluded by declaring, that this measure had given more satisfaction to the Irish merchants concerned in the provision trade, than all the measures which the boasted experience of the gentlemen on the other side of the house could in twenty years enable them to suggest.—The house then divided, when there appeared, For the second reading 112: For the amendment 54. Majority 58.—The bill was afterwards read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Friday.

List of the Minority.

Ashley, C.
Buxton, Sir R.
Bagwell, J.
Bagwell, W.
Baker, W.
Barne, S.
Bootle, W.
Brodrick, W.
Blaquiere, Lord de
Bourne, S.
Castlereagh, Lord
Canning, G.
Chute, W.
Curtis, Sir W.
Dent, J,
Fellowes, W. H.
Foster, J.
Fitzhugh, W.
Gibbs, Sir V.
Garbes, Lord
Huskisson, W.
Hammond, Sir A. S.
Holford, G. P.
King, Sir J. D.
Long, C.
Lovaine, Lord
Leycester, H.
Lascelles, H.
M'Naghten, E. A.
Manners, Lord C.
Manners, Lord R.
Mildmay, Sir H.
Mainwaring, G. B.
Price, Sir C.
Phipps, E.
Preston, Sir R.
Perceval, S.
Rutherford, J.
Rendlesham, Lord
Rose, G.
Rose, G. H.
Ryder, R.
Sibthorpe, H. W.
Smith, S.
Smith, G.
Scott, Sir W.
Scott, C.
Scott, S.
Staniforth, J.
Stanhope, S.
Steele, T.
Somerset, Lord L.
Thornton, S.
Wallace, T.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, June 18.

[ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN SCOTLAND.] Lord *Grenville* moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the Administration of civil Justice in Scotland.—The house having accordingly resolved itself into a committee, the noble lord said, that no man could more deeply feel the importance and difficulty of any subject than he did that upon which he now rose to address their lordships. Feeling, however, as he did, all the difficulty of the subject, he felt it at the same time to be his duty, after fully and maturely considering it, to submit certain propositions to their lordships, the objects of which were to remove evils and inconveniences which had arisen to a great height, and which loudly demanded a remedy. His attention had been called to the number of appeals in that house, particularly from Scotland, which had increased to such an extent, that their accumulation, and the consequent great delay in their decision, became a most serious evil to suitors in that high court, and was disreputable to its jurisdiction. In considering this subject, his attention was naturally turned to the court of session in Scotland, from whence so many of these appeals came, and there he found also that the business had accumulated to an extent which produced the most material evils to the suitors, from the unavoidable delay which occurred in deciding causes. It would be a superfluous waste of their lordships' time to enter into a history of the court of session; it would be sufficient to observe, that, by the act of union, it was declared to be the court for deciding causes in Scotland, and from which an appeal only lay to the House of Lords. It was evident, therefore, that no other court could be established for this purpose, without a breach of the act of union. There were, however, means of altering the frame and constitution of this court, by which, as he conceived, civil justice might be better and more speedily administered. The court at present consisted of 15 judges. He did not mean, and he trusted he should not be understood to mean, to throw the slightest reflection upon any of the learned judges of that court; but it was his opinion, and it was the opinion of many persons of great experience and knowledge of the laws, that speaking generally justice was better administered in a court where the judges were only 3 or 4 in number, than where they consisted of a greater number. There were many reasons, which would naturally occur to their lordships, why this must necessarily be the case. It was also of the highest importance that the conduct of judges in their respective courts should, as in this part of the united kingdom, be open to the world; that they should deliver their opinions in the face of an enlightened bar, from whence they would soon become subjects of public discussion; and then the slightest error (for judges were fallible as well as other men) would very soon be corrected. A great advantage likewise arose from all the judges of a court hearing the arguments of counsel in the cause on which they were to decide, and their being enabled to form their opinion with as little delay as possible. In the court of session all the legal arguments, as well as the proceedings, were delivered in writing, a course of practice which necessarily consumed much time in the deliberations of the judges; and after each had examined the written documents, unless they were unanimous, a circumstance, which, perhaps, where there were so many judges, could not be expected often to happen, another delay arose from their delivering their opinions *seriatim.* With this view of the subject a plan had been framed for the purpose of obviating some of the inconveniences resulting from the constitution of the court of session, and the forms of its proceeding. It was proposed to divide the court into chambers, the number to be hereafter fixed; his opinion inclined to three chambers, as more likely to answer the purpose of speedily administering justice than two; whilst in the latter case the objection to a great number of judges in one court would still operate considerably, though not with such great force. These chambers, he proposed, should decide respectively upon the same description of causes, without allotting any exclusive jurisdiction to either. The courts here, which had originally each a separate jurisdiction over a distinct class of causes, had become by long usage equal in jurisdiction with respect to all causes, with some exceptions; and this practice, which had grown up contrary to the original intention of these courts, was found to be infinitely more convenient than the original principle of separate jurisdiction. Individuals being thus enabled to carry causes into either of the courts, at their option, public opinion in the increase of business in one court over another, would soon indicate the motives of the preference, and point out whatever slight cause there might be for the decrease of business in the other; thus leading to an uniformity of decision upon legal points, which could not be the case if each court had a separate jurisdiction over a certain description of causes. It was proposed, therefore, that parties should have an option of bringing their suits before either of those chambers, and that where there was a previous hearing before the lord ordinary, that the cause should belong to the chamber of which the lord ordinary was a member. It was also proposed that the lord president of the court of session should preside over one of the chambers, and that his majesty should be empowered to appoint judges of the court to preside over the chambers, such presidents holding their offices, like the other judges, during good behaviour. The next great object which he had in view was the introduction of trial by jury in civil causes into Scotland. For him, speaking with the experience of an Englishman, and in a British legislature, to attempt to advocate the trial by jury, the benefits resulting from which were so well known and so justly appreciated, would appear a very superfluous waste of time. This mode of trial had not, however, for a long time been used in Scotland in civil cases, although it had formerly been practised in that country, and the greatest advantages would result from its re-introduction. At present, from the mode of proceeding it was frequently impossible to give a correct decision upon a fact. He proposed, therefore, that the proceedings should be put into that form in which as in England an issue might be joined, that the pursuer should state distinctly the facts which he alleged, that the defender should either distinctly admit or deny those alleged facts in whole or in part, and that thus issue being joined on the record, it should be in the power of the chamber in possession of the cause, at the request of either party, to direct a trial by jury on this issue of fact; that the chamber might also, without being applied to by either party, direct such trial by jury, and might also remit the cause to the circuit, to be there tried by a jury. There were inferior courts, such as those of the sheriffs and bailies, where the expense of a trial by jury might be much greater than the value of the object in dispute; he thought that it would be advisable, therefore, only to allow of a trial by jury, in those cases where it was directed by one of the chambers, on application of either of the parties. It would also be necessary to give a power of appealing to the decision of the chamber directing the trial by jury, in cases of misdirection of the judge to the jury, or where the verdict was given in contradiction to evidence. In this way he conceived that the introduction of the trial by jury into civil cases in Scotland, would be productive of the most important advantages. The third head of the plan related to appeals, with respect to which it was proposed, that there should be an immediate court of review between the chambers and the House of Lords; still, however, not in any degree violating the act of union, by trenching upon the jurisdiction of the court of session. It was proposed that an appeal should lie from each of the chambers to the court of review, which should consist of all the lords of the court of session, except those of the chamber in which the decision appealed against should be made; that an appeal should lie to the court of session, without the necessity of going through the intermediate forms now used, of bills of advocation and suspension. That the court of review should proceed with printed cases, and hear counsel, in the same manner as in appeals in the House of Lords; that an appeal should ultimately lie from this court of review to the House of Lords, but from no other court; and that such appeals should be only against final judgment, and not against interlocutory judgment. It was also proposed, that, in order to prevent frivolous and vexatious appeals, that the house should have the power of awarding costs to a much greater extent than at present. It was, too, notorious, that many appeals were brought to that house without any hope of ultimate success, but merely with a view of gaining a certain advantage from suspending for a time the execution of the judgment given in the court below. This advantage might, in some cases, overbalance any consideration of costs which could possibly be awarded against an appellant; he had, therefore, framed a resolution, but he had at present so much doubt about it, that he would not propose it among the other resolutions; the object of which, however, was, that in cases where, notwithstanding execution being issued on the judgment in the court below, the appellant might, nevertheless, in the event of a reversal of the judgment, be placed in the same situation as if such execution had never issued; that then the court below should certify to that house; and that, in such case, the house should be empowered to order execution to issue on the judgment of such court pending the appeal. This, however, was entirely a new measure, and not standing on the same solid grounds of English experience which the other parts of the plan did, and therefore he would take further time to consider of it. One point of detail he would first mention—it was proposed to abolish, or at least to limit, as much as possible, extraction of records, documents, &c. in causes, in Scotland, which had grown into a great abuse, volumes being thus frequently made up in one cause, the expence of extracting which alone amounted to more than the value of the object in dispute. It was proposed, therefore, to confine this system of extracting to a mere exemplification of the record, the pleadings, and the interlocutors. He was aware, that in carrying into execution a detailed system like the present, there were many persons whose interests might be injured, and not merely interests, but whose just rights or just expectations founded upon previous study and application, with a view to particular departments, might be injured. If the proposed plan should be carried into execution, and any such instances of loss or injury should arise, he had no doubt that the justice of parliament would award a proper compensation. With one other point also, he would trouble their lordships: it was necessary that there should be some means of preventing an aged and infirm judge from being reduced to the painful necessity of retiring with old age into poverty; or of continuing to exercise those duties for which corporeal and perhaps mental infirmity had rendered him in a great measure incapable: a provision of this kind existed in England, and he thought ought to be extended to Scotland. He had now gone through the whole of the proposed plan, which, if it did not go so far as some might wish, rested, so far as it went, upon solid grounds of experience in this part of the united kingdom. He thought it would be highly advantageous, if the practice of hearing counsel intended to be introduced into the court of review was introduced into all the Scottish courts. He would not go, however, thus far at present, and would rather prefer that the present plan should be first tried. He wished that the whole plan should undergo the most deliberate investigation, and that it should be thoroughly and maturely considered by those who were best enabled to form a judgment as to its merits, or give information upon the subject. He wished also that their lordships should have full time to consider the subject maturely, and with all the new light that could possibly be thrown upon it. With that view, it was his intention to propose a number of resolutions, which, after they had passed through the committee, it was his intention should be printed; he would then move that the consideration of the subject should be postponed till a day when it was likely parliament would not sit, in order that the final discussion upon them might be postponed till next session. His lordship concluded by moving a number of resolutions in conformity with the objects proposed in his speech.

Lord *Hawkesbury* stated, that this subject had been under the consideration of the late ministry, who had taken steps for the purpose of obtaining every possible information respecting it, with the view of afterwards bringing it before parliament. Upon his present view of the subject, he concurred with the noble lord in most of his propositions; he thought the division of the court of session into three courts would be much preferable to two, but doubted the propriety of excluding from the court of review the judges of the chamber, whose decision was appealed against.

The Duke of *Montrose* highly approved in general of the plan brought forward by the noble lord, but doubted whether there might not sometimes be local obstacles to trial by jury in civil cases in Scotland.

The *Lord Chancellor* also warmly expressed his approbation of the proposed plan, the carrying which into effect would, he thought, be productive of the greatest advantages to Scotland.—The resolutions were then agreed to.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 18.

Minutes.] Sir J. Sinclair obtained leave to bring in a bill for altering and amending the acts of the 28th and 30th of the king regulating the number of passengers to be carried on the outside of coaches.—On the motion of Mr. Windham, the lords amendments to the mutiny bill were taken into consideration and agreed to.—Lord Folkstone stated that it would be in the recollection of the house that the sum of 40,000l. had been voted by them for paying the debts of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. Among the sums voted by parliament, and unprovided for, since ordered to be laid before the house, he observed mention of the sum of 41,000l. paid to John earl of Chatham, and George bishop of Lincoln. He felt at a loss how to get at the fact of this appropriation of the public money, but he believed the best mode for him to pursue would be, to move, "that there be laid before the house a copy of the order for paying to John earl of Chatham, and George bishop of Lincoln, the sum of 41,010l." Ordered.

[Affairs of India.—Oude Charge.] Earl Temple having moved the order of the day for taking the Charge against the marquis Wellesley relative to the Nabob of Oude into consideration, Mr. Paull was about to move that witnesses be called in, when the Speaker informed him that the first question was, that the charge be now taken into consideration. The question being put,

Mr. *Bankes*, in pursuance of the intimation he had given the preceding day, rose to oppose the motion, and to state the reasons which induced him to think the house should proceed no further in this business, but dismiss it entirely from their consideration; in which he did not think it would be necessary for him to do more than to shew the house that the legislature had already provided another and a more eligible mode of proceeding before a different tribunal. The tribunal to which he alluded, was that established by an act passed in 1784, for the special trial of crimes committed in India. He by no means denied the inquisitorial power of the house of commons; on the contrary, he wished to speak of it always with the highest respect, and to acknowledge that in many instances it had been productive of the best consequences. But the power, like many other of its rights and privileges, should be used with sound discretion; for there were cases of such a nature, as it would be extremely unwise and injudicious to bring before the house; and those were cases in a considerable degree analogous to the present. It was a case not less complicated than that which with so little success, and so little honour to the house of commons, by whom it was urged forward, or that tribunal before which it was tried, had occupied the attention of parliament for seven successive sessions. The subject now before the house was no less than that of the revenues, and other political affairs of Oude, for a period of nearly 40 years; and in a more especial degree, during a period of 5 years that marquis Wellesley had been chief governor in India. The honourable member who brought forward these charges accused the noble marquis of a criminal interference in the affairs and government of the nabob of Oude; of having violated the independence guaranteed by treaty; of having wrested from the nabob one-half of his territory; and of having excited his subjects to rebellion, and then having recourse to arms to restore tranquillity. In support of this charge, a most voluminous mass of written documents had been laid on the table, and a considerable body of oral evidence was now, he understood, in waiting, for the purpose of being called in and heard. So voluminous was the mass of documents produced, that it was impossible for the house to have made the due use of them. The farther the subject was contemplated, the larger and more complicated did it appear. The house would therefore see it was a case at once too extensive, too abstruse, too intricate, and too hard for them to decide upon; and he doubted not that they would perceive the propriety of dismissing it without consideration, or giving any opinion upon it; for whatever might be the innocence of the noble lord in question, and though the proceedings in the way of investigation by this house, with a view to subsequent impeachment, might not bring home to him any punishment, yet it was obvious from experience, it might produce to him much embarrassment and vexation. In the case of Mr. Hastings, though after a tedious progress of seven sessions, he was finally acquitted, yet the trial brought ruin upon his fortune, and inflicted the most grievous inquietude upon his mind; and therefore of all tribunals he should avoid that the most where the guilty had so little and the innocent so much to dread. Besides, it was utterly impossible that the individual members of that house, respectively, could have had time, consistently with their other avocations, to pay the particular attention necessary to every part of the evidence laid before them upon this case, to enable them to consider it with the minuteness necessary to warrant a solemn decision, as it would be the duty of a jury to do, before another tribunal. And with respect to impartiality, perhaps it would not be deemed altogether unjust to infer, that some share of party feeling on the subject might have its weight in the deliberation, which of all others should be the most free and unbiassed. There were certainly cases on which the house might feel itself pressed to some decision: but if ever there was a case on which it was desirable the house should not assume a jurisdiction, this was that one. The act to which he had alluded as providing especially for the trial of offences committed in India, passed in 1784, required that application should be made by the party accusing to the Court of King's Bench in the first instance, stating the nature of the accusation: and if the Court of King's Bench should prima facie deem the charge such as was worthy of serious trial, then it had power to direct that a tribunal be constituted, consisting of a certain number of members from each house of parliament, and one judge from each of the three courts of Westminster Hall, one of whom at least should always preside at the sittings of such tribunal, before which any such accusation should be tried. Such a tribunal certainly must be much more competent in point of knowledge upon the subject, than any other which could be found. He had heard it said, that this act of parliament was not intended to extend to crimes of this high political nature, but was confined in its operation to others of a quite different description; but he had some observations to offer to the consideration of the house, which must remove all doubts, and silence all objections upon this point, and prove the full competence of the tribunal to which he alluded, to try crimes of the present description. He mentioned the case of Mr. Holland, against whom charges were preferred by the crown, strictly of a political nature; such as, not marching troops with sufficient expedition against

Tippoo Sultaun; not forwarding with sufficient promptitude dispatches from Tillicherry to Bombay, with an account of the hostilities which had broken out with Tippoo: and the whole of the charges, with but one or two exceptions, were of a similar nature, relating to the making of war, the marching of troops, &c. This cause had a final hearing in 1794; 12 of the counts out of 19 were confirmed; and for the other 7, which had been rejected, a writ of error was brought in the Court of King's Bench to confirm them; but in the interim, Mr. Holland absconded with all his property. This instance, then, he hoped would prove the acknowledged competency of such a tribunal to try crimes of a high political nature. He had been told by some gentlemen, that in the present case he had made his objection too late, and that the house having entertained the charge, was now indispensably bound to come to some decision upon it. To this he would answer, that he could not make his objection until he was aware of the full grounds and nature of the charge, which he could not be until it was laid upon the table, with the documents upon which it was founded; and this was the very first opportunity he had had of making his objections since the charge and documents were completely before the house. Other members who had not read the documents so extensively as he had, might not be so fixed in their opinions as to the impropriety of entertaining a charge of this nature before either house of parliament; however, he himself had let no time slip by him in making his objection upon the first fair opportunity that offered. The hon. member who brought forward this charge had an undoubted right to lay it upon the table, even though he stood entirely alone and unseconded. So far the house had entertained the charge, but no farther; they had founded upon it no proceeding, nor pledged themselves to any, and therefore could, with the utmost propriety, dismiss it. There were precedents in point upon the journals:—the cases, for instance, of lord Coningsby and sir G. Porter, in the reign of king William, and some others. On the part of the noble lord, he was apprehensive that the dismissal would give him some pain, as it would look like refusing to hear the cause; but he could not think of violating an important public principle, in compliment to individual feelings, or give way to a mode of proceeding, which it was so desirable to avoid. It might be said, that misrepresentations had gone forth in print, and that documents had been printed by that house, in support of the charge, which rendered a speedy decision the more necessary; to which he had to answer, that documents equally strong, in refutation of those charges, had been also printed; and what right had the house to conclude that the public mind would only attend to the accusation, and reject the defence? For his own part, he had studiously avoided, throughout the whole of his speech, any expression that could in the slightest degree mark the bias of his own opinion upon the truth or falsehood of the charge in question; but in case the house should be disposed to entertain the charge, and to go into the discussion, he saw no reason why they could not, instead of proceeding by way of impeachment, if they should deem any further proceeding necessary, direct the king's Attorney General to proceed in the manner pointed out by the acts of 1784 and 1786. The hon. member concluded by giving his negative to the motion for now proceeding to take the charge into consideration.

The *Master of the Rolls* observed, that the course which his hon. friend had proposed to the house to pursue, was certainly calculated to flatter their indolence; and, for his part, he should have been glad could it have been adopted with propriety. It would certainly relieve the house from a burden of which all must be sensible. But he thought that the principles and arguments of his hon. friend went too far, and would eventually trench upon those inquisitorial powers which belonged to the house, to enquire into charges of magnitude brought against persons of high dignity. In matters of this kind we must be content to follow the principles of our ancestors. His hon. friend had said, that impeachment should only be resorted to in cases of the last necessity. But it was by no means certain, this would proceed the length of impeachment. The charge alone was now proposed to be taken into consideration, and it would be afterwards for the house to decide, what course should be followed when that was gone through. With regard to the particular mode of trial which he recommended, it could not, from the instance which he had mentioned, be considered as likely to be very expeditious. In 1791, the information was filed against Mr. Holland, and it was not before 1794 that the Court of King's Bench had decided on the form of information to be laid before the tribunal to be appointed under the act. All the necessary subsequent proceedings upon this information were afterwards to take place. This mode, therefore, did not promise much more expedition, than that by impeachment. His hon. friend had stated a doubt, whether the present charge could be brought under the act in question. That act empowered the formation of a tribunal for the trial of extortion, and other misdemeanors; and it was rational to explain the general words, "other misdemeanors," as referring to offences of a similar or an inferior nature, since higher offences must have been specified in preference to those of a minor kind, had it been designed to include them. His hon. friend's doubt, therefore, appeared perfectly well founded, and he himself was convinced that the act had no reference to those higher political offences with which the noble lord was charged, and that therefore the trial of the charge could not be instituted under the act in question. It must be confessed, indeed, that the offences with which Mr. Holland was charged were of a political nature, and that the opinion of lord Kenyon was of high authority, but still he might be permitted to doubt the interpretation which was then put upon the act. It appeared to him that the house could not drop their proceedings in the present instance. They had agreed to take the charge into consideration, and they could not pass from the vote they had already given. He wished that his hon. friend had offered his suggestion at an earlier period. For a whole year the subject had been before the house; papers had been moved for day after day, and the nature of the charge had been, in some measure, explained to the house. It was obvious that it related to the administration of the noble lord in India. When it was moved that the house should take the charge into consideration, then would have been the proper time for bringing forward the present motion. But now the house were in effect called upon to declare that they were in an error, and to say, that though they had resolved to take the charge into consideration, they would now give no opinion at all on the subject, nor come to any determination with regard to what should follow. It appeared to him that the present motion would do justice neither to the accuser nor the accused. Supposing the accuser to be actuated by malice, which he had no reason to presume, should the present motion be agreed to, he might congratulate himself on having gained his object, by exciting doubts in the public mind with regard to the conduct of the noble lord, and throwing a shade over his character which it might be difficult to remove. No opportunity would be given for the accused being heard in his own defence. The whole charge would be left to be discussed in a newspaper controversy, and such was certainly not the proper way for deciding it. Neither would justice be done to the accuser. After so long perplexing himself with papers and enquiry, after giving and taking so much trouble, it would not be fair to drop the matter at once, without coming to any determination upon it. But the house had already passed a resolution to take the charge into consideration. The matter might be postponed, but it could not be relinquished. It did not appear that this business could occupy much of the time of the house. The papers on which the charge was founded had long been printed, and it would not be difficult for any gentleman to form an opinion on the subject. Should the motion be agreed to, the house would be considered as having, in some measure, relinquished its inquisitorial power, and as having declared itself inadequate to such enquiries. Such was the conclusion which he thought the public would naturally draw.

Mr. Secretary *Fox* rose and observed, that if there was a wish that one could entertain on the subject in preference to another, it must be to accede to the proposition of the hon. gent. on the other side, not merely on account of the personal inconvenience with which a contrary mode of proceeding must be attended to individuals, and the labour to which it must subject them, but also on account of the great inconvenience which must thus be occasioned in conducting the public business of the house. Feeling as he did the importance of the latter consideration, he trusted the house would indulge him in saying a few words relative to the matter which now engaged their attention. Considering the embarrassment that must arise to the public business, if the affair was to go on in the usual way, he thought that it would be absolutely necessary to find out some mode of quickening the natural course of the proceedings. For if we were to proceed in the usual way, supposing that this oral evidence should last as long as it had done on former occasions, considering the time that must be spent in taking down the questions and the answers, it was impossible, unless the whole should be much shorter than any one could expect, that the matter could be brought to a conclusion this session of parliament; when he said "impossible," he wished to explain precisely what he meant by that term. It was impossible, supposing that parliament should sit only the usual time. He did not mean to state that ministers might not advise his majesty to prolong the session, and keep the parliament sitting, but it would be recollected that it was not in their power to compel an attendance, that is, such an attendance as the importance of the case would demand. It must be seen, therefore, that the house was placed in a very disagreeable situation, and that it must be the wish of every person to escape from the labour and burthen of this enquiry, if it could be done with justice and propriety; not so much with a view to personal inconvenience, though that was something, as on account of the difficulties to which parliament would be reduced, in managing the public business of the nation. Now, with that wish strongly impressed on his mind, he certainly assented to a great part of what the hon. gent. had said. He having recognised the right which the house of commons had to proceed by the way of impeachment; and not only this, but having also recognised the inquisitorial power of the house as the vital principle by which the members had acquired the power to sit there, and to watch over the liberties, rights and privileges of their constituents: having done all this, and indeed it was impossible for one so well versed in history and the principles of the constitution to do otherwise, he (Mr. Fox) certainly went with him a great way, and even agreed with him in many of the practical observations which he had made. He admitted the importance of the inquisitorial powers of that house, but he was at the same time convinced that it was one of those powers which were best exercised when they were rarely exercised. As to the position of the honourable gentleman, that it was a power which ought not to be exercised, except in cases of absolute necessity, he certainly could not go with him that far; taking necessity in the strict signification of the term, he admitted, however, that it ought not to be exercised, except in cases where honour rendered it necessary—that is, where no other mode of proceeding could be consistent with the honour of the crown, of the parliament and the nation. He confessed that at first so much did he wish to accede to the proposition of the honourable gentleman, influenced by the difficulties of parliament, and the arguments which the hon. gent. had advanced, that he had been considering how far it was possible to support him. But there was one part of his argument in which the hon. gent. had very materially failed, and that was where he spoke to the point of time. With respect to the time at which this proposition was made, he would go half way between the hon. gent. and the learned gent. near him (the Master of the Rolls) The latter had observed, that when you allowed voluminous papers to be laid on the table, and entertained the matter thus far, it was necessary that you should proceed farther. He could not go with him thus far; for if in these papers nothing should be found which could form any ground of proceeding, then you might undoubtedly stop and say, that you would not advance any farther; or if you saw good cause to go on, then you had still to consider whether another mode than impeachment, less burthensome to the members of this house, more consistent with the proper management of the public business, and equally consistent with the interests of justice, and the honour of the crown, the parliament, and the nation, might not be adopted. He could not therefore agree, that the act of allowing these papers to be laid on the table, did in itself render it absolutely necessary to proceed farther. But then the hon. gent. on the other side said, that this was the earliest and most proper time at which he could come with his proposition—he was compelled to differ with him. He could not, he allowed, have objected to the production of the papers and of the charge, but when the matter came to a vote of the house—when the question was put 16 days ago, whether the charge should be taken into consideration, aye or no, then was the time for the hon. gent. to have said, no: but now the house having pledged itself to the accuser and to the accused, by this vote, and more than that, having actually ordered witnesses to attend, it stood bound to both parties to enter upon the consideration of this charge at some convenient time. He did not say that it had pledged itself absolutely to proceed now, but it was bound to entertain the charge, and to consider it. And here, therefore, what the hon. gent. said was inapplicable. He said that we ought to have nothing to do with the charge, but that we ought to dismiss it without proceeding any farther. But when the house had come to a vote on the subject, he conceived that the motion of the hon. gent. was totally inadmissible. For this he was extremely sorry, as he before stated, not only on account of the personal inconvenience which this affair might occasion to himself and others, but also on account of the difficulties which it would throw in the way of the public business. Now, with respect to the acts of 1784, and 1786, he had strong hopes when he came to the house, that the matter might by possibility be referred to such a tribunal. But when he heard the words of the acts "extortion or other misdemeanors," he had very great doubts whether a case of this kind could be brought under them. His notion was, when extortion and other misdemeanors were mentioned, that this must mean misdemeanors of a similar nature, and that even faults of a lower description, if of a different kind, could not properly be cognizable under these acts. However, it was very probable that the construction; put upon the acts by the honourable and learned gent. was the right one, and that crimes of less magnitude than private extortion, for it was to this that the acts evidently referred, might be cognizable under the acts. As to the present case coming under them, that was out of the question. Yet he must at the same time say, that what the hon. gent. (Mr. Bankes) had said, militated a good deal against this construction, for the case of Mr Holland, where the Attorney-General at that time (lord Eldon), thought that political matters were cognizable under these acts, was undoubtedly very strong—but in addition to the authority of the then Attorney General, we had the authority of the King's Bench here, for he was speaking under correction, as he might be mistaken, that court seemed to have established this construction. The Attorney-General moved the information, and if the Court of King's Bench allowed the proceedings to go on, it appeared like a proof that they had been of opinion that the crimes mentioned in the information were cognizable under the acts. These authorities then were certainly in favour of the hon. gent's. construction of the acts. But then the answer that had been given by the hon. and learned gent. was very strong. The accused, it appears, had not stated the objection, and, no doubt, it was very possible that the point might have been overlooked. But this he would say, in passing, if the construction put on these acts by the hon. and learned gent. was the right one, and probably it was, there must be a very considerable alteration in them, in order to render them capable of answering any useful purpose, as it appeared that few things came under them, and that very considerable delay might take place; so that this mode of proceeding could not at least be recommended from any convenience of dispatch. He had indeed heard it said, that all those offences were punishable in the courts of law. Undoubtedly the court of King's Bench was competent to the trial of such offences. But though this might be be the case in point of theory, yet, in matters of this sort, it was not altogether the case in point of practice; and this, therefore, ought to be the object of future consideration. In the present case, the house had got into a difficulty, and he lamented to say, that he saw no way of getting rid of it, and therefore it must be fairly encountered. But as to the principle of impeachment in this instance, he might certainly change his opinion if he heard some new facts that had not yet come to his knowledge, or stronger arguments than he had as yet heard; but unless something of this sort should happen, he must say, that he was fully determined to vote against an impeachment. He might, to be sure, hear something that might give a different colour to the whole transaction, and then he would act as he saw proper. Now, he had been one of the most earnest to engage in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, but before the conclusion of that trial, he had come to this opinion, that it was morally impossible that justice could be obtained, (he meant no reflection on the tribunal by which Mr. Hastings had been tried) with regard to crimes connected with India, by the mode of impeachment. He felt this so strongly, that nothing but some new and very impressive information indeed, could induce him to vote in the present instance for a trial by impeachment. But it might be said, suppose you should be of opinion that lord Wellesley had very much misconducted himself, what were you to do? That would depend on the degree of delinquency and on other circumstances. The opinion of the house of his conduct might be marked by a declaration of its sentiments, or if more than that should be required, then we had other modes of proceeding. But at all events, whatever might be the result, he hoped that the mode of impeachment would not be adopted. Now, as to the way in which we were proceeding at present, there was one mode, and only one that he saw, by which this matter could be brought to a conclusion before the end of the present session. To be sure, it might be said that he wished to withdraw himself from the affair altogether when he proposed it; but it was to sacrifice the whole day to the business, to go on with the evidence at eleven o'clock in the morning, and to proceed with other business at the usual hour, in the same manner as the lords had lately done. He allowed that he must be absent if this mode should be adopted, for in the situation in which he stood, for him to attend would be absolutely impossible. This, therefore, was certainly not a mode to which he was partial, as his absence would be necessary, but at present he saw no other. But, there were some here of opinion that the examination of this oral testimony would not last long—perhaps not beyond two or three days; but if, contrary to expectation, it should last long, then he did not see any mode that could answer the purpose, except this vigorous prosecution of the business, which must be conducted in the absence of many members who would wish to be present. There might also be another objection to this point of form. But, however, we had only now to proceed with the evidence for two or three days; and if it was likely to go to any length, then it would be necessary to adopt some new and extraordinary course; for he felt that it was necessary, in justice to the accuser and the accused, that the house should come to some decision this session. The hon. gent. who conducted this affair, must feel delay extremely unpleasant, though he certainly was not responsible for the delays of the house of commons; and, on the other hand, it would be dreadful to keep the accused and his friends in suspence. He thought, therefore, that we should begin directly, and proceed with as much dispatch as the forms of the house would allow.

On the motion of Mr. Paull, the house then resolved itself into a committee, to consider of the charge, lord Folkestone in the chair. The chairman first desired the serjeant to call lord Teignmouth. Mr. Paull then said a few words, which we could not distinctly hear, relative to the introduction of a short-hand writer. The Speaker said, that pursuant to the practice of the house, it was not usual to make a motion on the subject; but the clerk on an understanding, would do his duty,—Lord Teignmouth then having appeared at the inside of the bar, the chairman said, "my lord, there is a chair for your lordship to repose on, if you think proper."

Mr. *Paull* immediately rose, and proceeded to interrogate his lordship with respect to transactions in India, from the period of his appointment to the post of governor-general. A question being put to the noble lord, with respect to the opinion he entertained of certain treaties, which had been entered into with the native princes,

Mr. *Garrow* rose, and said, that whatever questions were asked should merely relate to facts. He apprehended that the opinion of the noble lord, with regard to written documents, could not, with propriety, be asked; as the opinion the house should entertain, would be best known from the treaties themselves.

Mr. *Paull* said, if he was not allowed to put the question, a part of his charge must remain without proof.

Mr. *Garrow* said, the only mode the hon. gent. could pursue, was first to prove the fact, and then to produce the treaty, to show in what manner it was broken.

Mr. *Johnstone* did not think the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) would find himself in any difficulty, as he could ask whether any demand was made on the Vizier, in consequence of additional troops?

Mr. *Paull* then proceeded with the examination. Upon the question; "if the nabob had made a forcible representation of the conduct of the resident (Mr. Cherry), for improper interference, would your lordship have thought yourself justified in continuing him at Lucknow?" Lord Teignmouth was about to read, from a paper which he held in his hand; when

Lord *Temple* begged the noble witness might withdraw. He then submitted to the house, whether it was proper the noble lord should read his reply from papers, which were already before the committee? or whether it would not be better, to prevent the house from having garbled extracts from them enforced upon their attention, and to save time, that the witness should say at once, that the answer was to be found in the papers?

Mr. *Francis* said, he thought also that the reading of papers was anomalous, and that it was not the practice, in such cases as this, for the witnesses to refer to papers, for any purpose beyond that of refreshing their memories.

Mr. *Rose* considered it improper that the noble lord should be interrogated as to his opinion upon any point, and thought that the testimony ought to be confined to matter of fact.

Mr. *Paull* said, the practice of reading from papers had been invariably pursued during the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, and the noble lord was merely referring to memorandums which he held in his hand, for his individual use.

Mr. *Garrow* could not conceive what the opinion of the noble witness, asked for in the interrogatory, could have to do with the malversation charged against the governor-general of India. He hardly knew to what extent that house felt itself privileged to make such inquiries in a case of the nature of that before them; but, certainly, in any other place, the rules of evidence would not permit an inquiry as to the opinion of the witness.

Dr. *Laurence* told the hon. and learned gent. that, in the proceedings before this house, strict legal evidence was not required, as nothing could be more different than the situation of the house of commons in search of information, and that of a court of law. Would not the hon. gent. in the situation of an attorney-general, have been able, even in a court of justice, to put a question that should *lead* to legal evidence? Opinions had been admitted in the examination of witnesses in the case of Mr. Hastings. He also mentioned that lord Hardwicke had ruled that, before the peers, hearsay evidence respecting a conspiracy should be received, with the proviso that only legal evidence should be taken as far as the prisoner (lord Lovat) was concerned. The question, he contended, was strictly in point. If his learned friend had, therefore, been acquainted with the practice of parliament, he would not have made this objection.

Mr. *Garrow* said that he was satisfied with the answer of the learned doctor; for it seemed he had strayed from the courts below to this place, where he found that legal knowledge was totally useless in the examination of witnesses. He thanked the learned doctor for his lecture, and said that it seemed, from his report, that this house had resolved most magnificently to depart from the rules of evidence which had been established by the wisdom of ages for the protection of our lives and liberties. He denied it was possible that hearsay evidence could be received in any British court of justice; and, indeed, the learned doctor seemed to correct himself here; for he here added, that legal evidence only was received as far as the prisoner was concerned.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* observed upon the tone in which the learned gent. had spoken, and said that though he had thanked his learned friend for his lecture, he had not profited by it. Now, he would tell that learned gent. that he had profited by his lecture, and, moreover, that he did not even thank him for it. He had said he had come from the courts below, and from what he had said, one would suppose he thought himself there still. The question was, whether the rules of the courts below applied to parliamentary proceedings? Did the learned gent. mean to say that they did, where the cases were so very different? If he did not mean to say this, he said nothing at all. As to the particular question, opinions might undoubtedly be received in this preliminary enquiry, provided they came from competent persons.

Mr. *Garrow* expressed his surprise at the severity of the language which had been applied to him by the right hon. secretary. He had said, that he should not profit by the lecture which he (Mr. Garrow) had delivered; this was the second time he had ever addressed that house, and if he was deserving of a rebuke, the lecture of the right hon. gent. would certainly be profitable to him; and he could not but thank him for the courtesy and kindness with which it had been given. He was not fencing with the argument of the learned gent. (Dr. Laurence), but would again decidedly express his conviction, that no hearsay evidence could be legally received, to advance the conviction of any man, for a conspiracy or otherwise.

Mr. Francis and lord H. Petty contended that questions as to opinion might be put in such cases as the present, to competent persons; that the object of the house was to gain information, and that the rules of evidence in the lower courts did not apply there. Mr. Rose argued that it was not proper to admit mere opinions, even in parliamentary preliminary enquiries, and said that the house was much obliged to his learned friend for originating the present discussion. Mr. Martin (of Galway), and Mr. Paull, argued in favour of putting the question. Mr. Alexander spoke against putting the question proposed.

Mr. *Wilberforce* thought it perfectly correct to interrogate, with regard to the constitution and practice of the Indian government, a person so competent to answer as the noble lord under examination. At the same time he would recommend to the hon.

examiner to put his questions more in a clear and precise manner, in order that the answers should be decisive, and not left open for various constructions.

Mr. Paull conceived his question as precise as could be desired. After a few words from Mr. Huskisson, the examination was resumed. The scope of the examination related to the system upon which the noble witness acted in the government of India; the course which he would have followed in certain cases, in which marquis Wellesley was concerned; his opinion upon certain acts of that noble marquis; his construction of different treaties, particularly that concluded between the Company and the nabob of Oude, in 1798. Upon the construction of the latter treaty, it was contended by Mr. C. Wynne, sir A. Wellesley and Mr. Wallace, that no question should be proposed to the witness, a copy of the treaty itself being on the table, of which the house could of course form its own judgment, without resorting to the opinion of the witness. Dr. Laurence stated, that a similar question had been put to sir R. Barker, on the trial of Mr. Hastings, and besides that the house had already decided that the witness could be examined as to matters of opinion. The question was accordingly allowed.—Sir A. Wellesley put several questions to the noble lord with regard to the expence of the company's troops employed in the territories of the nabob of Oude, the character of the nabob's own troops, and the disposition of his subjects.—On a question being put by Dr. Laurence, as to whether the nabob vizier was addicted to excessive drinking or not, a good deal of conversation took place. It was at length determined that the question should be asked. The noble lord answered in the affirmative, but added that he always preserved so much decency as not to expose himself in public; he also added that his highness made use of spirituous liquors.—To a question relative to the great estimation in which the turban is held among the Mussulmen, the noble lord, among other things in his answer stated, that he recollected on one occasion, the nabob having changed with him, and put on his lordship's hat, whilst the noble lord himself wore the turban of the nabob.—When the examination was concluded for the day, and the house had resumed, a conversation took place on the subject of the order of the house in proceeding. It appeared to be the understanding of the house at length, that the Speaker should take the chair at an early hour, for the purpose of forwarding private business, and that as soon after 5 o'clock as the members most interested in the case should be ready to hear evidence, that that should take precedence of all other business. It was also understood that the second reading of the training bill was to be postponed; and that it would be impossible to bring on the Farrucabad charge until the next session of parliament.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 19.

[PETITION OF JUDGE FOX.] Lord *Grenville* moved the order of the day for taking into consideration the Petition of the hon. Mr. Justice Fox. The Petition was read by the clerk as follows.

"To the right hon. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled: The Petition of the hon. Luke Fox, one of the justices of his majesty's court of common pleas in Ireland:

"Humbly Sheweth; That the petitioner in the summer of the year 1803, went, as one of the judges of assize, upon the north west circuit in Ireland, where he discharged the duties of his office, to the best of his judgment, according to law, and the solemn obligation of his oath, by which he was bound to do justice indifferently, without respect of persons.—That as long after the conclusion of that circuit as the 31st of May 1804, a petition was presented to your lordships by John Hart, esq. complaining of certain parts of the petitioner's conduct in his situation of judge, at the assizes held at Lifford on the said circuit; and in the month of July 1804, two other petitions, apparently influenced by the example of the said John Hart, were presented to your lordships; one in the name of Wm. Armstrong, and others; and the other in the name of Gerrard Irvine, esq. further complaining of your petitioner's conduct at Inniskillen on the said circuit.—Your petitioner begs leave to inform your lordships, that he received no previous notice, from any person, that it was intended to make his judicial conduct the subject of public complaint; and he was first apprised of the same by the common newspapers, having been at the time occupied by the duties of his office in Dublin; but anxious to rescue his character from any imputation, and deeply sensible of the public injury which must result from permitting charges, however unfounded, to remain suspended over a person appointed to administer justice, your petitioner came forthwith to London, for the purpose of vindicating his character, and taking the necessary steps for his speedy and immediate defence.—That on the 5th July 1804, certain articles of complaint, founded upon the aforesaid petitions, and other matters, were presented to your lordships, and laid upon your table; but parliament was soon afterward prorogued, and your petitioner had to return to the discharge of his functions of a judge, oppressed with the weight and obloquy of a public accusation preferred in his absence, to the highest tribunal in the realm, and precluded from all means of vindicating his character, or defending his conduct, until a future session of parliament, by reason of the complaint against your petitioner not having been brought forward by his accusers, till near the close of the session, when it was impossible to have any effectual proceeding thereon.—Your petitioner respectfully submits to your lordships, that in a business of such serious importance to the administration of public justice, as that of a criminal accusation against one of his majesty's judges, it might reasonably have been expected, that the articles of complaint presented against him would have been framed upon great deliberation, and with scrupulous caution; the more especially from the extremely harsh nature of the charges themselves, and the delicate situation of the person, to whom guilt was thereby imputed;—for all which considerations, the great length of time which had been suffered to elapse, after the conduct complained of was alledged to have taken place, and before any charge was made, had afforded more than sufficient opportunity; notwithstanding which, the said articles were altered in the beginning of next sessions, and particulars of complaint were then presented to your lordships, containing a new charge of a very aggravated nature, which, with several other articles, not fewer than five in number, have been since withdrawn.—That early in the sessions of 1805, a committee of your lordships was appointed, which every peer had a right to attend, to consider of the matter alledged against your petitioner, and of the evidence which might be brought in support of the same; at which time your petitioner was again compelled to forego the discharge of his judicial duties, and to attend upon your lordships for the purpose, as he hoped, of being then allowed to enter upon his defence; but was then prevented a second time from appearing in his own defence, by the nature and constitution of the said committee, at whose proceedings it was not permitted to him, nor to any person employed on his behalf, to be present.—That after a considerable part of the said sessions had been employed in examining into the matters then alledged against your petitioner, and after several witnesses had been examined in support of the charges theretofore preferred against him, to your petitioner's very great surprise, the matter of complaint against him was again altered, new modelled, and changed, by withdrawing several of the particulars of complaint which had been before presented, and most strongly insisted upon as highly criminal, by amending and changing, in material parts, those that were suffered to remain, so as to make them different in their nature and effect, and by introducing then, for the first time, other charges altogether new; by means of which continued fluctuation of complaint, your petitioner was involved in the most cruel perplexity, and became utterly uncertain what the charges might be against which he might ultimately have to defend himself; whilst his character was in the mean time deeply wounded by this apparent multiplicity of charges, thus publicly and solemnly presented to the highest court of judicature in the realm, as grave and solemn matters of just complaint against one of his majesty's judges.—That on the 22nd May 1805, it was moved, that an humble address should be presented to his majesty, to remove your petitioner from his office, grounded upon such new, altered and amended charges; whereupon your lordships ordered, "that your lordships' house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, upon the motion made for an address to be presented to his majesty, to remove your petitioner from his office of judge, and to enter into the facts alledged on the said motion."—That on the 31st May 1805, and on various subsequent days, during the continuance of the last sessions, one of the charges stated by the motion, contained in the petition of Wm. Armstrong and others, was proceeded in at your lordships' bar, when no further progress was made, than to examine the witnesses produced in support of the facts alledged in the said petition; in the course of whose evidence it appeared, that your petitioner's accusers and their witnesses have been all paid the expences incurred by them in prosecuting their complaints, out of the public money.—Your petitioner feels himself bound to state to your lordships, that several of the remaining charges would probably, from the nature of the allegations contained therein, occupy more of your lordships' time than that which has been thus heard in part.—Your petitioner, under these circumstances, feels himself called upon to state most respectfully to your lordships, the many grievous hardships which result to him from proceedings which are novel in their nature, and harassing by their delay—which subject his character to continued public obloquy, which he has had no opportunity to remove or repel, and which are almost ruinous to his private fortune; the pressure of which is the more severely felt by him, inasmuch as the expences of his accusers have been defrayed out the public treasury.—Your petitioner, penetrated by a lively sense of the many difficulties, and hardships, to which he has been subjected, without an imputation on the uprightness or integrity of his conduct, wounded in his personal and judicial feelings, and still more deeply affected by the embarrassment, so long suspended over the administration of justice, at this advanced period of the third session, in which his name has been coupled with parliamentary accusation—Humbly prays your lordships to consider the nature and circumstances of his case, and to make such orders therein as to your lordship's wisdom and justice shall seem meet. And your petitioner will ever pray, &c.

(Signed) LUKE FOX."

Lord *Grenville* then rose and addressed their lordships as follows:—My lords, while your lordships were occupied with so much laudable industry and perseverance in discharging that important duty which devolved on you in consequence of the Articles of Impeachment preferred by the house of commons, it was admitted that it would have been improper, not to say impossible, for your lordships to have said what course you would adopt with respect to the present matter of complaint. The proceedings have hitherto amounted to nothing more than postponement, from time to time, of the order for the attendance of the witnesses; and it was understood that such delay should operate no prejudice to the question on either side, when the period should arrive at which your lordships could enter into its discussion. That period has arrived, and your lordships are now called upon to decide, whether, after the laborious investigation in which you have so recently been engaged, you think it expedient or advantageous that you should enter into a new one, which, from the nature of the charges, and the experience you have had, you must be convinced, cannot fail of proving equally extensive. On this subject I have no hesitation in stating what is my decided opinion. Resting it merely on the advanced period of the session, and the nature of the case, I think we are called upon to come at once to a final determination. But, my lords, I have much and more important objections to the proceeding. It has often been felt by me as an indispensable duty in the course of this proceeding, to state the clear conviction I entertain, strengthened as it has been by every opportunity I have had of examining it, that this proceeding is *ab initio* wrong—that it is carrying on before a court not competent to enquire into it, and that it is in a course in which it cannot be brought to the issue proposed. My lords, this conviction rests on plain and broad considerations, which, the more they are examined, the more they will be found to be the undeniable law of parliament, and from which results this position, "That no criminal complaint can be preferred and proceeded upon in this house." That this house can try criminal matter upon impeachment by the commons, or as a court of appeal, by appeal, or writ of error, I admit; but in no case whatever, with the exception of the maintenance of its own principles and privileges, can it entertain any criminal jurisdiction. In stating this, your lordships must all be aware, I am only stating that which is laid down by all writers on the law of this country, and received by all the authorities in the constitution. Therefore those who maintain there is an exception, ought to think it incumbent on them to produce a new law, which has weakened the force of the old law—a new resolution of parliament, which has weakened the force of a former resolution—a new precedent, which has weakened the force of more ancient precedents. We know, my lords, what was the answer given by lord chief justice Holt, long since the Revolution, upon a complaint being preferred against him, for what was alleged to be the undue exercise of his judicial functions. His answer was, that he was bound to exercise his judicial functions according to law and the best of his judgment, and that his conduct was not liable to be examined before your lordships. In that answer this house acquiesced; thereby establishing a complete conclusive precedent applicable to the present case. Here was a decision where the same question as the present one was brought under consideration, where the person accused was distinguished for his knowledge of the laws of his country, where the subject matter of accusation had recently occurred, where the whole of the circumstances were brought before the house, and where the demurrer to your jurisdiction being thus solemnly made by one of the greatest lawyers of his time, was upon mature consideration admitted by your lordships. When I have said this, it seems to me, my lords, that I have exhausted the whole question. There are no instances, save those which have been condemned, save those cases which gave rise to the condemnation of the principle: no instances, if I remember right, where there has been the least ground of precedent for this house entertaining originally any complaint of a criminal matter. The doctrine for which I contend rests on the general principles of the constitution, on the statute law, on the resolutions of parliament, and on precedent. It rests also on the reason and analogy of the case; on motives of convenience so strong, that if even there was no authority to quote, the argument of convenience, which in a doubtful case might be allowed to prevail, ought unquestionably to prevail in this. My lords, by the constitution of this country, which we have recently been called upon to put in action, the house of commons are the grand inquest of the nation—all crimes are cognizable either in the ordinary courts of justice, or in the high court of parliament; but it is no more competent for any other court of justice to outstep the limits of its constitution, or to entrust to judges the functions of juries, or to juries the functions of judges, than it is for your lordships, as one of the component parts of parliament, to invest and make yourselves, not the judges only, but the accusers. I contend that the house of commons is the grand inquest of the high court of parliament: that it is competent for them alone to bring commoners before your lordships for high crimes and misdemeanors. Even in the case of peers, the inquest is preferred elsewhere, and the bill is removed to your lordships house, in order that you may proceed. Therefore I maintain, that in the present case there is a subversion of this practice. The articles of complaint state what may be said to amount to high crimes and misdemeanors in a judge. Shall not, then, a judge be entitled, in the execution of his office, to the same security as any other individual? I would ask your lordships, whether any thing short of the most positive, clear, and undeniable stream of precedent, ought so to alter the constitution of this house, as to make those matters cognizable by original complaint in the case of a judge, which are not cognizable in the case of any other subject in the country, be the charges against him what they may? I was proceeding, my lords, to refer to the argument of convenience. Nobody can say, that this proceeding can oust the house of commons of their constitutional functions. If it cannot have that effect, let me ask in what situation do you place yourselves, the house of commons, the party in this case, and every other person who may be a party in a similar case, by continuing your endeavours to establish a precedent so destructive of the analogy of all legal proceedings? I will suppose that your lordships proceed to judgment. What is that judgment? It is a motion and address concerning things done, not in your judicial, but in your legislative capacity. After entertaining the complaint of the crime, not upon the suggestion of an individual peer, but of the parties pretending to be aggrieved; after entertaining the complaint of a personal wrong, committed in execution of the office of justice; after entertaining the case in your judicial capacity, when you come to the conclusion, you form yourselves from your judicial into your deliberate capacity, proceed to an address, which is nevertheless to have the effect of the severest judgment; but when you have so done you must communicate your proceedings to the house of commons. The house of commons has hitherto no knowledge of any part of this transaction. If it comes to their knowledge by the communication of your resolution, the house of commons may adopt a certain line of proceeding, of which you cannot divest them. If they think the charges are matter of high crime, they may entertain them as such, and if they are of sufficient importance to be proceeded in, it is their duty to impeach at the bar of this house. Then see in what a situation we stand. Every one of your lordships would be liable to challenge upon the mere fact that you had already decided. I would ask, whether there could be a situation more degrading, more likely to cast scandal on parliament, and more certain of bringing the subjects of the country into irretrievable calamity, than for a man to be called upon to answer a charge before the same judge, who in another stage of the accusation had pronounced him guilty? And yet, if this proceeding goes on, there is no alternative but to admit that horrible inconvenience, or to say, that the act of this house shall prejudice the right of all the commons of England, and deprive them of their undoubted privilege. These are inconveniences which arise, not out of this particular case, but from a proceeding which is contrary to the precedent and resolution of the house—a proceeding for which there is no precedent, but against which there is a precedent of the strongest and most conclusive kind that ever existed. I am now to state what the inconveniences are which result on this particular case; and here let me observe in the little I have to say, that no part of my opinion of the proceedings of this day rests in any manner, or can be in any manner argued, upon what the witnesses have said at the bar. Wherever merely the evidence on one side is heard, it can only be considered as *ex parte* evidence. Whatever therefore may have been sworn, nothing has been proved—nothing is proved till the witnesses on both sides have given their testimony. I wish to have it clearly understood, that no part of the opinion I entertain rests in the smallest degree on the facts I have stated, that I am convinced we are proceeding against the law and the constitution of the country; that we are engaged in a proceeding which will deprive the house of commons of one of its most valuable and important privileges, or bring the whole court of parliament into slander and disrepute. It is not only a suggestion individually by a peer in his place, but it is the complaint of parties stating themselves to be aggrieved. My lords, in every case of wrong, the laws of this country have provided a lawful remedy. In every case of crime, the laws have pointed out a lawful course of prosecution. If it is the intention of any noble lord to argue this case, by saying that we are beginning in a course of deliberate consideration, I answer, that we are proceeding in a case of crime and misdemeanor, and it does not become your lordships, who are not a court of original jurisdiction, to entertain, at the suggestion of parties, either a matter of private wrong, or of crime and misdemeanor, which can only be brought on in the commons. This is a case as clearly excluded, not from your power, perhaps, but from all lawful and prudent exercise of your power, as if your lordships were to decide whether an individual, who was to be tried before another court, had or had not committed murder. You are called to try that which is matter of trial in the court below, which may eventually be brought here, and therefore ought not to be prejudiced. If it be incompetent for this house to entertain the complaints of private parties, how much more strongly ought prudence to induce you to adhere, with the most scrupulous attention, to the rule for which I am contending, especially where the party aggrieved is in the situation of an officer or at least of a person exercising functions in the court. If you once open the door to this question, I ask your lordships, whether other subjects of the country will not think themselves entitled to the same sort of redress as Mr. Armstrong, one of the petitioners in this case? How will you henceforth shut your doors against any person, who, instead of prosecuting his complaint in the ordinary way, shall come to your lordships and say, that the judge of the last assizes decided a cause against him, or that he made some observations reflecting upon his character as one of the jury? He might say, I know other modes of redress are open to me, but I prefer coming to the bar of this house, to desire your lordships to investigate all these matters, and to go into the whole trial of John Nokes and Thomas Styles. Where can the line be drawn between the personal grievance of any man, by Mr. justice Fox in Ireland, or the grievance of any person in this country, who may think proper to quarrel with the verdict of the judge the next summer assizes? See also in what a situation you will place the judges. Against all other modes of proceeding, they have their protection. They know the confidence which the law reposes in persons invested with the judicial character. They know the power the law gives them, and the high responsibility attached to them; but they are not prepared to know that every time they give their opinions, or deliver a charge to a Grand Jury, which may happen to be disapproved, they are subject to be brought before this house to defend themselves by counsel, and to be obliged to produce evidence to satisfy your lordships that their opinions were right. Even if they ultimately succeed they will be certain of undergoing an ordeal of at least three, and perhaps of seven or fourteen years. I cannot conceive a principle more injurous to the administration of justice, or more dangerous to the independence of the judges. You leave it to the pleasure of every person to complain of a judge whenever he may think proper. Your lordships, as a branch of the legislature, have said, that there shall be no reduction from the salaries of the judges; that they shall not even pay towards the exigencies of the government; yet though you determine that neither the crown or parliament shall curtail them, you allow the worst individual of the country, whose conduct may have subjected him to the animadversion of a judge, to do what will produce the same effect. By suffering him to bring his complaint to the bar of this house, it is in his power to amerce a judge to the amount of his whole salary, and to deprive him of the recompence of his labours for the public. This is not a case in which you will have to pronounce upon your honour, but you are to exercise an extraordinary power, stated to be given you by an act of parliament. With respect to the act of parliament, it has been said, that unless you admit the power of the house of lords, there is no clause in the act by which you can give effect to the clauses for the removal of the judges. In my opinion there is a way by which the clause may be satisfied, without drawing from it by a side wind a conclusion in favour of the authority exercised by your lordships. There are many other cases, with regard to which matters may arise for the exercise of the discretion of the house, without the necessity of your lordships deciding originally. A judge may be in a situation of notorious incapacity from age, and yet it may happen, that through the peevishness natural to age, or ill humour, or some other cause, he may wish to adhere to his situation, after he has been, in the opinion of all mankind, rendered unfit for its duties. That this would be a painful necessity for the interference of parliament, no one could doubt, but it would be a case in which some mode would be devised to recompence the person removed—there would be every wish on the part of this house to afford consolation to a person arrived at such an age. Another case may be supposed. It would be, where a judge had been convicted elsewhere—liable to the same equal laws which he administered to others, but of which a proceeding of this kind would deprive him—having the benefit of an inquest of a grand jury, and afterwards upon being tried by a court competent to decide, convicted of the matter charged against him; it might be a proper exercise of your lordships functions to say, that although such conviction was not for a misdemeanor that induced the forfeiture of office, yet it rendered him unfit to be continued in the exercise of the judicial functions. Having had the benefit of a trial by jury, he would, after conviction, be a fit object for the discretionary exercise of the power of this house to advise his majesty to remove him from a situation which he could no longer fill with propriety. That it would be well to satisfy every clause in an act of parliament, I agree; yet I would wish that some should remain unsatisfied rather than you should assume a jurisdiction so inconvenient to exercise, and so perilous to the subjects of this realm. One thing remains to be said. Suppose you were now called on to consider only the question of expediency. We have arrived, by no want of diligence on the part of this house, at a period of the session in which no man can lay his hand on his heart, and say, that whatever may be your desire, such an attendance can be procured as every man would wish to see upon such an occasion. When you are called upon to arraign an individual, and that individual a judge, every one must be anxious that the attendance should be as full as possible. It is therefore I conceive utterly impossible that this proceeding can go on in the present session of parliament. Then the question is, whether the proceeding, being necessarily, by no fault of your lordships, postponed to a period of the sessions in which it cannot be proceeded in, shall it be kept hanging over the head of the party, and that party a judge, who, it is not pretended, ought to be divested of his office till a final hearing? Let me ask your lordships, whether it must not be detrimental to the country to continue a judge in such a state of suspence! Should he, who is in the constant course of administering justice to others, and arraigning others, be at the same time arraigned himself before your lordships as a criminal? I do conceive that no expediency can justify the hardship to the individual, and the inconvenience to this house. I heartily wish the matter had never been mentioned. If my poor voice had been heard it never would. You are entertaining a proceeding which I consider unlawful, and shall feel it my duty to take every opportunity of condemning. I am the more called on to do so, when I think there is not the slightest ground of expediency. The same course which in this case is illegal, is inconvenient and inexpedient, and in all its effects most destructive of that object which your lordships can only have in view, the securing the due administration of justice to the people of Ireland. Nothing, I am convinced, can tend more to weaken the authority of the law, and to render more prevalent disobedience to the law, than a proceeding of this nature. No man is more desirous than myself that your lordships should discharge the duties you all owe to the united kingdom. No man can be more desirous than myself to provide, that in every part of the united kingdom a strict attention shall be paid on the part of every judicial and executive magistrate to those principles, by which alone any country can be well governed. To govern solely according to law, is the grand secret. It has been shewn by all history, that the only mode by which any part of any dominion can be well administered, is to govern strictly and conscientiously, according to the letter of the law, without admitting of the least deviation. In order to secure this, you must secure respect to those who administer the law; and, in my conscience, I think nothing can be less calculated to secure it than such a proceeding as this is. If any judge has transgressed, the law is open. If he has acted criminally, let him be acted against criminally. It is in that manner we ought to teach the subjects of the country, high and low, that all are on an equal footing. By any other course of proceeding, by any deviation from the settled rule of law, be the arguments of convenience ever so pressing, nothing can result but opinions destructive of all principles of obedience to the law. My lords, it is upon these grounds that I am about to move that the further proceeding be adjourned to this day two months. I do not wish to carry any prejudice to either side, though I should be well prepared to dismiss the subject altogether; yet if I had shaped my motion to that effect, it would imply an opinion. It is for that reason I have moved to adjourn it to a day when this house in all probability will not meet. But I think no man ought to vote for the motion who is not prepared to say that the matter cannot be revived. Other modes may still be open, but this proceeding will be no longer open if the mode I propose is adopted.

The Marquis of *Abercorn* began by observing, that were the house prevailed upon to concur in the motion of the noble lord, they would take a step, he was thoroughly convinced, which the country might have for ever to lament. He contended for the full eligibility of that house to entertain and discuss a complaint preferred on the motion of any of its members, and without reference to what the other house of parliament might do or not. To abandon such a principle, would be to deviate from a line of conduct often acted upon by their forefathers. But the present was not the time for a consideration of that kind, the period was past; on its preferable line of proceeding, the house had repeatedly and solemnly decided, and even confirmed it by a legislative measure at the close of the last session, which authorised the carrying on these proceedings in the present. When he considered what had been already done, the orders repeatedly made for the attendance of witnesses, who had come from distant parts of Ireland, and which implied a pledge of farther proceeding, he was at a loss to reconcile it with a principle of good faith and justice to their fellow-subjects in that part of the United Kingdom. These witnesses came many a weary mile, by sea and land; they were encouraged to come thus far, and felt an assurance that the case would be proceeded with. Were the contrary line adopted, it would not be too much to say it would be both seen and felt. In considering the present momentous question, he felt it incumbent on him to remind their lordships of the circumstances of the case of what it was the learned judge, whose conduct gave rise to the pressent discussion, stood charged, the particulars of his conduct in those respects, and the proceedings at different times adopted in that house, from the time at which the complaint was originally preferred by him, to the present period. The noble marquis then entered into an exposition of the facts and circumstances specified in those articles of charge, which have been long before the house and the publick. He first particularly adverted to the adresses, which he described the learned judge as endeavouring to procure, for the removal of that amiable and excellent nobleman (the earl of Hardwicke) who sat near him, from the vice-royalty of Ireland; a line of conduct, which, in one of his majesty's judges, of all others, he deemed most worthy of reprobation. He next adverted to his conduct in the levy of excessive fines; and referred to some extracts to shew, that in one summer circuit, in three counties only, he levied fines to the amount of 1435l.; when Mr. Justice Osborne, who presided as crown judge, did not deem it necessary to fine any individual a single farthing. On this part of the subject, the levying of excessive fines, including the conduct of the learned judge in question, to Mr. Irwin, then high sheriff of the county of Fermanagh, his lordship expatiated at length, and reprobated the conduct alluded to in strong and animated language, as tending to establish a species of precedent of the worst kind; and one, more than any other, likely to be injurious to the rights, and destructive to the properties, of every description of his majesty's subjects. Considering the difficulty and danger which had for many years attended the fulfilling of civil duties in Ireland, particularly during periods of commotion, when assured security was only to be found by the well-disposed in activity, it was essentially necessary that persons in the exercise of their duties should be protected from oppression, and the hazard of having their well-intended exertions converted to their injury and shame, in a quarter where they were most intitled to commendation and protection. The key stone of the virtue of juries was their independance; and since the days of judge Jefferies, this was the first instance in which that independence had been attempted to be subverted. It was not their own forwardness and presumption, but the constitution of the country that put men forward into the situation of jurymen; and if, in the exercise of their functions and honest opinions, they were to be subjected to indignity, and to have their reputation assailed by a stigma, attempted to be affixed to their names for life, their situation would indeed be lamentable, and the high-prized privilege of Englishmen converted into a curse. The case in question was not one in which the judgments of their minds could be warped by any political or private prejudices. It was a case of murder; and entertaining a doubt, they had followed that maxim, of no mean authority, "better that fifty guilty men should escape, than that one man should suffer unjustly:" Yet, for having returned a verdict of acquittal, they were themselves brought into court, and a sentence of infamy and excommunication passed upon them. The noble marquis next alluded to the case of Mr. Hart, who had been called to the dock, and publicly branded with opprobrium, and a charge of perjury, by the learned judge, from the bench, for having given a character to a prisoner who had served him in the capacity of agent. The case of this gentleman, his lordship said, might have been that of any other gentleman in Ireland, who received his rents through an agent. What became of the boasted rights of the people of this country, that every man was to be considered innocent until proved guilty, if a judge was not only to determine on the guilt of the party before him, but to deter others, by a dread of censure and infamy, from expressing an opinion of his innocence, and of his general character? What would be the situation of the country, if the power of judges was to be exercised uncontrolled? What, if this first application to parliament on such a subject was rejected; or, which was worse, half heard? And what became of the compact of union, to which their lordships had pledged themselves, and to which the Irish people looked for the protection of their lives, liberties, and property? The spirit, patience, perseverance, and zeal they had manifested to stand by those who stood by them, entitled them to have justice purely administered, and to redress, when it was vitiated or denied them. The interest and prosperity of the country at large, at home, and her consequence and splendor abroad, equally required it. If their lordships proceeded in this charge, they would afford a solid assurance to the people of that country, that for private wrongs they had redress at law; and for constitutional wrongs redress by the attention of that house to their application; and would shew, that neither power nor talents, neither dignity nor reverence of situation, was sufficient to protect the possessor from the consequence of guilt and public abuse.

Lord *Eldon* said he should give a most decided negative to this motion. He knew, as well as any man, the importance of preserving the independence of the judges; but there was something equally dangerous with a condition of dependence, and that was, that they should be placed above all law and all controul. He did not see how the enquiry could be dismissed, unless the evidence before the house were erased from the journals. The noble lord, who now sat on the woolsack, was well acquainted with the importance of the "Trial by Jury," and had selected for his motto this distinguishing character of British jurisprudence. What would he say to the repeated violations of this mode of trial, which appeared on the evidence to have been practised by the learned judge whose conduct was the subject of enquiry? The mode in which the examination had proceeded was not open to the objections stated by the noble lord who made the motion. It was perfectly regular, that the houses of lords and commons should jointly address the throne for the removal of an unjust judge; and it would be in the greatest degree indecent, if such an address were not preceded by patient and deliberate inquiry.

The *Lord Chancellor* was extremely sorry, at that late hour, to solicit the attention of their lordships, but he could not avoid making a few observations. When this subject first came before their lordships, he was a member of the commons house of parliament. The learned judge, whose conduct was referred to, had applied to him to appear as counsel, but he had declined all interference, as he understood the object was to remove this high officer from his judicial functions, and that could not be done without the assent of the representative part of the legislature. From this circumstance, and the little expectation he entertained that this subject would so early be submitted to the determination of their lordships, he had not prepared himself by any previous examination of the evidence; but holding the important situation he did, it would be absurd for him to say, that he could form no opinion on the matter now before their lordships, because the merits of it depended on the existing law, and not on the testimony collected for the purpose of this investigation. The noble and learned lord who spoke last had said, that there were indeed parts of the evidence which would attract the particular attention of him who had the honour of then addressing the house, and because he knew his sentiments, and saw upon the carriage which came to the door of their lordships, the motto to be borne with the armorial insignia of the Erskine family through all future generations—that motto was, "Trial by Jury:" although he (the lord chancellor) had been engaged in the hottest times in the defence of that cause, he did not, by the trial by jury, mean to imply any thing distinct and separate from the judge who presided at those trials: it was the trial by judge and jury which attracted his respect and admiration, and he had learnt to direct his veneration to it by an illustrious nobleman (lord Camden) whose sentiments to him were not matter of history, but of personal knowledge, for he was the friend of his youth; and that personage, to the "judicium parium," had added terms expressive of his regard for that valuable part of the constitution of a court, which was immediately concerned in expounding the law referable to the facts before the jury. Since his noble and learned friend had adverted so particularly to him, he would remind him of another circumstance which might lead that noble person to suppose that he (lord Erskine) valued this mode of trial too much to admit any part of it to be impaired. Did any man ever go further than he did, to remind judges of the duties they owed to their country, for which he had been publicly rebuked, but which he returned, he trusted, with honest indignation? It was his pride, that in the course of his professional occupation, he had been honoured with a gown of precedence which did not limit his exertions, but permitted the application of them on many occasions, the recollection of which constituted no inconsiderable portion of the happiness of his life. Feeling as he did, he joined with peculiar fervor with the noble and learned lord, in the sentiment, that judges should not be placed above the law, and be permitted to trample on the right of the subject. The true question in this case was, what was intended by the statute of William, and had Mr. justice Fox, by this misconduct, conduced to the degradation of our free government and constitution? But, whatever might have been his deportment, he was entitled to a fair trial. One of the first principles of British justice in the administration of our penal law is, that the party should be accused, then his case was to be submitted to the grand jury, which was a secret inquest in the first instance, and witnesses were to be examined before them; then, if they saw just cause, he was put upon his trial, and he was judged by 12 impartial persons, who were wholly unacquainted with what had passed upon the inquest; and when he stood at the bar of his country, no man's mouth could be opened but in his presence, no prejudice could be raised which he could not immediately countervail. It was inconsistent with the practice of any court to know any thing of the evidence but in the presence of the party, and that evidence was subjected to his examination. Their lordships were men exalted, enlightened, and learned; but they were still men, and subject to all the infirmities of human nature. All he had known of the mind of man had instructed him how dangerous it was to assume an opinion, unless the party had a cotemporaneous opportunity of taking off the unfavourable impression, and thus the poison was ever accompanied by the antidote. Would their lordships apply these acknowledged principles of our law to the case of the learned judge? Witnesses had been examined at their lordships' bar, their evidence had been registered, no counsel attended, and no cross-examination was admitted. They have said, that this learned judge condescended to bully the jury presented before him. Their lordships had better have fulminated their rage, and have abandoned all the decencies to which they were attached, than proceed to condemn him under such circumstances. How long was this blockade of evidence to remain upon their lordships minds, before the party was to be heard in his defence? What a spectacle had the house exhibited! how anomalous the proceedings! While they were arraigning the judge, what were they doing themselves? Had their lordships not been haranguing one another, inflaming one another, and must not all justice perish for ever, if such were their proceedings? Was it the intention of the house to address the king to remove judge Fox? What was that but the commencement of a judicial proceeding? It was impossible they could stir a step except the commons agreed with them. Suppose, when the address was sent down to them for their concurrence, the commons should say, we chuse to proceed by impeachment, in what a situation would their lordships be? Why, that of having actually prejudged a man upon a collateral point. Were they, who had before condemned him, to try the impeachment? Suppose that Mr. Hart, or any other of the petitioners, were dissatisfied with the decision of their lordships, and thought it proper to apply to the commons, was that house to try a man upon whose case they had pronounced an opinion already, whom they had dismissed from the charge? These were some of the least anomalies into which they would be plunged by a continuance of the proceedings. Were their lordships afraid to trust the ordinary tribunals upon this occasion, to let the guilt or innocence of the honourable judge be decided by a jury upon a scire facias to repeal the patent by which he held his office? The commons have also received petitions upon the subject, but they could do so without any inconsistency, for it was not they who were to judge. There was also another objection, and in his mind a very great one, to proceeding in that house, and that was, that no one could say when the trial was likely to terminate. He had listened with very great pleasure to the admirable speech of the noble marquis, with so much indeed, that if he had not discovered, by looking at his watch, that he had spoken full three hours, he should have conceived, from the excellence of his speech, that he had not occupied more than a quarter of an hour of their lordships' time. If this opening speech, was to consume so much time, what time would be sufficient for the counsel, the examination and cross-examination of evidence, and all the delays that necessarily hang upon judicial proceedings? Their lordships had been just delivered from the jaws of one impeachment, were they to run into the jaws of another? If they were, in the name of God, let the proceedings commence where they ought, that is, in the commons; and let not their lordships prejudge a case which they might probably be called upon, in their judicial capacity, to determine.

Lord *Hawkesbury* did not rise for the purpose of going into the evidence, but meant to confine himself to that part of the question which had relation to the jurisdiction of their lordships. It was necessary to come to a precise knowledge of the principle upon which they were to proceed. One great error appeared to him to pervade the argument of the noble baron who made the motion, and it was, that he seemed to consider their present proceeding as an exercise of the judicial power, when, in fact, they were only exercising that inquisitorial authority with which they were vested by the constitution. No two powers could be more distinct; they might be exercised together without any violation of the equitable principles of our code of judicature. If they were to be restricted from the exertion of the inquisitorial power, because it was possible that the commons might consider the offence which they were enquiring into as fit matter for impeachment, there would be an end at once to any practical employment of it. They could neither address for the removal of a secretary of state, a first lord of the admiralty, or the governor of a colony. Their lordships, he thought, had placed themselves in that situation that they could not recede. They had heard evidence; they had passed a bill to continue the proceedings in the present session. He would enter his protest against quashing the proceedings. He thought it became the house to consider the situation in which they had placed themselves, as well as the situation in which they had placed the learned judge also.

The Earl of *Moira* said, he had been prevented, by his occupations elsewhere, from attending the proceedings; but the first impression on his mind was, that there would be no impropriety or inconvenience in entertaining the subject. However, more mature reflection, as well as the arguments which he had heard offered that night, convinced him that his first opinion was erroneous. The house were in the strange situation of hearing a trial, in which there was no ostensible prosecutor; for the persons who acted in that capacity, from very laudable motives he would admit, sat amongst them as judges. He was clearly of opinion, that the proceedings should have originated in the other house. His lordship quoted the case of judge Cleland, who had been guilty of the same offence imputed to Mr. justice Fox; namely, imposing an exorbitant fine on the county of Essex. But how did the county proceed? Why, they resisted the payment, and so brought the conduct of the judge to legal investigation.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* differed in opinion with the noble lord who had just spoken. He felt, that the inquisitorial power had been properly placed in their hands, and he wished to see it exercised. The commons were, in fact, privy to the proceedings against the learned judge, for they had given their consent to a bill for continuing them.

Lord *Auckland* repeated his former objections to proceeding. From the first time the subject was introduced in the house, he strove, to the utmost of his poor abilities, to point out to their lordships the injustice and inconsistency in which they were about to involve themselves. He thought, from the discussion of that night, that he was likely to see an end of the measure.

The Earl of *Hardwicke* considered the motion as calculated to get rid of the proceeding altogether, and therefore by no means likely to satisfy the feelings of the people of Ireland. There, he was fearful, their lordships' determination would be considered as a denial of justice.

Earl *Spencer* said, nothing had been urged to induce him to alter the opinion which he had so often taken the liberty of offering to their lordships on this subject. He contended, that the effect of the motion would not be to get rid of the proceedings altogether. It was competent for the other house to take it up, and send it up before their lordships, in a regular and constitutional manner.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* thought it would be a great hardship on the learned judge, if he were deprived of an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, and coming to parliament for remuneration of his expences, in case his innocence of the charges should be made manifest.—The house then divided on lord Grenville's motion, for taking the charges into consideration on that day two months, Contents 25; Non-contents 16; Majority 9.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 19.

[IRISH ELECTION BILL.] Sir *John Newport* moved the order of the day for a committee of the whole house on the Irish Election bill. On the question that the Speaker do leave the chair being put

Mr. *Alexander* begged to be informed by the right hon. baronet, whether he proposed to go into the committee pro forma, for the purpose of filling up the blanks, with a view to have the bill afterwards printed, and to allow sufficient time to gentlemen to consider its provisions before they should be called upon to decide upon its merits, or with a view to proceed bona fide with the bill.

Sir *John Newport*, though he had proposed to proceed with the bill, had no objection to go into the committee pro forma, and to allow any reasonable time for the consideration of the measure, but would not consent to any delay that would carry it beyond the present session.

Colonel *Vereker* then rose, and spoke with great warmth of the rapidity with which the right hon. baronet had pressed the bill through the previous stages, while he had declined doing any thing in the present session for remedying those evils which existed in the paper circulation of Ireland. He had no idea of the contents of this bill till very lately, and its object appeared to be to strike a death-blow at every corporation in Ireland. It arose from the right hon. baronet's own experience in a late election. He would not impute sinister or improper motives to the right hon. bart.;

but if the corporation he represented was adverse to his interest, that was no reason why the other corporations of the kingdom should be deprived of their right. He contended, that time should be given them to present petitions and protests against it, and, as that could not be done in the present session, he should move that it be postponed to the next session.

Sir *J. Newport* explained the object of the bill. At present petitioners claiming the rights of freemen in corporations, presented their claims to the mayor, who was an annual officer; and it too often happened, from this and other causes, that their claims were neglected and mislaid for years, and that the freeman was deprived of his just rights, or forced to reclaim them at a great expence. The present bill provided that every claim should be delivered to the town clerk, who was to present it to the mayor within forty-eight hours; and that some decision should be passed upon it within one month after its presentment. It obliged the corporation to proceed to some decision, before they entered on any other election business. Should the claim be rejected by them, and afterwards brought into a court of justice, and decided in favour of the claimant, it provided that he should recover all those expences which he had been put to in pursuing his just rights. This was the more necessary as individuals at present found it ruinous to cope with the weight of a corporation purse. He knew that in one instance 5000l. had been raised on the revenues of a corporation, for supporting the law expences occasioned by these appeals. The present bill called upon the corporations to do nothing but justice, and whatever allusions the honourable member might make to his motives, he trusted the house would do him the justice to believe, that in the exercise of his official duty, he was not actuated by any private or sinister views.

Mr. *S. Bourne* thought the question to be considered was, whether a bill which so much affected the rights of the electors, should be allowed to pass the house in the course of a few days, and before the people of Ireland had time to judge of it? He suggested to the right hon. bart. the propriety of filling up the blanks now, rather than ordering the bill to be printed; and afterwards to let it stand over to the next session of parliament.

Mr. *Alexander* asserted, that in the corporation in Ireland with which he had the most connexion, he never heard of any instance of injustice; he only knew of a discretion which he thought properly vested in the corporations, to judge of the fitness of persons, according to the fairness of their characters.

Mr. *Foster* said, he hoped that on a question which affected so many of the franchise rights of Ireland, the right hon. bart. would not, in the absence of so many Irish members, press a bill now on the 19th, which was only brought in on the 14th of this month. It was a serious thing to impose a penalty of 1000l. on a returning officer, for omission or neglect; and 500l. penalty on him, if he was a revenue officer, and gave a casting vote. If the measure was now persisted in, he should oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair.

Mr. *O'Hara* said, that if the gentlemen opposite wished the bill to be well understood by the corporations in Ireland, the best mode of doing it would be, to have the blanks first filled up in the committee, in which all the objections they proposed might be obviated.

Lord *Temple* thought, that as the objections went merely to the clauses, it would be right to go into the committee, and after they were filled up, he understood that his right hon. friend would consent to defer the report for ten days, during which there would be time to collect the sense of the corporations in Ireland.

Sir *John Newport* said, he should consent to allow foureen days for consideration, after the blanks were filled up; but if he deferred it for twelve months, the consequence might be, that a number of electors stood a chance of being deprived of their franchises.

Colonel *Bagwell* did not think a fortnight, by any means, sufficient to collect the sense of the corporations in the distant parts of Ireland.

Dr. *Laurence* said, that if any modification of the provisions was desirable, that would be done best in a committee.

Mr. *S. Bourne* thought that as there were so many objections to the bill, he should vote against the Speaker's leaving the chair, unles it was agreed that the blanks should be filled up in the committee, and the further consideration of the measure deferred till the next session. That house, he thought, should be careful, and particularly in the absence of so many Irish members, how it interfered in the elective franchises of Ireland, and of Ireland only. Were it even early in the session, he thought 14 days would be insufficient for the consideration of a measure, which involved the elective franchise of the whole of Ireland.—The house then divided on the question for the Speaker's leaving the chair, when there appeared for it 27; Against it 26; Majority 1.—The house then resolved itself into a committee on the bill, Mr. Hobhouse in the chair.

Mr. *Alexander* stated his objections to a measure which affected the rights of all the corporations of Ireland, comprising not less than 300,000 electors. He was called to order by

Dr. *Laurence*, who thought it irregular that he should take that opportunity of entering on the general merits of the bill.

Mr. *Alexander* was again proceeding, when he was interrupted by

Lord *Temple*, who observed, that it was then on the stroke of five o'clock, and that an understanding had last night prevailed, that no other subject should be discussed, till the examination of witnesses on the Charges against the Marquis Wellesley was concluded, and therefore moved 'that the chairman should report progress, and have leave to sit again.'

The *Speaker* said, there was an understanding that all other business should give way to the examination of witnesses.

Colonel *Vereker* considered this interposition as the exercise of ministerial influence.

M. *Foster* remarked, that it was irregular in the noble earl, to take advantage of his speaking to order, for the purpose of making a motion; the noble earl rose either in order or disorder. The house was pressed by the right hon. bart. into this committee, and the clock had not since moved so rapidly, but he might have foreseen 5 o'clock would arrive before the discussion could be over.

Mr. *S. Bourne* expressed his surprise, that the advocates of this bill should propose and press a measure at the same moment, or within a few moments of the time, when they were obliged to propose that progress should be reported, and the chairman have leave to sit again.

Lord *Temple* said, that he would not appeal to the hon. gent. but to the committee at large, whether the understanding was not last night, that the examination of witnesses in lord Wellesley's case, should precede every other discussion? His motion, therefore, was not liable to the invidious remarks made on the other side.—The house then divided on the chairman's reporting progress, when the numbers were, for it, 39; against it, 27; Majority 12.—The chairman then obtained leave to sit again on Monday.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.—OUDE CHARGE.] Mr. *Paull* moved the order of the day, for the house resolving itself into a committee, to take into consideration the Oude charge.

Sir *A. Wellesley* asked what time the hon. gent. thought the further examination of evidence would occupy?

Mr. *Paull* replied, that he expected to close his examination of sir Alured Clarke, major Ouseley, and Mr. Johnstone that night: but he proposed postponing the further evidence till Monday, on account of the absence of some important documents which were not yet before the house.—The house then resolved itself into a committee, lord A. Hamilton in the chair.

Mr. *Paull* expressed a wish, that Mr. Johnstone, as being a member of the house, should be first examined.

Mr. *Johnstone* felt himself placed in rather an aukward situation by being called on as a witness. He had wished to deliver his opinion on the charge as a member of the house, and probably his being called on to give evidence might preclude him from delivering his sentiments.

Mr. *Paull* conceived it absolutely necessary to establish his charge, that the hon. gent. should be examined.

Mr. Johnstone was then examined in his place, for four hours, the tendency of the examination was to shew the state of the revenue and military force of Oude, the moral habits of the nabob Asoph Ul Doulah, and the general instructions given to the British residents at the court of Lucknow.

Sir Alured Clarke was then called to the bar, and examined for a considerable time. On a question being put to him by Mr. Paull, whether he would consider the payment of 500,000l. by the Nabob to the East India Company, above the 70 crore of rupees stipulated in the treaty of 1798, an infraction of that treaty, Sir Alured was ordered to withdraw, and a long discussion ensued.—The question was strenuously opposed by Mr. Wallace, Mr. S. Bourne, Mr. Huskisson, sir A. Wellesley, and other members, upon the ground that as the treaty itself was on the table, the committee could form its own decision upon the subject, and ought not to receive evidence of opinion from any witness. Mr. Paull contended that he was grounded in this question upon the undisputed admission of the house the preceding night. This produced a debate of considerable length, when the committee divided; for the question 16; Against it 46.—Majority 30.

Mr. *Paull* stated that the next question he had to put, was also a question as to opinion, namely, whether if the Bengal army had been marched to the frontier of Oude, with a view to repel the enemy, then marching to attack that territory, the witness thought it would be fair or just, and not contrary to treaty, that the whole expence should be charged to the nabob vizier? but as the committee had decided that night contrary to its own practice the preceding night, he wished to adjourn the further proceeding, in order to re-consider and new-shape the questions he had still to ask, and to give an opportunity for the attendance of other members.

Earl *Temple* opposed the adjournment, and thought the speech of the hon. gent. most unparliamentary, when he proposed to take the sense of the committee to-morrow on a question which had been already decided. The noble lord then made some remarks on the propriety of taking the opinion of witnesses in the manner proposed, which mode of proceeding he deprecated.

Mr. *Hutchinson* was decidedly of opinion that the hon. member had sufficient ground for moving the adjournment. The question of opinion had been fully debated on the examination of lord Teignmouth, the result of which was, that questions of opinion may be put to the witness at the bar. This having been the decision of last night, he was really surprised to hear the point revived in 24 hours afterwards, with a view of departing from what appeared to have been established as the practice for future proceedings in this case.

Mr. *Fox* concurred with the hon gent. that the departure from the practice of parliament sanctioned last night, was a sufficient ground for authorising the hon. member to move an adjournment. It was gravely and solemnly debated last night, whether questions of opinion should or should not be put to witnesses examined at the bar respecting this impeachment? Although several members had spoken in the negative, yet, on the whole, the house had certainly acquiesced in the affirmative, without dividing, or coming to any specific resolution. On this ground, and from a regard to the consistency of the house, he certainly thought the motion for adjournment well founded. After some conversation, both sides of the house came to an understanding, that the question of opinion be put. In consequence of which, sir Alured Clarke was called in, and finally examined.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* said, that in order to the defence of his noble relation against one of the principal charges of profusion and extravagance, it would be materially important to have the testimony of a gentleman, named Salmon, who had been the military auditor at Bengal, and who had formed the estimates upon which the sums in allusion were expended. He therefore called upon the hon. gent. who brought forward those charges, to move that Mr. Salmon be summoned to attend the committee.

Mr. *Paull* thought it very extraordinary, that the hon gentleman should dictate to him what witnesses he should bring forward in support of his charges, which he had no doubt of being able to substantiate.

Sir *A. Wellesley* said, he hoped when the committee should decide upon this part of the case, it would be recollected that the hon. gent. had been called upon, and refused to summon a most competent witness.

Colonel *Wood* said, if the hon. member refused to comply with a claim so fair, the house had the power, and he hoped would, for its own satisfaction, summon Mr. Salmon.—The chairman at length left the chair, and obtained leave to sit again to-morrow. Ordered, upon the motion of colonel Wood, that Mr. Salmon be summoned to attend the committee.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, June 20.

[TORTOLA FREE PORT BILL.] Earl Spencer moved the second reading of the Tortola Free Port bill.

The Duke of *Montrose* expressed his regret at the thin attendance of their lordships on a question which he conceived to be one of the greatest importance. He was at a loss to conceive the reasons upon which the measure was founded. The present board of trade had acted in this instance diametrically opposite to the decision of the board of trade of last year. He had hoped that upon this question the noble lord at the head of the treasury would have attended, but understanding that noble lord was prevented from attending by a slight indisposition, he must request his noble friend (earl Spencer) to act as umpire upon this question between the two boards of trade. The principle upon which the board of trade of last year had acted was clearly this, that in allowing the free importation from foreign islands into one of our own islands, of sugar and coffee, and those articles which our own islands produced, it was impossible afterwards to prevent the importation from thence into this country, of such foreign produce, upon the same terms as the produce of our islands, thereby materially injuring the interests of our own West India islands. This principle applied to the island of Tortola, from whence, if foreign sugar was to be allowed to be imported thither, all the ingenuity of man could not afterwards prevent the ingenuity of man from finding means to import that sugar into this country, under the pretence of its being sugar of the growth of our own islands. The establishment of a free port, according to the provisions of this bill, in the island of Tortola, was therefore, in his opinion, a measure highly impolitic, and a measure which he thought the noble lord at the head of the board of trade could only have been induced to bring forward by the representations of the very ingenious agent of that island. He thought, therefore, that the consideration of the bill had better be postponed for the present session.

Lord *Auckland* defended the bill, which he considered a measure of sound policy. The object of it was to render Tortola a carrying island, and to take from St. Thomas's some part of the carrying trade in the possession of that island, in which a number of British shipping were employed. This was a measure which he conceived would therefore be beneficial to our commerce and our navigation, whilst, with respect to our West India trade, it would not be injured, nor did any of those persons concerned in that trade, or connected with West India interests, whom he was in the daily habit of seeing, make the least complaint, that any such injury was likely to result from it. As to the dangers which the noble duke apprehended, there was an express provision in this bill for the purpose of preventing the importation into this country of foreign sugar, as there was a clause by which no more sugar was to be imported into this country from Tortola than the amount of the average annual produce of that island. This, therefore, negatived all those evil consequences apprehended by the noble duke; as it was not to be supposed that officers employed in the customs of Tortola would grant false documents, when, at the end of the year, on making up the accounts, the fraud must necessarily be discovered, and those guilty of it lose their offices.

Lord *Hawkesbury* supported the arguments urged by the noble duke, and supposed that this measure must have come before the board of trade in the absence of the noble lord (Auckland) opposite, whose accurate knowledge upon the subject forbade the supposition that he had been present when the measure was discussed.

Earl *Spencer* observed that, in his new office of umpire, conferred upon him by the noble duke, he had little difficulty in deciding, as he found that the present board of trade had, in this measure, only followed the example of the former board of trade, by whom an act similar to the present was brought forward, last session, for establishing a free port at Nassau, in the Bahamas. His lordship likewise supported the bill, on grounds similar to those urged by Lord Auckland.—The bill was then read a second time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 20.

[MINUTES.] The Assessed Tax bill, the Irish Mine bill, the Duke of Grafton's Agreement bill, the Prussian Yarn bill, and the Gibraltar and Malta Postage bill, were read a third time, passed, and ordered to the lords.—Lord Temple moved the order of the day for the further consideration of the American Intercourse bill. The house accordingly resolved itself into a committee on the bill, when the amendments proposed on a former night by Mr. Prinsep were adopted, and the bill ordered to be reported to-morrow.—Lord H. Petty moved, that there be laid before the house a copy of the Report of the Comptroller of Army Accounts, with respect to the mode in which the accounts of Mr. Trotter were made up, together with a copy of the Minute of the Board of Treasury thereon; also of two Minutes of the Board of Treasury on the Accounts of Mr. Pierce, Army Clothier for troops on the Continent.—Ordered.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA—MOTION FOR PRINTING THE FIRST CHARGE.] Mr. *Paull* moved that the first article of charge against marquis Wellesley be printed. The printing of this article had formerly been discharged, in consequence of the evidence not being before the house. It was now, in a great measure, produced, and he apprehended the objection on this head could not be supposed longer to exist.

Sir *A. Wellesley* opposed the motion, and observed, that it was pretty extraordinary the hon. gent. should now move for printing this charge, which 3 months ago the house had by its vote ordered to be printed, and afterwards rescinded that vote. The printing at that time, when there was a prospect that the charge might have been taken into consideration in the course of this session, would have been perfectly fair and reasonable, compared with such a measure at this late period of the session, when there was no probability this subject could be taken into consideration, and when the charge, if printed, would not be for the consideration of the members, but for the purpose of going forth to the whole country, as one of the most heavy and criminal charges against his noble relation that ever had been brought against any man in a public situation; when afterwards it would depend entirely upon the discretion of the hon. gent. whether he should move the house to take it into consideration next session or not. He objected to the motion also in point of order, as the hon. gent. had not given any previous notice of such a motion.

Mr. *Paull* did not conceive himself under any necessity of giving such previous notice by the rules and orders of the house, and persisted in his motion. He disclaimed any such motive as that imputed to him by the hon. relative of the noble lord, and said, that he moved for the printing now, because it would be impossible to understand the subject with a view to its consideration, unless members were enabled to compare the evidence since laid on the table with the several particulars of the charge, in order to see how the charge was supported.

The *Speaker* stated that the practice of the house required a notice in every case where opposition to the motion was likely to be made.

Lord *Folkestone* did not look upon the practice of giving notices as an established practice. It certainly was not uniformly enforced. He wished the point to be settled.

The *Speaker* said he had no difficulty in stating, that every annual and ordinary motion of course, also every new motion, where the person at the head of the department to which it applied was present, and did not object, might be made without notice. In all others he conceived, though he was ready to be instructed otherwise by the house, notice of a motion was necessary.

Sir *J. Wrottesley* said, that when this practice began first to prevail, he foresaw the difficulties that would result from it, According to the old rules of parliament, any member was competent to make what motion he pleased, and it could not be withdrawn, if seconded, without the leave of the house. Notices, therefore, were mere matter of agreement; but in this instance, as the motion was objected to, he hoped it would be withdrawn.

Mr. *Rose* said, though there was no standing order to the effect, he wished the practice to continue as laid down by the Speaker.

Mr. *Windham* stated the ancient usage of parliament to be, that motions might be offered without any notice. This usage was even now often applied with advantage. The recent practice, founded upon general convenience, was, certainly, that notice should be given. He was unwilling that any general unqualified rule should be established; but that every case should be left to the sense of the house on its own individual merits.

Lord *Folkestone* observed, that the rule was far from being uniformly observed; for, in a late instance, the house allowed the foreign secretary of state (Mr. Fox) to pass, at the hour of 12 o'clock at night, so important a thing as a Vote of Approbation for the conduct of earl St. Vincent, while at the head of the board of admiralty, without any previous notice.

Mr. *S. Bourne* said, that the vote passed in favour of earl St. Vincent, at midnight, and without any previous notice, was a singular and unprecedented proceeding; and was entering more at large into that subject, when he was interrupted by

The *Speaker*, who observed, that it was neither orderly nor convenient to take this opportunity of entering into the discussion of a former motion.

Mr. *Paull* said, that as there were many instances of motions without notice, he thought his would pass as a matter of course; but having been opposed, he would beg leave to withdraw it, and give notice that he should renew the motion on Tuesday next; which was agreed to.—He next observed, that one of the witnesses necessary to this impeachment (sir J. Craig) was ill, and unable to attend at the bar of the house. He, therefore, conformably to precedents, moved that a committee be appointed to examine him, to draw up questions, and report his answers to the house, which was agreed to, and Mr. Paull, sir A. Wellesley, and Mr. Hobhouse were appointed to be the committee.

Affairs of India—Oude Charge.] Mr. *Paull* moved the order of the day for the house resolving itself into a committee for the further consideration of the Oude Charge against marquis Wellesley.

Lord *Folkestone*, before the house should resolve itself into a committee, wished to call the consideration of the house to a subject which strongly affected his own mind. He thought, that from the great extent of the evidence on both sides, upon those several charges, it would be utterly impossible for members to have sufficiently considered the nature of that evidence, to enable them to come to a deliberate decision upon those charges in the present session. He was of opinion, therefore, that the best way to proceed would be to have the evidence fully gone through in the present session, and that all the documents adduced on both sides should be printed for the use of the members, who, in the course of the recess, would have an opportunity of considering and weighing the testimony maturely, and might come the better prepared, on the meeting of the ensuing session, to give a clear, deliberate, and decided vote on the subject. The hon. gent. who brought forward the charge would be greatly injured by a premature decision of the case. The noble lord would only have the disagreeable feeling of a charge having been made against him which had not been decided, a situation to which all persons in high situations must be aware that they were exposed. But he could not see what injury he could thereby sustain. Every person who read the one part of the evidence would have the curiosity to read the other also; and so no more injury would really be sustained than where the public, even after a decision, were entitled to read the evidence on both sides, and to form their own conclusions.

Mr. *Paull* said, that it would be highly conducive to his own ease, quiet and convenience, that the present charge should be determined during the present session. He, however, declared that he conceived himself as having come under no pledge to conclude the charge during the present session, if the evidence should not have been completely and fully gone through. He was conscious that he had proceeded with a degree of rapidity unexampled in the annals of parliament, of course it could not be imputed to him as blame if the noble marquis found himself placed in an unpleasant situation. He confessed that one of the charges was of a very serious nature, being no less than that of murder. He held in his hand however, a copy of one of the charges against Mr. Hastings, containing an unqualified allegation of a foul and atrocious murder against several gentlemen, and among others against Mr. Hastings. Yet that charge was allowed to lie on the table two years before it was gone into. There all the talents, probably great part of the integrity of the country, were friendly to and carried on the prosecution. Here, though he acknowledged, and should recollect with gratitude to the latest moment of his life, the assistance and countenance he had received from the noble lord (Folkestone) and other members of that house, the load of preparing the charges, and of maturing the evidence in support of them, had, in a great measure, if not altogether, devolved on him. If he had to receive blame on any account, it was for having given advantages against himself. It was not to him but to the noble lord near him (lord Temple) that the delay was imputable, of not having brought the present charge forward upon the 10th instead of the 18th inst. and when the noble lord had mentioned his own intention to bring it forward on the 18th, with a view, as he understood him, to a final decision on that day, feeling, as he did, that such a decision would be impossible on a fair consideration of the whole body of evidence he had to produce, he had declared that he would take no part in the proceeding of the noble lord, and that he never would, until the whole of the documents for which he moved upon each particular charge were laid upon the table, move one inch to the right or left, slower or quicker than suited the perfect convenience of his purpose. But as the consideration of a charge so very important, in houses so very thinly attended, was utterly inconsistent with any possibility of due deliberation, he should probably feel it to be his duty, late as it was in the session, to move for a call of the house, in order to enforce an attendance, as consistent with the decorum of parliamentary proceeding, as with the essence of parliamentary justice. The three charges he had brought forward were undoubtedly charges of very great importance; but there was a fourth charge, not yet brought forward, still more important, and which he could not well bring forward before next sessions, namely that of the expulsion of the Rajah of Sassni, from his territories. He concluded by repeating his most earnest and eager wish for as speedy a decision upon the whole of the charges as was consistent with the due ends of justice.

Lord *Temple* disclaimed having ever expressed a wish or an intention to press the house to a final decision on the subject on any given day.

Here the conversation ended, and the house resolved itself into a committee, and proceeded to the examination of evidence. —Mr. Hobhouse then took the chair, and Mr. Cowper was called in, and examined at the bar on the Oude Charge. It appeared that Mr. Cowper was a member of the supreme council at Bengal, during the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, and the fact sought to be made out from his examination was, how far it consisted with his knowledge that the marquis Wellesley had endeavoured to obtain the entire possession of Oude, and failing in that attempt had contented himself with the half of that territory, in lieu of the sum of money payable by the nabob to the company. Similar objections to questions put for the purpose of learning the witness's construction of the treaty between the nabob and the company, as those made the preceding day, were again urged, and the questions withdrawn. Lord A. Hamilton, Mr. Paull, and Col. Wood, however, maintained that the witness being a member of the council, and one of the parties to the treaty, he must of all others be best qualified to give an opinion as to the fair construction to be put on it. Mr. Hurst asked the witness whether the line of conduct pursued by the marquis of Wellesley was not, on the whole, calculated to promote the British interests in India, and to protect the dominions of the Nabob of Oude? Witness answered 'In the highest degree.'—Sir T. Metcalfe asked whether any other governor the witness had heard of, had more frequently or more confidentially consulted the opinion of the government council than the marquis of Wellesley? The witness answered in the negative. Some further interrogatories were put by Mr. W. Keene, Mr. Paull, and sir W. Young, when the witness withdrew.

Mr. *Hurst* observed that it was a fundamental principle of the law of England, that the accused should be presumed innocent until actually found guilty. Therefore he should feel himself warranted in stating that the noble marquis who was the object of this accusation was innocent, and indeed so far as the evidence had yet gone nothing but his innocence had appeared. But as it was the object of the accuser to establish the guilt of the accused, he would suggest to him the necessity of bringing forward some evidence congenial to his views. This suggestion he thought it his duty to offer merely for the sake of regularity, without having the honour to know either the honourable member who brought forward the accusation, or the noble defendant.

Mr. *Paull* maintained that that part of the charge which he had submitted to the house relative to the noble lord's having declined to resort to the advice of his council upon matters of great public importance as his duty prescribed, was fully proved by the evidence even of the last witness.

Mr. Riley was called in and examined. His statements for the most part went to show that, in the district where he was magistrate, which appeared to be in the ceded provinces, the Zemindars and principle inhabitants, who influenced the mass of the population, were inimical to the British government, in consequence of the introduction of certain regulations, and that they were ripe for revolt. The presence of troops was necessary for the collection of the revenue.—Mr. Beresford, after the witness had been ordered to withdraw, said, that had he not been disinclined to interrupt the business, he would have objected to such questions being put, as they would give information to the enemy.

Major Ouesley was then examined: he had long resided at Lucknow, and was in the habits of intimate acquaintance with the present nabob, in whose employment he is at present. As to his general character he stated, that he was a man of dignified manners, and very princely deportment; that he was well versed in all the literature of the East, and was possessed of an excellent taste in architecture and other arts; and that in private life he was social, and fond of horses, of hunting, and of all field amusements. Notwithstanding the intimate acquaintance that the witness had with him, he never saw any great depression of spirits in him on account of the changes introduced by marquis Wellesley. His cavalcade was not quite so great as that of his predecessor, but it was better appointed. He had now in his stables about 3000 of the finest horses, including about 130 Arabian saddle-horses. He had about 1300 elephants, and in all the other expences of his state he was more sumptuous than before; he went to more expence in building palaces, and furnishing them; and upon the whole, according to his opinion, had had no reason to be dissatisfied with the change. He had, it was true, changed his turban for a while, and suffered his beard to grow, which in that country was considered as a sign of affliction; but since that time he had appeared perfectly reconciled. When Holkar invaded the Dooab he advanced ten lacks of rupees, (about 100,000l.)of his own free will, to enable lord Lake's army to march against him; and there was no less than 400,000l. collected at Lucknow for the same purpose. As to the police that subsisted formerly at Oude, nothing could be worse. It was true, there were but few executions by law, but then it was equally certain, that there was no security either for property or life. The country was infected with banditti, who plundered or murdered those who were not well guarded. As an instance of this, he mentioned Mr. Metcalf, who, having gone on a hunting party from his house, was attacked and maimed by some of those banditti, although he had all the necessary Mahratta passports about him. The nabob himself requested marquis Wellesley to suggest to him some improvement in the police and government of his country; to which the marquis replied, that he would first try, as experiments, on the ceded provinces, what he thought would be adviseable, and that if they answered there, the nabob could adopt them with greater confidence. The tendency of the remainder of the testimony of this witness was to exculpate the noble marquis from the matters charged against him.—Some questions were put to him, which he declined answering, on account of the violation that it appeared to him that this would be of private friendship and confidence. Some of the questions were then withdrawn.—Upon the examination as to the charge of the marquis having kept all Europeans from advising with the nabob during the negotiations, the witness was asked, had not the marquis accused Mr. Treves of advising the nabob contrary to the interests of the company? The witness objected on the ground that the answer might implicate the character of Mr. Treves, who was then out of England, and in the service of the company. This objection was, however, at length, over-ruled; and upon the witness being again asked the question, he submitted another objection, namely, that he had no sort of knowledge except from confidential letters from friends, which he hoped the house would not urge him to disclose.—A long debate took place in the committee respecting this objection, and upon the motion of Mr. Johnstone, it was ordered that the gallery should be cleared. Strangers were not again admitted; but after some further examination of major Ouseley, and of Mr. Johnstone, the chairman had leave to report progress, and to sit again.—At two o'clock on Saturday morning the house adjourned to Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 23.

[MINUTES.] The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages; among these, the West India Auditors' bill was read a third time, and passed: and the Irish Mines, Gibraltar Postage, and Grafton Agreement bills, were read a second time.

[PROTEST AGAINST THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE CASE OF JUDGE FOX.] —Dissentient;—First, Because, although according to the terms of the Resolution, it hath been proposed only to postpone the proceeding in this matter for two months, it hath been avowed by the noble lord who moved it, That the Resolution hath for its object, to put an end to all further investigation into the grounds of the motion made in this house, to address his majesty to remove the judge, touching whose alledged conduct the proceedings have been had in this house.—Secondly, Because it having been questioned in the course of debate, whether this house can legally and constitutionally entertain a motion for an address to remove a judge, on account of alledged misconduct in the execution of his office, before some proceedings have been had respecting the same elsewhere, we feel it incumbent on us to record our opinions, That it is the clear right of this house, according to the provisions of the act of settlement of the 12th and 13th of king William III. to entertain in the first instance, a motion for an address to his majesty for the removal of a judge, provided the facts alledged as the grounds of the address shall be sufficient to justify the proceeding, and shall have been proved to the conviction of the house.—Thirdly, Because, though it is unquestionably of great public importance, that the judges should fully possess the independence intended to be secured to them in their high station, it appears to us not to be necessary for the support of that independence, and on the other hand, that it would be of the most mischievous consequence to concur in a resolution, which, upon the grounds stated for adopting it, has a tendency to prove that the conduct of the judges in the execution of their office, cannot effectually, in the first instance, be brought under the consideration of the house of lords.—Fourthly, Because, we think it not only dangerous to the administration of justice, but injurious to the person whose conduct has been the subject of consideration, to stay the proceedings in a period thereof, where evidence hath been actually received in his presence and hearing, and now remains upon the journals of the house, which, unanswered, seems to us indisputably to prove misconduct of a very serious nature towards a jury, duly discharging their duties and functions according to law.—Fifthly, Because it hath been further alledged, and because proof has been offered to be given in support of such allegations, That the said judge in the exercise of his office, did conduct himself upon the circuit towards a jury at Lifford in a most oppressive manner; that on several occasions in the course of the same circuit, he did impose arbitrary, excessive, and illegal fines; that he did most unwarrantably calumniate the characters of magistrates, and other persons, and in a charge to the grand jury at Longford, did endeavour to bring his majesty's government into hatred and contempt. And it therefore appears to us, to be of the most evil example to refuse to examine the grounds of the above allegations, and to stay the proceedings in that stage of the business in which this resolution has been adopted. (Signed)

ABERCORN,
ELDON, and Others.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 23.

[MINUTES.] Sir J. Newport brought up a bill for enabling his majesty to accept the services of Volunteers from the Irish militia, under certain restrictions, which was read a first time.—Sir J. Newport brought up a bill for regulating the collection of the revenue on spirits in Ireland, which was read a first time.—Sir. J. Newport observing that considerable difficulties existed in the trade between Great Britain and Ireland, which existed from regulations made prior to the union, that were now become useless, gave notice, that at the commencement of the next session he should move for leave to bring in a bill to remove, as far as was practicable, all obstructions to a free commercial intercourse between the two islands.

[IRISH ELECTION BILL.] Sir *J. Newport* moved that the Irish Election bill be committed, with a view, he said, to have the blanks filled up, and to have the bill printed as amended, in order that it might in this state, get into the possession of the public. But he was so convinced of the fitness and the propriety of this bill, and that the more it was considered, the more favourably it would be received, that he would abandon it for the present session, pledging himself to bring in a bill at the commencement of the next session, upon the same principle, and with the same provisions. This he did that there might be no objection as to the point of time and notice, and that no one might say that he took advantage of the influence of his official situation, when he wished the bill to rest entirely on its own merits.

Colonel *Vereker* observed, that in agreeing to the present committal, and to the subsequent postponement of the bill until the next session, he begged not by any means to be understood to consent to the principle. The bill was founded on injustice and an invasion of the chartered rights of all the corporations in Ireland: charters granted at the earliest period of our history, and enjoyed unmolested and unimpaired, until attacked by the hon. baronet. He should exert every means in his power to procure the ready petitions of every part of Ireland against this unjustifiable measure, which so far from being beneficial to Ireland, was, he well knew, intended merely to serve that hon. baronet's purpose in the city of Waterford alone.—The bill then went through a committee; the report was received; the bill ordered to be printed, and to be taken into further consideration on that day two months.

[KING'S MESSAGE RESPECTING GREENWICH HOSPITAL.] Lord *Henry Petty* acquainted the house, that he had a message from his majesty to this house, and he presented the same to the house; and it was read by Mr. Speaker as followeth, viz. "George R. His majesty, having taken "into his serious consideration the expedi-"ency of making more effectual provision "for the support and maintenance of aged, "disabled, and wounded seamen in his ma-"jesty's service, desires the assistance of

" his faithful commons towards attaining so " important an object; and his majesty is " pleased to declare, that for this important " and benevolent object he is disposed to " grant such part of the proceeds of all pro" perty to be hereafter condemned as prize " as to the wisdom of parliament shall seem " expedient, to be applied for the benefit " of the royal hospital for seamen at Green" wich, and to the funds of the chest at " Greenwich, in such manner as shall be " provided by act of parliament. G. R." Resolved, that this house will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take the said message into consideration.

[AUDITORS OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS BILL.] Lord *Henry Petty* rose, in pursuance of the notice which he had formerly given, to submit to the house a plan for the more effectually Auditing of the public Accounts. The house would do him the justice to believe, that after the views which he had stated on a former occasion on this subject, and the sense which he entertained of the magnitude and pressing nature of the evil, no unnecessary delay had taken place in bringing forward this plan, but that every moment had been employed in the investigation of the subject, and providing means for obviating every possible objection. He was glad, however, that he was enabled, notwithstanding the difficulties that stood in the way, to move for this bill before the conclusion of the present session of parliament. Without going over the grounds over which he had formerly travelled, or entering upon statements which had then appeared to convince the house of the necessity of doing something for the purpose of having this mass of accounts audited, he would content himself with laying before the house the basis of the plan which he had in view, and mentioning the amount of the accounts which remained unaudited, with respect to which he had now more full and correct information than he had when he had before occasion to address the house on this point. When this was considered it would be a proof, not, certainly, of the efficacy of the measure which he was about to propose, but undoubtedly of the necessity of doing something. He would afterwards shew that this method was the only one which was likely to be attended with the desired success. The amount of accounts unaudited was greater than he had before stated. The amount of accounts delivered in was above 52 millions; the amount of accounts under examination was 169 millions; the amount of army accounts not delivered in was 209 millions; of navy accounts not delivered in 100,820,000l. which added to 3 millions of unaudited accounts in another department, made a total of about 534 millions of money. That enormous amount of unaudited accounts, it was the object of the present administration, as far as in them lay, to endeavour to audit. He had before mentioned that a great step had before been taken for that purpose, to which an addition had been made last year, which was infinitely better calculated to answer the purpose in view, and which would form a considerable part of the institution that he was now about to submit to the house. He would now state the plan more distinctly. But first he ought to observe, that the two comptrollers of army accounts were to be separated from it entirely, a measure, the expediency of which had been already recognized. After this separation it was intended to consolidate the two existing boards, and to add four commissioners: one of these would be a chairman, with an increase of salary. It was intended that the application of these boards to any particular business relating to the accounts, as occasion might require, should be left in the hands of the treasury, which must be best able to judge how the business ought to be apportioned. At present, however, it was proposed that out of the ten commissioners 4 should be entrusted with the auditing of the current accounts, and these would form the first board. The second board would consist of 3 commissioners, and these would have the charge of those accounts which were now under examination. The third board would also consist of 3 commissioners, whose business it would be to bring up those accounts which were entirely in arrear, and not entered on at all. This was what at present appeared to be the most useful arrangement. At the same time it would be expedient to leave the power with the treasury to alter it as they should see occasion, because the treasury would have the best opportunity of observing how the different boards wrought, and what might be the most effectual mode of carrying speedily forward the great work which must be managed in some manner or other. Whatever errors therefore might occur, the treasury would be enabled to rectify them and to make up in some measure for any defects which might escape the notice of parliament in passing the bill. As the establishment was by this plan undoubtedly considerably increased in the first instance, it was proposed to have the advantages of this increase with as little expence to the public, and with as little additional power to ministers as possible. With this view a provision would be introduced into the bill, by which in no instance in case of a vacancy by death could the loss be supplied till the number was reduced to five, without coming to parliament, and on such occasions the house would have an opportunity of dicussing the necessity for, or the expediency of, the several appointments, and of ascertaining how the work went on. This would afford employment to the ten commissioners till they were reduced to the permanent number, which was six. But in the event of the business getting on faster than was expected, a thing not very likely to occur, there was a provision by which the commons, by address to his majesty, might suppress any of the commissions. However, parliament would have the whole under its own eye. But the great provision respecting the current accounts was, that there should be a compulsion extending to all accountants, by which they must send in their accounts from year to year. He had once some doubts whether this provision could be now introduced, but he had the satisfaction to find, upon examination, that it might be done, and accordingly this provision was introduced into the bill. It was proposed, that within the space of three months from the 31st of December in each year, every accountant should send in an account of his receipts and expenditure for the year preceding, together with the vouchers connected with them; and it was moreover proposed that immediately upon these accounts being given in, an examination should forthwith be entered upon, and a comparison take place between the accounts and the vouchers, so that they should at least be so far examined at the time they were delivered. And also in those cases where officers must, from the necessity of circumstances, examine their accounts at different periods, it was proposed that the accounts should be given in there three months before that period, instead of the three months from the 31st of December, as in other instances. Another part of the bill, though a subordinate one certainly, was to enable the accountants to have their accounts attested wherever they should be, before any of the commissioners of the exchequer, which, as these were spread over the whole country, would be a very great convenience. Another part of the bill he considered as of great importance, and that was the provision by which all those public officers who authorised the expenditure of the public money, should be charged with that expenditure, and made accountable for it. He mentioned the instance of a general officer who in the West Indies during the last war, had authorised the expenditure of 200,000l. By mere accident he had not a commissary with him. If there had been a commissary, as the commissary would expend and the officer would have the controul over him, neither of them could be charged with it. As it happened, however, the officer was responsible, and when that account came to be examined it was disallowed. It was therefore provided, that all who authorised the expenditure of money should be responsible; but at the same time an appeal was allowed them to the exchequer in case they felt themselves aggrieved. It was also provided that when accountants paid in any part of the funds which had been issued to them into the proper office, they should be considered as so far acquitted. There now remained only to state the authority which was to be committed to those commissioners. The nature of this authority was to remain as before, but to be extended over all persons who had the care of stores, &c. all which persons they should be empowered to call before them. In addition to this, it was proposed that the comptrollers of the army should have the power of calling all persons before them who were concerned in the military expenditure of the country, and their powers were to be placed exactly on the same footing as they were when the commission was first created in the reign of queen Anne. These comptrollers were to be the advisers of the treasury in all matters connected with the military expenditure, and in case any persons for whom they called should refuse to appear, which he was told was sometimes the case, they should have the power of imposing a fine on all such persons. There was one thing more which it was incumbent on him to state, and that was, that where the stores were embezzled, a valuation was to be made, and the persons who had the care of those stores were to be charged with the amount according to the valuation. He had now stated the principal particulars of the plan which it was proposed to carry into execuion, for the auditing of the public accounts. If any thing further could be suggested for this great object, it would be thankfully attended to. As to the importance of getting rid of this mass of accounts it was too obvious to require any comment. But as to the patronage that might thus be conferred on the treasury, that was a point which he wished to be thoroughly investigated, as an opinion seemed to be entertained by some that there was a design in this to augment the patronage of the treasury. All he could say at present was, that both his noble friend (Grenville), and he himself, were extremely anxious to avoid any thing that could have the tendency of giving patronage to the treasury, and if there could be any other mode by which the end proposed could be effectually answered, that mode would be gladly adopted. But what scheme could be proposed, that could be equally well calculated to attain the desired object, and yet keep free of the alledged objections, he could not at present possibly conceive. In addition to that he could safely say, that the utmost attention had been paid to the means of limiting that patronage as much as it could be done in consistency with the attainment of the object of the measure. He had stated how the commissioners were to be replaced till they were reduced to five in number; and as to inspectors, for some inspectors there must of necessity be, it was intended to select them entirely on account of their merits, and the selection would be made from the most meritorious commissaries on half-pay, by which means the whole amount of their half-pay would be saved to the public. The examiners would be taken from the clerks now belonging to the boards, and every thing would be done to render the measure as economical and efficacious as possible. With regard to a large class of accounts, he had been told that they were subject to no risk, and that they were only mentioned with a view to swell the list of the commissioners. That some of the accounts were of this description he was by no means disposed to deny; but still the labours must be gone through, and these accounts must be examined. But as to the point of risk, it sometimes happened that there was some risk, where, at first view, there appeared to be none. There were instances of this even in the bank account. He mentioned one instance, in which 700,000*l.* had been issued from the bank to one individual in the West Indies. He had been on a former occasion accused of ignorance on this head, and told that the account of Valentine Jones had no more to do with the bank than it had to do with the hackney-coach office, a comparison which the right hon. gent.'s (Mr. Rose) experience enabled him to make. He would state the particulars of that transaction, and leave the matter to the judgment of the house. In the year 1797 several bills had been drawn on the treasury, which applied to the bank to discharge those bills, and bills to the amount of 1,600,000*l.* were discharged, and when the subsequent loan was made the bank detained the amount. They presented their accounts to the auditors, the latter refused to allow the sum which had been drawn by Mr. Jones, which the bank had also withheld. In 1798 an ex post facto clause was introduced into the loan bill, sanctioning this conduct of the bank, empowering the auditors to admit the account, and making Mr. Valentine Jones insuper on the bank account. This sum, therefore, had something more to do with the bank account than it had to do with the hackney-coach office. He would not accuse the right hon. gent. of ignorance on this subject; he would only call it a sort of want of recollection. Undoubtedly, however, he allowed, that with regard to the far greater part of the bank account there was no risk, and as to the paymaster, he allowed that the paymasters themselves were very honourable persons, yet the persons under them abroad, and in many places at home, might be of a very different description. But, however, he could not go on describing the different shades which might be pointed out on these topics. All that he wished to do was, to show, that great risk was, upon the whole, sustained from the unaudited state of the accounts. Besides this, he had no doubt that considerable sums might be recovered; and, at any rate, the example would be beneficial, and produce a considerable effect on all those who were entrusted with the public money. In this view the measure would be of immense utility. It had been said that the war office particularly required revision. In that he most perfectly agreed, and it was certainly extremely desirable that a new distribution and new regulations could be made in that office. But so many points had come under consideration, that he was not prepared with any measure respecting the war office at present. But this, however, would most certainly be speedily attended to; in the mean time the want of this would not take away from the value of the measure now proposed as far as it went. He pledged himself, however, in the ensuing session, to submit to the house a more efficacious plan for examining the accounts in the war office, for in the war office, after all that had been urged by the right hon. gent. he was convinced that they must be examined. He certainly regretted that he could not bring this plan forward at the present moment, but he would not be deterred from doing that which he could do, because he was unable to do that which he wished to do. Before he sat down he would mention a word or two on the expence of the proposed measure, which had nearly escaped him. By the arrangement now proposed, the ultimate and permanent expence to the country would be 1000l. a year less than it was at present. The present annual expence was 28,000l.; the future permanent annual expence, after the temporary expence had ceased, would be only 27,000l. The additional temporary annual expence would be 14,000l. making the whole of the proposed immediate annual expence 42,000l. The noble lord concluded by moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for consolidating the Boards of Commissioners for auditing the Public Accounts, and for providing more effectual means for examining and auditing the Public Accounts now in arrear."

Mr. *Rose* called the attention of the house to a number of detailed calculations, and contended, that out of the 534 millions only 5 millions, or at most 8 millions, were to be accounted for. The rest were, to all intents and purposes, accounted for as satisfactorily as was possible, though, perhaps, the whole had not passed the commissioners of accounts; and of this 8 millions, the only part upon which investigation could attach, with any hope of recovering a shilling for the public, was about 99,000l. So that the construction of all that expensive system of machinery proposed by the noble lord, of increasing commissioners, accountants, and all the other train of subordinate officers, was, in fact, doing nothing for the public. With respect to the accounts in the West Indies, an act passed in the last year for appointing new commissioners to follow up the enquiry in that quarter, from which commissioners no report had yet been made. In his opinion, therefore, it would have been much more adviseable for the noble lord to have waited for the report of those commissioners, and taken more time to consider and mature his plan, instead of precipitating the country into so much useless and unnecessary expence. Having concluded his observations upon the propositions of the noble lord, whose chief object seemed to be the censure of a former administration, and to create unnecessary patronage, he would now beg leave to advert to some allusions made personally to himself, on a former night, by a noble lord opposite to him (lord Howick), and a right hon. and learned gent (the attorney general), now in his eye. It had been observed that observations from him, tending to condemn the creation of sinecure places, came with a peculiar ill grace; and allusions were made to sinecure places and lucrative appointments which he was supposed to possess. On this point it was necessary to explain to the house the fallacy of such allusions: For the place he held under the administration of his late right hon. friend, as secretary of the treasury, he had resigned a certain, permanent, and lucrative employment producing him 5,400l. a year, arising from fees, to take up a precarious one, which reduced his income to 4,500l. a year; this income the lords of the treasury were afterwards pleased to reduce by a new regulation to 3000l. a year, and upon the former resignation of his right hon. friend, he resigned this without any provision whatever. On the return of his right hon. friend again to office, he accepted of another office, which he again resigned without any provision; and as to the employment which he now held, it was one which had been usually conferred in reversion for a series of five centuries, and was given to him on a similar footing, upon a reversion of two lives, one of which continued six years after he obtained the promise; and the other was, at the time, of his own age, and a life in every respect as good, and as likely to last as his own. This grant was the only favour he ever asked for himself or any of his family, close as were the friendship and intimacy which had for above 17 years subsisted between himself and his late right hon. friend now no more; and he believed that he, in this instance, stood the single exception to all men who had ever preceded him in office, under similar circumstances. The office of secretary of the treasury was after its first reduction, upon further consideration of the lords commissioners, raised to 4,000l. a year; and he was convinced that any man who considered the talents requisite to fill the situation, and the laborious extent of duties it involved, would not consider this salary at all immoderate;

but besides this, it placed the man who held it in such a situation, as that no gentleman filling the office, could save one shilling from the income. He had heard that rumours prevailed without doors respecting the immense emoluments amassed by him, but without deigning to take any notice of such assertions; when, however, such allusions were made within those walls, he felt it his duty to answer, and he trusted that he had now satisfactorily refuted them. When his right hon. friend had formerly retired from office, he believed it was fully in the recollection of the right hon. gent. now a noble lord (Sidmouth) who succeeded him, that he had been earnestly solicited to continue in office, but positively declined it; nor would he act under any other administration than that of his right hon. friend, while he lived; and he could now appeal to the noble lord at the head of the administration, whether he had not repeatedly pressed him to appoint a successor in the department he filled; so far was he from feeling any solicitude to continue in office. The part he had taken in this house since the change of administration, was one which he thought became him. He had vindicated the conduct of his late right hon. friend, and the administration in which he presided, from the censures so continually cast on them by the noble lord and his colleagues: and he could assure the noble lord, that, had it not been for those censures, he would have continued as silent a member since, as he had been before his departure from office.—Leave was then given to bring in the bill.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA—OUDE CHARGE.] Mr. Paull moved the order of the day for a committee of the whole house on the Oude charge; when the house resolved into the committee, Mr. Hawthorne in the chair.—The first witness called was col. Baynes, who had been aid-de camp to general sir J. Craig. He was examined touching the state of the territories of the nabob Vizier, both before and after the treaty of cession, and as to the various military operations whilst he was in India. With respect to the disbanding the troops of the nabob, he had no opportunity of knowing, personally, whether that measure had been resorted to with the consent of the nabob, or executed without his concurrence.—Mr. H. Strachey was next called in. He had filled several situations, such as register, collector, and judge of appeals, and of a criminal court in India. The examination of this gentleman turned upon the general policy of the measures adopted with respect to Oude, and the relative situation of the nabob's provinces, and those of the company, as to disturbances at the time of the cession. On being asked by Mr. Paull his private opinion, as well as what he knew to be the opinion of the natives, with respect to the general policy and justice of the measures of marquis Wellesley's government, both in and out of the company's provinces, he replied, that he had not turned his mind to the subject. An objection was made to the question, so far as it related to the private opinion of the witness, by lord H. Petty, and supported by Mr. G. Johnstone, and other members. Mr. Paull abandoned that part of the question, and the witness, who had been previously ordered to withdraw, on being again brought in, stated an answer to the latter part of the objection, that so far as he knew, some of the natives thought favourably and others unfavourably of the measures.—It was then proposed that capt. Salmon should be called in, and a desultory conversation took place. Mr. Paull and Dr. Laurence contended, that as some of the accounts, with relation to which capt. Salmon was to be examined, had not been, though ordered, yet presented to the house, his examination could not, in the present instance, lead to any practical or substantial effect; and that, as there was reason to expect these accounts would without delay be laid before the house, his examination ought to be deferred till the house should be able to judge what course the examination ought to take relative to these papers. Mr. Hurst, on the contrary, moved, that capt. Salmon should be called in, and was afterwards supported by Mr. Burton, Mr. Halford, Mr. G. Johnstone, and Sir A. Wellesley, on the ground that the evidence of this gentleman was important, with a view to confirm or disprove that part of the charge which accused marquis Wellesley of fabricating fraudulent accounts, with a view to oppress the nabob. They insisted that, as capt. Salmon had prepared the estimates to which this charge related, and filled the high and confidential situation of auditor of military accounts in India, his evidence was materially necessary to enable the committee to decide, whether the fraudulent intention imputed to the marquis Wellesley in this part of the charge, had really been entertained by him, and whether any instructions to that effect had been given by him to capt. Salmon, with respect to the estimates to which the charge referred. After some further conversation, it was agreed that the witness should be called in.—Capt. Salmon was then called in and examined. The tendency of his evidence was, that the charges of the troops furnished to the nabob Vizir were made up in a manner favourable to his highness, and that it was the general instruction of lord Wellesley to make them up on principles rather favourable. He described the military administration of lord Wellesley to be highly economic, inasmuch as it was calculated to support the greatest possible number of men at the least possible expence. It was another question whether so large a force ought to be kept up.—Capt. Salmon's examination being closed, the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, June 24.

[Minutes.] Lord Grenville presented a message from his majesty, relative to encreasing the pay of seamen, similar to that presented yesterday to the commons. His lordship said, he thought it wholly unnecessary to enter into any argument upon the subject, as all their lordships must be convinced of the utility and propriety of the measure. He should, therefore, merely move an address to his majesty, concurring in the object of his majesty's message. The address was agreed to, and ordered to be presented to his majesty by the lords with white staves.—The Earl of Warwick rose to make some observations respecting a system of taxation which he had proposed to the late administration. The more he considered that system, the more he was convinced of its efficacy. Under that conviction, he had also delivered it in to his majesty's present ministers. But he did not perceive that they were disposed to act upon it. Should he, however, fail to receive any communication from them respecting their ideas of the proposed plan, he should deem it his duty to submit it to their lordship's consideration.

[Abolition of the Slave Trade.] The Earl of *Westmoreland* after referring to the petitions which he had presented against the resolutions intended to be proposed respecting the abolition of the Slave Trade, declared it to be his opinion that the parties whom these resolutions might affect, should be heard by their counsel at the bar previous to the resolutions being proposed.

Lord *Grenville* did not conceive this to be the moment for entering into the examination of evidence. When the petitions were first presented, it was competent then for the noble earl to move that counsel be heard; but as that opportunity had not then been taken to make the motion, he could not allow that such question be now started, and mixed with the question fixed for this day's discussion. He should therefore move the order of the day, for taking into consideration the resolutions upon this subject communicated by the commons, and leave it open for any noble lord to make what objections to it he should deem proper.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* said, the resolutions affected such weighty and various interests, that he thought it but justice the parties should be heard by their counsel. He should not, however, press any motion upon the subject.

Lord *Grenville* then moved, that the order of the day be read; which was accordingly done: it was for summoning their lordships, for the consideration of the vote communicated by the commons, at a conference, resolving in effect, that the Slave Trade, being contrary to the principles of humanity, justice, and sound policy, they would, early in the next session of parliament, proceed to the consideration of the abolition of the same, in such way, and at what period, as they shall think most expedient, &c. The Resolution being read by the clerk, the noble lord rose, and observed, that the Resolution their lordships had just heard read, was the determinate result of nearly 20 years discussion and inquiry upon the subject. He rejoiced that the topic had been sifted to the bottom. No pretence, or shadow of argument, could now be urged, that had not again and again been publicly discussed, and every particle of objection repeatedly refuted. The time was come, when no need existed of farther inquiry; and that period, when the voice of justice, and the voice of humanity, equally called upon that house to concur in the Resolution voted by the other house of parliament. The Resolution imported, that the African Slave trade was contrary to the principles of humanity, of justice, and of sound policy. As to the first point, could any man in that house, or in the country, he would ask, raise his voice, and, in his mind and conscience, say, that the slave trade was not contrary to humanity? What was the object of the slave trade? To tear men from the bosom of their families, their country, their friends, wives, brothers, children, from all that was dear to them in society, and in their country. Could any man assert such a practice was not contrary to humanity? Personal freedom was a blessing granted by God, and could not with justice be violated by man. Were their lordships to consider, only for a moment, the manner in which the unhappy objects of the traffic were procured, and which, among other records, appeared, in the evidence, which a right reverend prelate, much to his honour, had so great a share in eliciting, that alone would convince their lordships how the traffic outraged every principle of humanity. A celebrated writer on the subject, who was an advocate for the trade, admits, that the far larger portion of the slaves taken from the coasts of Africa, was procured by the crimes of those who brought them; this acknowledgement, nothing but the innate force of truth and justice could bring such a writer to make. All the natives who now acknowledged the divine precepts of Christianity, or even those who were civilized at all, had relinquished the traffic, as hostile to the first principles of humanity. The traffic, in the first instance, was now confined to the natives of Africa, whose incentive was the consequence of the avarice of those in this country, who still persisted in it. His lordship then glanced at the consideration of the middle passage, the miseries and horrors of which were acknowledged by all, save those whose hearts were steeled against every emotion of humanity. With respect to this, long experience had proved, that no really effectual remedy could apply, but total abolition. No circumstance or situation, on the face of the habitable globe, could exhibit so great a portion of human misery, condensed into such a narrow compass, as did this middle passage. This he had often occasion to expatiate upon; but he trusted their lordships' vote of that night would render the present the last occasion he should have. They would next have to consider the object of this middle passage; which was to tie and shackle the unhappy wretches who survived it, to hopeless bondage and never ending labour, in the burning climate of the West Indies! rising up and laying down, day after day, under the lash of an imperious and unfeeling task master! to those "Hope never comes which comes to all!" The exercise of uncontrouled, arbitrary power, was the never-failing corrupter of the human heart. Notwithstanding all that had been advanced on that part of the subject, the West India planters had not done all in their power to alleviate the sufferings of the slaves; and even if they had, the end could not effectually be obtained. Having concluded this division of his subject, the noble lord proceeded to the consideration of the case, with respect to the principles of justice. With respect to this, he contended that it militated against every principle of distributive justice. It could be no recommendation of that or of any other consideration of outrage, or robbery, to say, that it was lucrative; and, on that ground, a great part of the argument, in favour of the traffic, was rested. What right can any planter in the West Indies, or any merchant in England have to the labour of the inhabitants of Africa? In what code of the law of nations, or in what system of religion, could such a right be founded? The third question, which the Resolution he should move their lordships to concur in, involved, was, whether the trade was consistent with sound policy? On this head, he set out with contending for the broad principle, that it never can be wise or politic in nations to persevere in a course of inhumanity and injustice. Another consideration essentially connected, was the practical principle, that the labour of slaves was not equally valuable with the labour of freemen. On this head, his lordship referred to the authority of a great man (Mr. Pitt) now no more, whose loss this country had every reason to deplore, who had given a great share of his attention to this very interesting and important subject, and whose heart and mind were set upon the great measure of abolition, as all who knew him in private could attest. On no occasion whatever were the great and splendid talents, or the irresistible eloquence of that great man, exerted in a more conspicuous degree, than on this great and interesting subject; and, in the course of his discussions of it, his calculations, with respect to the comparative value of the labour of freemen and slaves, were luminous and convincing. One of the incontrovertible results of these, was, that the expences of procuring the unhappy objects in question, the expences of transporting them, and their maintenance afterwards, comparing all these with the value of the labour actually performed, evinced that this labour was not so profitable, by much, as that of freemen brought to the work in the first instance. In addition to this great and incontrovertible authority, was that of a celebrated writer on the subject, who argued, that the only thing which could preserve the planters from the ruin impending over them, was the abolition of the slave trade. The fresh importations were, upon the whole, regarded as disadvantageous, and chiefly on account of the mortalities. His lordship then adverted to the important consideration of what had happened in St. Domingo, and which, if no other fact or argument could be adduced of the impolicy of continuing the traffic, the consideration of the direful calamities to which he alluded, would suffice. In urging their lordships to concur in the resolution of the Commons, he pointed their attention to the nature and effect of that resolution. To the result of it, they could not, deeming the traffic to be against humanity, justice, and policy, consistently refuse their assent, viz. that they would proceed to the consideration of steps tending to abolish such a traffic, in a way, and at such a period, as should be deemed most expedient; and to this principle he could challenge the acquiescence of every noble lord who was not prepared to say the slave trade ought never to be abolished. Neither did it implicate them to the vote of attempting the immediate abolition, or to any particular mode of accomplishing it, but merely to the principle of total abolition. This consideration, however, should not deter him, strongly as he felt upon the point, from supporting and urging their lordships' compliance with the vote of the commons; as, though he could not attain all the good he wished, he should endeavour to perform all that circumstances offered as practicable. Upon this principle, and on the grounds he had stated, he should move "that their lordships do concur in the Resolution communicated by the commons.

Lord *Hawkesbury* concurred with the noble lord in opinion, that if a trade was carried on, which was contrary to humanity and justice, there could be no question as to its being contrary to sound policy. This however, was not the way in which he viewed this question. It was not upon abstract principles, that the question as to the abolition of the slave trade, ought to be considered, but as to its practical effect, and in this view of the subject, the noble lord had advanced principles in the course of his speech, which he did not venture to sanction in the motion with which he concluded. The same principles upon which the noble lord condemned the slave trade, applied with equal force to the state of slavery itself, but the noble lord would not venture to bring forward any measure founded upon these principles, as applying to the actual state of slavery in the West Indies. This, therefore, shewed the fallacy of bringing forward abstract principles, without at the same time looking to the practical effect. He did not believe that our ceasing to trade to Africa for Negroes, would be of the slightest benefit to the people of that continent, nor did he believe that one slave less would be imported on account of our giving up the trade: the only effect would be, that British capital would be transferred to foreign Islands, that the trade would be transferred to other hands, where the same regulations for ameliorating the condition of the negroes in their passage did not exist, and that thus no benefit would practically result from the measure. Slavery was undoubtedly an evil, and the slave trade was an evil; so, many other evils existed, particularly comparative evils in the state of human society; but it did not follow that every evil was to be abolished, without reference to the practical effect of such abolition, as, in such case, a greater evil might be produced by the sudden change than previously existed. The instance of St. Domingo, adduced by the noble lord, made more against, than for his argument, as the horrid revolution in that island was caused by abstract principles, embodied in the form of legislation in the mother country, without reference to the practical effect, or to the policy of carrying such principles into execution. With respect to the resolution itself, he did not see that it led to any practical conclusion, nor did he think it a right mode of proceeding, to adopt a general resolution, containing an abstract principle respecting the abolition of the slave trade, without having previously considered the practical means by which that trade was to be abolished, or the practical effect which would be thereby produced.

The Bishop of *London* bestowed much praise upon the eloquent speech of the noble lord who had brought this subject forward, agreed entirely in the propriety of the measure now proposed, and expatiated on the injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy of the slave trade. He quoted a variety of authorities from the best books on the subject, and which had been published before it came under parliamentary discussion, from all which he maintained, that the trade ought to be abolished; he maintained also, that the slave trade was not countenanced by any thing in Holy writ, either in the Old or the New Testament. He was a decided friend to the present resolution, as a step towards the much to be wished for abolition of the African slave trade, which had been artfully, by its advocates, blended with the emancipation of the negroes in the West Indies, with which it had no real connection.

The *Lord Chancellor* declared that he never hitherto had taken any share in the discussion of this subject, while a member of the other house, when his opinion was rather adverse to the measure; but having read the evidence, he had good reason to alter that opinion. He had been in the West Indies some years ago, and had seen all the great plantations in Jamaica, and he declared the condition of the slaves was almost uniformly ameliorated, and they were generally treated with kindness, such as he had known a great family in this country use to their ancient domestics. He also had been an eye witness to the trade carried on on the coast of Africa, and although he could not say in what manner they might have been collected in the interior, yet their treatment on the coast, and during the middle passage, was inhuman to a degree, most shocking! Parents were torn from their children, infants snatched from the breast of their mothers, while the unhappy parents were pinioned down in chains to the bottom of the hold of a Guinea ship, frequently surrounded by famine and death. He then adverted to the case of a policy of insurance tried in the court of king's bench, where the slaves, in hopes of liberty, having attacked the crew, were fired upon, and while some were mortally wounded, others were thrown overboard, a prey to the sharks; while those who remained, were mingled with the dead and dying; and in this case, continued the learned lord, a British jury was called on to say how many were lost by death, how many by the perils of the sea, and thus to indemnify the robber against the loss of his plunder; he therefore asked, was this practice consistent with humanity and justice? And as we knew the evil to exist, it was our duty to God, and to our country, which was the morning star that enlightened Europe, and whose boast and glory was to grant liberty and life, and administer humanity and justice to all nations, to remedy that evil; and he had so high an opinion of the planters in those islands, that he was convinced they would go hand in hand with the parliament upon this measure.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* congratulated the noble and learned lord upon the new light which had flashed upon him; but having himself presented the petition against this measure, he would offer a few observations. The question was not between the merchants of Liverpool and the abolitionists, but a great general question, involving the interests of the public at large. This measure called upon the house to pledge itself to libel their ancestors, and calumniate individuals. At this period of the year, he considered it impolitic and improper for government to entertain abstract resolutions upon this subject, which might, although consistent with justice and humanity, be contrary to policy, and vice versa, and should not be brought forward without further evidence, examination, and proof. He quoted Holy Writ, to shew that slavery existed from the beginning of the world to the present day, and was not contrary to the law of nations; and, putting out of the question all that had been sung in ballads, or written in novels, there still was nothing inimical to this practice. He thought the present, being so near the close of the sessions, was not a fit time to try the question, and therefore gave it his decided opposition.

The Bishop of *St. Asaph* replied, that however the Mosaic and other laws might have allowed slavery, under certain restrictions, yet there was no authority whatever authorising the slave trade. The state of slavery was an evil degrading to mankind, and though fed with the choicest viands, and always reclining on a bed of roses, the idea to him was abominable; it was inconsistent with justice and humanity, and contrary to the principles of that religion which taught us to promote and diffuse happiness among our fellow creatures. He, therefore, warmly supported the present motion, hoping it would be the forerunner of the general abolition of that practice.

The Earl of *Suffolk* made a few observations in favour of the measure.

Lord *Holland* considered the arguments, on the other side, wholly misapplied to the question before the house, which was a measure, since he was able to think upon the subject, he always looked upon as inhuman, disgraceful, and degrading to this country; and for these reasons heartily concurred in the motion of his noble friend.

Lord *Sidmouth* declared his sentiments in favour of the general principle of the measure, but opposed the present question on the ground, that he could not reconcile it to himself to have it put upon the journals of that house, that any long established custom of this country was inhuman and unjust, until some certain mode was adopted for the abolition of such a custom.

Earl *Stanhope* expressed much surprise at hearing what fell from the noble lord who last spoke; his arguments were paradoxical, nor had he ever heard so whimsical a reason given in so whimsical a way. The question, whether this was just or unjust, could not be doubted, when it was recollected that whole villages were stripped of their women and children, to supply the rapacity of those brutes in the West Indies.

Earl *Grosvenor* professed himself a warm friend to the abolition of the slave trade. He lamented that the public feeling had been kept so long from being gratified on this subject, and trusted the present administration would meet with no obstacles in the way of carrying their measure for the abolition early in the next session of parliament.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* felt rather alarmed at the consequences the resolutions might produce, but could not help feeling disposed to support them.

Lord *Grenville* did not feel it necessary to trouble the house with any reply; but took occasion to observe, that he should this night make another motion for an address to his majesty, praying he would be graciously pleased to consult with other powers towards the accomplishment of the same end, which would afford another opportunity to those who were anxious again to divide upon this favourite question.—The house then divided on the question of concurring in the resolutions, when there appeared, Contents 41; Non-contents 20.—Majory 21. On returning below the bar, we found that Lord Grenville's motion for an address was carried without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, June 24.

[KING'S MESSAGE RELATING TO GREENWICH HOSPITAL.] Lord *Howick* moved the order of the day for the house going into a committee on his majesty's message of the preceding day. The house having accordingly gone into the said committee, the noble lord stated, that one of the principal objects of his majesty's most gracious message was to recommend to that house, and to assist them in the task of providing for seamen wounded in the service, or when from age they should be unqualified to make any farther exertion for their country, a more adequate allowance than that which they at present had. Gentlemen were not altogether unacquainted, from a perusal of the papers on the table, with what he meant to propose; and the same papers would also go far to establish the points which he should now have to state to the house. The establishment of Chatham chest was some time ago transferred to the chest of Greenwich. Greenwich Hospital itself was exclusively confined to the relief of those wounded in the service. It was his intention now, however, to propose that it be extended to all who were no longer able to serve, and that the allowance should be increased as to both. When he stated that the out-pensions were only 7l. and that they had not been increased since the year 1663, when the very great increase in the expence of living since that time was considered, and the very meritorious nature and immense magnitude to this country of the service performed, were taken into consideration, it would not be thought very extraordinary that some addition should now be proposed. The revenue of the hospital at present amounted to the sum of 126,811l. and the actual expenditure to 114,544l. leaving a surplus revenue of 12,267l. He proposed in the slightest cases of injury, and where the service had not been of long duration, to continue the pension as it now stood, at 7l. and to raise it as circumstances might warrant, to the highest sum, being 1s. a day, or 18l. 5s. per annum. This discretion of judging in what cases the highest pension should be given, he proposed to leave in those hands where he thought it might with the greatest safety be entrusted; he meant the lords of the admiralty.—This he estimated at 17,000l. per annum; and to provide for the deficiency he meant to propose to raise 5 per cent on all prize money and bounty for the capture of ships, as it should become due. In the aid of this intention his majesty had been pleased to signify his pleasure to grant a similar allowance out of the droits of the admiralty. The whole prize money so to be made, it was calculated might amount to 1,250,000l. He did not incline, however, to estimate it at more than 1,000,000l. Five per cent. on this sum amounted to 50,000l. One part of this sum applied to the purposes of the chest, and the remaining two-thirds to the purposes of the hospital, was the manner in which he proposed that it should be divided. One-third, therefore, to be applied to the chest was 16,666l. leaving a surplus on the total revenue in the time of war of about 11,000l. In time of peace it was naturally to be seen there must be a great deficiency. The expence, however, would then be greatly less, and in time of war the surplus to be accumulated would in some measure be providing for the defalcation in time of peace. There were certain revenues too, which it was to be expected would very speedily be greatly encreased, in particular from a rise on the rents of certain farms belonging to the hospital, estimated at 4,000l. per annum additional. There would also, it was computed, be at the end of the present war 200,000l. of forfeited prize money, the interest of which would go to keep down any deficiency. In this way he submitted that any deficiency which might arise could not produce any uncommon apprehension in the mind of the house. In time of war it was obvious there must be a considerable surplus, and in time of peace it was to be hoped the deficiency would not be of an alarming magnitude. The chest was founded in the year 1596, but it was not put on any regular establishment till the following year. Those who received from the hospital were not entitled to get any thing from it. The allowances from the chest were in this manner; for total loss of sight 12l.; for loss of an arm 8l. These he proposed to increase; loss of sight 20l.; loss of an arm 16l,; and so in proportion. This he computed would produce an additional expenditure of 17,000l. a year. The present expenditure of the chest amounted to 46 or 48,000l. a year, and the revenue of it to 63,000l. To provide for the proposed extension there would fall to be added the other two-thirds of the prize money and droits, amounting to 32,000l. leaving a surplus in time of war of 21,000l. though in time of peace there must be a considerable deficiency. He had also to propose a small allowance to the half-pay of masters and of lieutenants. These he did not consider to be acts of liberality, but of strict justice, and they were such as he was convinced the house would not feel inclined to object to. He concluded by moving, that out of all prize money or bounty for the capture of ships of the enemy, the sum of 1l. 13s. 4d. for every 100l. be granted to Greenwich hospital; and that out of all such prize-money, &c. there be granted on each 100l. the sum of 3l. 16s. 8d. to Greenwich chest.—These resolutions were agreed to, and the report ordered to be received the next day.

[GLOBE INSURANCE BILL.] Sir *T. Metcalfe* moved the order of the day, for the second reading of the bill for incorporating the Globe Insurance Company.

Lord *Castlereagh* put it to the gentlemen on the other side of the house, whether, as this bill was likely to give rise to some discussion, it would not be more desirable to put it off to some future day, to make way for the discussion of a more important measure, which was fixed for this day; or if this bill was to go on, that there should be an understanding in the house, that the other discussion should not be brought on at a late hour.

Lord *H. Petty* did not think the discussion of this measure could occupy much time. It was not for him to anticipate what might be the pleasure of the house with respect to calling in the counsel, but he had no difficulty in saying, that if the discussion should be protracted to any length, there would be no objection to put off the other discussion to a more convenient time.—On the question being put, that the bill be now read a second time,

Sir *John Anderson* moved an amendment, that the bill be read a second time this day three months, in which he was supported by sir W. Curtis, Mr. Grenfell, and sir C. Price, on the ground that the bill would be an infringement upon the rights of the London and Royal Exchange Insurance Companies.—Mr. Aldm. Combe, lord H. Petty, Mr. Paull, and Mr. Alexander, supported the second reading, on the ground that a competition was favourable to the public; that the trade and shipping of the country had been vastly increased since the charters had been granted to the companies alluded to; and that other corporations were necessary to meet the accumulation of business, and that this company proposed to contribute 100,000l. to the public, and to invest a capital of 1,000,000l. in the public funds, and without requiring any exclusive privileges. Mr. Paull, too, stated, that above seven millions annually were insured in India for want of corporations in England for effecting insurance, more confidence being placed in companies, than in individual or private insurers.—Mr. Perceval, Mr. Shaw Le Fevre, and Mr. W. Smith, were of opinion that counsel should be heard on the bill, and the matter of the petitions against it, before the house should come to any decision. A division then took place, For the Amendment 20; Against it 74.—Majority 54.—On the motion that counsel should be called in another division took place: for calling in counsel 39; against it 62. The bill was of course read a second time, and ordered to be committed.

[TRAINING BILL.] Mr. Windham moved the order of the day for the further consideration of the report of the committee on the Training bill.

Lord *Castlereagh* was extremely anxious, before this question was further gone into, to come to an understanding on a point which was most material. It was very currently reported, that the only object of the right hon. secretary in the present bill, was to incorporate his own ideas with the act already in existence; but when it should have passed, to have it, like that act, unexecuted, unless some particular emergency should arise. If that were true, he should have little objection to allow the bill to proceed. It was certainly most material to the discussion, to be informed whether the bill, if passed as it now stood, was to be executed or not.

Mr. *Windham* said, this was the first time he had heard of any doubt that the measure was to be carried into execution. It was then ordered that the report be now taken into further consideration. It was then moved that the bill be recommitted.

Colonel *Bagwell* rose for the purpose of opposing the bill. He was willing to do justice to the purity of the intentions of the right hon. gent.; but he would contend, that he had been most unfortunate in the application of the means which the country had placed in his hands and those of his colleagues. Every measure he had proposed, so far from increasing our force, had an opposite tendency. One of the first of his measures was to get rid of an act which produced annually 18,000 men in the army; and for what?—for an experiment. The plan introduced appeared to him to be principally for the purpose of counteracting the excellent system laid down by the former government, and to manifest his adherence to opinions expressed, he would not say in a moment of factious, but certainly of pointed opposition. With respect to the constitutionality of the measure, he did not think that the ingenuity of the right hon. proposer, great as it was known to be, would be able to establish that. But he would be glad to learn how the principles of the constitution could be said to be preserved, if so large a proportion of the population were to be subjected to the operation of the mutiny bill; to be marched from one end of the kingdom to the other, and subjected to all the privations, restrictions, and subordination, that men who had made a military life their choice, were generally liable to. The bill appeared to him to be one of the greatest infringements upon the liberties of Englishmen that had ever been attempted.

Sir *James Pulteney* stated, that he had the greatest confidence in the superiority of a regular army, but it was impossible this country could be defended without having recourse to some other species of force. Our population was not so extensive, or our people so unemployed, as to allow us to raise a large army upon the spur of the occasion. Periods might arrive, when it would be necessary a very large proportion of the people should be ready trained and armed; at the beginning of a war, for instance, when the strength of the enemy's navy might be greater than it was in time of peace, and when the amount of our regular army might be less than it was in time of war. The French army, after the misfortune of general Mack, would never have reached Vienna, if there had been an armed population to obstruct their passage. It was asked, why have recourse to this measure of a general training, when you have a volunteer force ready drilled to your hands? The volunteers, he would admit, were entitled to great praise. He admired their zeal, and in many instances he approved of their discipline; but he would no more trust to voluntary services for the defence of a nation, than he would to voluntary contributions for the support of its finances. He would not enter much into the bill; the execution of it might be attended with difficulties, but he was so attached to the principle, that he would give it a fair trial. There were, however, two or three points on which he wished to say a few words: and, first, as to the unconstitutionality of the measure. He could perceive nothing unconstitutional in that exercise of the prerogative vested in his majesty, or in subjecting a part of the population to temporary inconveniences, to avoid greater calamities. The amount of the number of persons to be trained, was, he understood, to be 200,000 men; a force certainly equal to encounter any danger by which this kingdom would ever be menaced. It was in this way that the French armies were first formed, by incorporating the national guards with the regulars. There was another part of the bill which he also much approved; that which provided for the appointment of proper officers. It would destroy all the ends for which this force was to be called together, if it were to be left in a state of insubordination and confusion. As to the expence, considering the security which would be derived from the possession of such a force, he thought that a subject of very inferior regard. He could, indeed, have wished, that the men might be trained, as it took place in certain parts of the continent, free of expence; but as that was not possible, he thought the advantages more than counterbalanced the expenditure.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* said, that if the bill before the committee was meant to be acted upon, he would not hesitate to pronounce it one of the most obnoxious and oppressive measures that had ever received the sanction of that house. The plan was nothing less than to call out every fourth man in the kingdom capable of bearing arms. According to the old military lists, the persons of that description amounted to 840,000. This was three years ago. The militia service took off 40,000 of them. The volunteers took off about 240,000 more; so that they had to raise 200,000 men out of the residue, not amounting to more than 600,000. Where, he would ask, was the necessity for this most obnoxious measure? Were there not volunteers more than he meant to call out by this bill? The people of England would be led, but they would not be driven, and this was driving them with a vengeance. The expence was not the least of his objections to the bill. The shilling a day would, for the 24 days training, amount to 240,000l. other expences also would be necessary; depots must be constructed, powder and shot purchased; arms provided, officers paid. The etceteras, he was convinced would amount to as much more. This measure professed only to apply to England. What was to be done for Scotland and Ireland? Was the former in such a state of security, that the right hon. secretary did not chuse to meddle with it, and was the latter in that state that he was afraid to meddle with it? He also objected to the bill, because the men who were to be called out under it were not to be under the command of the gentlemen of landed property, their neighbours, and the persons to whom they naturally looked up. As to the popularity of the measure, he could not suppose that a bill which gave government the power to draft and send men to all parts of the kingdom, could have much pretensions in that respect. Did the right hon. secretary expect that it would be easily carried into execution—that there would be no grumbling? The bill, from the perusal he had given it, appeared to him to contain every thing which the right hon. gent. condemned when he sat at a different side of the house from where he was now placed. It contained the reprobated principals of ballot, fine, and substitution. What would be the effect of that clause which went to excuse parishes from the operation of the bill: which turned out a certain number of volunteers; but to encourage such parishes to procure volunteers at any expence? The persons, too, who volunteered, would require excessive pay; seven and six-pence, or perhaps more every day; and thus the right hon. gent. would sanction that principle which he had so often condemned. With respect to officers, he would defy any man, from reading the bill, to determine whether it was to be the serjeant or the constable. But, perhaps, it was meant to give the command to the serjeant, and to convert the latter into something like a provost-marshal. When this plan of starving out the volunteers had been carried into execution, what, he would ask, was to become of the volunteer officers? Were they to be put into the ranks? Was the captain of a volunteer corps to stand in the ranks between his own groom, perhaps, and his father's chimney-sweeper? The right hon. gent. on former occasions had objected to the principle of fines, and yet he had not blushed to introduce them into the present bill. The parishes were to be subject to fines for not raising their quotas, and thust he bill would operate as a measure of finance, which was precisely the objection upon which the opposers of the general defence act most relied. If ministers wanted more force, they knew where to have it; it was by encouraging and cultivating the volunteer system, and not by the introduction of such an inefficient, oppressive, and unconstitutional plan as that contained in the bill. For his own part, his objection to it was so great, that he should not be sorry to see it treated as a bill was once in that house. When a person who then occupied a seat on the bench on which ministers usually sat (he was one of the lords of the admiralty, he believed) brought in a bill of a very unconstitutional nature, relating, as well as he recollected, to some extension of the impress service, Mr. Dunning, who was then a leading member on the opposite side of the house, made an observation to the following effect:—If the bill had been unsupported, he should have contented himself with moving, that it be simply rejected, but circumstanced as it was, he felt it his duty to move that it be thrown over the table.

Sir *W. Milner* could not think the bill was likely to produce so much expence as had been stated. The volunteer system had cost a great deal of money; and in the town which he had the honour to represent, no less than 18,000l. had been subscribed for the volunteers. Although similar exertions had been made all over the country, yet the volunteers had fallen off very much in numbers. He had attended most of the reviews in the neighbourhood of London; and the London volunteers, in the last review before his majesty, had entirely disgraced the appearance that was expected, as no more than 12 or 1500 attended, instead of 10,000 who had attended on a former occasion. He did not conceive that the present bill would at all diminish the number of volunteers; if he did, the measure should not have his support.

Lord *Castlereagh* concurred with an hon. gent. who had spoken early in the debate (Col. Bagwell), in his surprise, that on that night, which was generally understood to be fixed for the final discussion of this bill, the right hon. gent. who had brought it in had not thought proper to explain more fully the nature of his plan. This was more particularly to be lamented, as this project was not only to be made the law of the land, but as it was immediately to be put into execution. When the right hon. gent. made his opening speech upon his intended military plans, early in the session, there was such a contrariety of opinion respecting his intentions, that it required all the abilities of the right hon. gent. and his colleagues, to make it at all understood. As they had hitherto been able to explain it but very imperfectly, it was not too much to have expected on that night, that the right hon. secretary would have condescended to open his new plan fully and explicitly. Whatever might be his opinion of the bill itself, it was not his intention to oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair, in order that it might be taken into consideration. He felt extremely reluctant in appearing to give any opposition to measures which his majesty's ministers declared to be, in their judgment, necessary for the security of the country. If he could at all separate the abstract principle of the bill from the consideration of the time in which it was brought forward, he did not see much to condemn in it. He had himself formerly given his support to a bill nearly similar to the present, which was brought forward by a right hon. friend of his (Mr. Yorke, but under circumstances very different from what now exist. He was however ready to allow, that there was one incidental advantage which might be expected to result from the present bill, and that was, that a considerable number of men would, by the operation of it, be kept in that situation, that the more regular part of our army could easily take advantage of in case of an invasion. He allowed that such a principle was good, if confined to certain limits, but for this object the plan of the right hon. secretary was too comprehensive. The number which was called for in the first instance, 200,000 men, was undoubtedly more than would be wanting to fill up the losses which might be expected in the regulars and the militia; and as the number was greater than was necessary, so the discipline which was to be given to those men, was much less than what would be necessary, in order to make them efficient. Twenty-four days were quite too little to give that degree of discipline which would be necessary, if there were any idea of employing them with the regular troops. He was convinced that a much smaller number than what was proposed by the right hon. secretary would, with a much greater degree of discipline, be rendered more efficient for the purpose of supporting the regular army in case of invasion. The discipline which was to be obtained in 24 days, was so imperfect, that many general officers would hesitate much to employ such men, and would rather go on with their regular battalions, however they might be reduced. If it were true that the exigencies of the country required a considerable addition to our force, he should prefer in many instances the levy-en-masse bill to that which was now proposed. The principle of that bill rested on the undoubted prerogative of the crown, to call upon the services of all liege subjects in the case of invasion; and the only power that was added by that bill, was the power of organizing and training those men who were subjects to this exercise of prerogative; so that, in the case of invasion, the prerogative might be effectually exerted for the defence of the country. But when that bill was passed, the circumstances of the country were very different from what they were at present. At the beginning of the war, in the year 1803, when that bill was passed, the force of the country amounted to 157,000 men, whereas now its effective force, exclusive of volunteers and of artillery, amounts to 249,000. When it was therefore considered, that at the time the levy-en masse act passed, there were few volunteers, and that at present, besides the considerable increase of our more regular military force, there is a very considerable number of volunteers who have arrived to a respectable state of discipline, the house might hesitate in adopting a system which was brought forward avowedly in opposition to the volunteer corps, which were at that time considered of so much importance, that the advantages of the training bill were to be given up, if such a number of volunteers could be procured as were now on foot well disciplined. At the time that the former bill was passed, two great measures were laid before the house, the army of reserve act, and the bill for calling out the supplementary militia; and yet, at that time, although the dangers of the country were much greater than they were at present, when it was put to the deliberative judgment of the house, whether they would prefer a compulsory levy, similar to what was now proposed, or whether they would chuse the service of volunteers, the house almost unanimously concurred with those who were then his majesty's ministers, that if a number of volunteers could be procured, equal to six times the number of the existing militia, the training bill should not be put into execution. Nothing then could be more clear, than that at a time of the greatest danger the volunteer system was decidedly preferred to the system of a general training, similar to that which was the object of the present bill. Not only was the volunteer system preferred, but there was a distinct assurance from his majesty, through the secretaries of state, which was most distinctly understood by the different districts throughout the kingdom, that the training bill would not be carried into execution in any county or district, that produced a number of volunteers equal to the proportion laid down of six times the existing militia. As in the comparative statement our security appeared to be much greater now than when those assurances were originally given, it appeared to him that they were a bar in good faith to the present measure. Even if the policy were undoubted, he must make some observations as to the necessity of the measure at the present time. He considered the present mode as less efficient than that which had formerly been proposed by his right hon. friend. If an additional force were wanted, it appeared to him much better that they should be trained according to the provisions of the levy-en-masse act, than according to the system which was to be introduced by the present bill. Those who were to have been trained by the former act were still to be liable to the exercise of the prerogative, and, in case of invasion, that prerogative would attach to them; whereas, by the present system, the men who had been trained for a year would be disbanded at the end of the year, and could not be called upon to repel an invasion. There was another advantage in the former bill: the men were not only to be trained, but officered, whereas in the present bill, there appeared no provision or regulation for officering them. The training under the former bill was not to be limited to a certain number of days, but to continue until the persons could obtain a proper certificate of being fit to serve. The great objection, however, which occurred to him, was what this new-raised force were to be? If they were to be an officered corps, then where were the officers to be found? It would be absurd to suppose that country gentlemen would be forward to embark in that situation, and he feared that it might be necessary to ballot for the officers as well as for the men. It was impossible that any gentleman could voluntarily chuse the employment of officering for 24 days a number of men collected in this manner; and as soon as these men had completed their year, another set of men would present themselves equally ignorant of the first rudiments of military discipline. This plan, instead of bringing forward a number of men for the defence of the country, did, in fact, (after a little trifling drilling) discharge them from the exercise of the royal prerogative, and in that respect, was much less efficient than the measure of his right hon. friend. If the enemy were to come before they were trained, it appeared as if there was nothing to oppose to them. The measure which was proposed appeared to him not only objectionable in a military point of view, but still more in a financial view. He conceived, that a more efficient military force could be procured for less money. When the former bill required, that those who were subject to the royal prerogatives should be previously organized and trained, it by no means intended that this training should be attended with great expence to the country. It was an object which concerned the safety of those who were liable to be called out, as much as it did the security of the public; for it was evident, that men who should be utterly ignorant of military affairs, when they were called out for service, would be exposed to much more danger than if they had been previously organized and drilled. It certainly was intended, that those men who had no other support but their labour, might claim a shilling a day, when the day of exercise should fall on a day of labour; but it was never intended to give regular pay to men who were called on to learn that which would be necessary for themselves to have learned, previous to the time they might be liable to be called upon by the royal prerogative. The expences of the present measure would be very serious; and he could venture to assert that, for less money, a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand men could be kept up, equal in discipline to what the militia are in time of peace, and which would be applicable to the defence of the country, in case of invasion. If the enemy were really to land in the country, he apprehended more of confusion than strength from the assistance of such a body of men; and he was really afraid, that the country would be completely disgusted by such a system. It appeared to him, that nothing could be worse policy, than to bring a plan forward which would completely disgust the country. It had been said by some, that we should be prepared for a long and arduous contest. He could not say whether this was the present opinion of his majesty's ministers, but he, for his part, considered it as sound doctrine. If this were the fact, nothing could be worse than to disgust the nation generally with the war, and incline the minds of every one to prefer almost any sort of a peace to the continuance of a war, in which the honour and lasting interests of the country were concerned. On the ground of general policy, it appeared to him most extraordinary, that this nation should be advised to adopt such a loose description of force, precisely at the time when all the other nations were giving it up. Whatever might be said of the peasants of the Tyrol and Suabia, he was informed, that they had never been efficient, except against an army which had been routed. He had never heard of an arued peasantry being very effectual against a regular army in full force. However that might be, Austria now appeared to place no dependance on such a description of force, and chose to organize a force resembling as nearly as possible our volunteer corps. The opinion of the French government was also pronounced on the comparative merits of the two systems; for, when Bonaparte was obliged to carry all the regular army of France into Germany, it was not on the peasantry, but it was upon corps similar to the volunteers that he called, and to whom he trusted the defence of the country. The system, however, which was now brought forward, was neither that of an armed peasantry, (for it appeared that the gentlemen on whom this bill was to operate were not to be trusted with the possession of arms), nor was it at all like a volunteer system. This system was not to be acted on without a breach of faith to those counties and districts to whom the royal assurance was given, that if they furnished their quota of volunteers the training act should not be enforced. He could not perceive any necessity for this breach of faith, as the country was infinitely stronger, and its danger from the enemy less, than at the time when the levy-en-masse act was passed. If there really existed any immediate danger, the country would submit to any plan that they could understand for repelling it; but he was really afraid the present plan originated rather from the desire of satisfying the military opinions of the right honourable secretary (Mr. Windham), and for the sake of redeeming that pledge, which he had somewhat indiscreetly given to the house. It did not appear to him, that the measure was at all called for from the relative situation of this country and the enemy.

Mr. *H. Martin* could not conceive how it could with justice be called a wild theory, to discipline for 28 days in the year, those persons who might be called upon to assist the regular army in the event of an invasion. It was too much to call every variation from the established rules, a mere experiment. Every amendment of old acts of parliament, every new act of parliament, might with equal justice be called an experiment. One hon. gent. (Mr. S. Stanhope) seemed to consider that it was a great breach of faith, that those who had subscribed for volunteers should be liable to serve themselves. The present bill, however, would not go farther than the old militia laws, or oblige any one to serve that was past the age of 45. The fines upon the parishes were by no means as severe as under the militia laws, and would only operate, when there was any contumacy in the parish refusing to proceed to the ballot. He was convinced the bill would not at all diminish the number of volunteers; but that, on the contrary, a great number of persons would be enrolled in those corps, in order to exempt them from this service.

Mr. *Matthews* commented on the language uniformly used by the right hon. author of this bill against the volunteers. That language, while the right hon. gent. was in opposition, might be overlooked, as the sentiments of an individual. But now that he might be conceived to speak with the voice of government, his language must, and had created alarm and discontent among that gallant body. In any services which the volunteers might render to the right hon. gent. and his colleagues after such language, well might they exclaim in the terms of the insulted Jew, in the Merchant of Venice, "You spit on me," &c. The plan of the right hon. gent. towards the volunteers must, in his judgment, tend ultimately to disband the volunteer corps. For such as were of the higher orders he would disgust by depriving them of their rank, such as were proud he would offend by talking lightly of their services and efficiency, and such as were of force he would disable from serving by depriving them of their pay.

Sir *W. Young* contended that the measure was perfectly constitutional, as every one must be convinced, who had read the history of the country. He looked on this as a permanent measure, and in that view he thought that the soldiers who would be discharged under a former bill, would be exceedingly useful in being officers for this force. This nation ought not to trust for its defence merely to the opinions and inclinations of individuals, as it must in a great measure do, if the volunteer system alone was depended on for that purpose. Whoever sat on the throne of France after Bonaparte, though a Bourbon, must act and conduct himself as the head of a great military people, and there was no way of meeting this danger from our enemies, but by rendering this nation in some degree military, through the great mass of its population. He did not disapprove of drilling on Sundays, as he thought patriotism a religious duty. It was to the great attention paid to the training of the population, even from the earliest youth of the people, that the recovery of Jersey was owing, after the enemy had entered St. Helier's. The volunteer system would afford the gentleman an opportunity of avoiding being placed between his own groom and his father's chimney-sweeper, a circumstance so much dreaded by an hon. gent. over the way.

Mr. *W. Smith* was of opinion that the volunteers had saved the country, but that the system with respect to them was neither permanent nor intended to be so, and he saw no reason why persons in that situation should be offended, because their assistance was not sought in a way not suited to the nature of a temporary institution. A most singular objection had been made to this new project, because it had not this defect, and was permanent in its application: to him this was not an objection, but a motive for the adoption of it; and the bill enabled his majesty to draw from the robust part of the population, 2 or 300,000 men armed for the national defence. The plan of the military service which was concurrent with this measure, by throwing annually 5 or 10,000 disciplined men into the general mass of the inhabitants subject to this service, would provide the peasantry with instructors, who equally with their knowledge and their example, would contribute to give spirit and method to those levies. By the military education this bill was calculated to give to all orders of the community, in succession, these islands would not only be rendered impregnable, but the measure would preclude every attempt on our shores, by convincing the enemy, that against an armed nation all his efforts must be ineffectual. We should then hear no more of flottillas, no more of invasions; the enemy would say, whatever success we may have in attacking her colonial possessions, Britain is herself invulnerable. What pretence could the noble lord (Castlereagh) have to say that this bill would be afflicting to this country? Could it be afflicting for men in habits of corporeal exertion daily to be collected 28 days in the year, for the purpose of training them to military duty? parliament designed to give no cause of disgust to the volunteers: it only wished to avoid an expence inconsistent with the welfare of the country, and to provide other means not destructive of, but auxiliary to, the system under which arms were put into their hands.

Mr. *Perceval* had waited for a long time to see whether the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) would have given any explanation of his bill, that we might know whether it was intended to operate the destruction of the volunteers, or to form a subsidiary to them—for both objects had been ascribed to it. He considered the measure as unconstitutional and dangerous to our liberties, as a breach of faith on the part of parliament, and a breach of common sense. He ridiculed the idea of neglecting the interest of the present moment, and looking to a period of 7 or 14 years hence, when this force might be officered by discharged soldiers. The object of the measure was to substitute a compulsory system instead of that of the volunteers, which latter was preferable in every point of view, and he thought that the good sense of the volunteers, though he had great confidence in it, would be put to a severe trial. He would read the words of the right hon. gent. from the Parliamentary Debates, published by one who the right hon. secretary himself had said deserved a Golden Statue, and who therefore was not likely to give an unfavourable report of his words.

Mr. *Paull* spoke to order, and said it was irregular to quote from a former debate.

The *Speaker* said, he had always understood that the strict rule of the house was, not to admit such citation of words used in a former debate; but at the same time, this rigid adherence was sometimes not required.

Mr. *Paull*. I say the hon. and learned gent. is manifestly disorderly.

The *Speaker*. When the speaker delivers an opinion, in which the house acquiesces, there is an end of the question.

Mr. *Bathurst*. I must call the attention of the house to the respect due to the chair. The hon. gent. is young, and he may not be aware that there is no fresh appeal after the speaker has laid down the rule, and the house has acquiesced in it.

Mr. *Perceval* said his object was merely to justify the epithet he had applied, and he thought the interference of the hon. gent. wholly unnecessary. It would however be recollected, that the volunteers had been denominated a depository of panic, of which an experienced officer would be glad to be disencumbered, as a prudent wrestler would of the unnecessary raiment by which his muscular action was impeded. He had intimated that no sufficient elucidation had been afforded. Was this complaint well founded? There were 300,000 volunteers, and 200,000 men were to be raised under this act. Yet if the former were to be disbanded, only 200,000 would remain. Was this the intention? What were the expences attending this scheme? What method was to be adopted with regard to the officers over this armed peasantry? To what extent, and in what manner, was this to operate on the population? Nothing of this sort had been explained, and yet the house was called upon to sanction such a project. To the particular clauses of the bill he should have another opportunity to advert; thus much had occurred to him with respect to the general principle, to which he must object, from every notion he could entertain of sound discretion.

Mr. *Bathurst* was surprised at his hon. and learned friend, when he talked of this bill as being opposed to our free constitution, and liberty and justice, and so forth; and not less at the opposition given to this bill by those who supported a former one of the same tendency. If this bill were an infringment on the rights of the people, that was so also; if this were a refuge for the volunteers, that likewise possessed the same character. It was no disparagement to so numerous a body as the volunteers, to suppose that they were not all animated by the ardour of patriotism; every man who had at all attended to the philosophy of the human mind, must be convinced of the variety of feelings by which it was actuated; and to provide against any defection in this useful institution, the new project now recommended was designed. It had been intimated, that there was no necessity for the bill, because the immediate danger was over. Who could look to the posture of Europe at this day, and say the times were not perilous? Was the calamity of the hour only to be regarded, and were we not to look to future exigencies? He admitted that the volunteers had been the salvation of the country, but was no diversion of the accumulated power of France against these islands now to be apprehended? Were we wholly insensible to the vast augmentation of the power of the enemy? Was Bonaparte so diligently employed in making kings, that he never turned his thoughts to unmaking kings? We used to think the wooden walls of old England were sufficient for her defence; wisdom had exploded this prejudice, and we were now to resort to additional means of protection. With this view the object of the bill was not to reduce the volunteers, but to do what was subsidiary to that resource. It was the grossest misconstruction both of the intentions of the right hon. gent. and of parliament, to conclude that the volunteer system was to be abolished. The act to which he had alluded of 1800, said, that if persons would volunteer, the statute should not take effect in the district where the people so far accommodated themselves to the designs of government: they came forward under their own officers, and they were accepted by the crown. Was it to be then said, that because the king had acceded to such proposals, ministers were pledged not to adopt the present measure on the broad ground of political necessity. As to the volunteer bill, this was its auxiliary; so also it was to the regulations for limited service. If the volunteers were better disciplined than the corps under this bill, the terms under which these were engaged were more convenient to the public service: but the great recommendation of the plan was, that it would immediately train a large body of men, and by the succession contrived it would in time instruct in the use of arms the whole population of the empire. It had been said, that danger was to be apprehended from calling out the population of the refuse of the capital. If any such danger really existed, it was easy to avoid it, by not requiring the services of those who were unfit to be entrusted with arms in their hands. All the arguments that were resorted to with reference to the peasantry of the Tyrol, as far as they went, were clearly in favour of the present bill; but a fair comparison, in such a case, could not easily be drawn between the subjects of an arbitrary government and those of a free monarchy. It was said, that to draft the men raised under this bill into the regiments, was obnoxious. In case of invasion the king could order any man to take the field; was it then to be said, that it was improper, under such a contingency, that those levies should be employed where they could be most useful? and was it to be supposed, that on such an occasion the people of this country of right and liberty, would not be anxious to stand forward in the defence of all that was valuable to themselves and their posterity? This bill has been erroneously represented as not recognizing the volunteers, like the former: it said, in the most distinct manner, that if a man be a volunteer, or shall become one, he shall not serve under it: it not only recognized the volunteers, but indicated the wish of the legislature, that their number should be augmented. Some allusion to words used by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), had been irregularly adverted to; but, whatever were the terms employed, looking to the measures of ministers, it was clearly their intention to favour the volunteer system; and with this view, if any were not pleased with the society they met with under the present measure, they might select their own corps of volunteers, and remove the objection. If the volunteers, in the event of invasion, were to be put on garrison duty, how were the ranks to be filled up in the army, after a destructive engagement, more advantageously than by such a resource as was provided by this bill? He would defy any man to discover an expedient that could more effectually answer this end. The island had alone been preserved by the successive measures adopted: this was one of the most valuable, and the enemy would abandon all future hope of subduing our territory, when they saw an armed and disciplined nation ready to present their bodies as a rampart for its defence. It was upon these ground that he approved of this bill, whether he looked at the immediate or the remote effect, and he was sensible that the labourer or the artisan would not in such a pursuit regard the shillings and sixpences he should lose in substracting a few days from his ordinary occupations. He was not at all apprehensive of any jealousies tween the volunteers and these new levies; they were admirably adapted to harmonize with, and assist each other; and with a proper attention to call forth the strength and spirit of the country, he trusted that, under Providence, no human power could endanger our security and independence.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* said, that one of the principal imputations of blame to him urged by the opposers of this measure was, that he had not introduced it to the house or commenced the debate with a speech explanatory of his own views of it at large; but to do this, he must have repeated every speech he had made upon this topic in the course of the last 3 years. Another objection urged against him was, that he had on various occasions undervalued, and treated with contempt, the volunteers, and that this bill was calculated to supersede them altogether. The first part of the charge he utterly denied, and declared it was his wish, often repeated, that the volunteers should continue: and this bill, so far from being calculated, or intended to supersede the volunteer system, had for its object merely to render the volunteers that which they were originally intended to be, according to the principle avowed by those who first proposed their establishment, namely, a body of men serving their country at their own expence. Another objection to this bill was, that its principle was compulsory, and therefore repugnant to the feelings of Englishmen. But gentlemen who used this argument, seemed to forget that there was such a thing existing in this country as a militia force, entirely mustered and recruited upon the same principle, namely, by ballot, which he always understood to be a compulsory principle; and that the army of reserve, and the former training bill, for which those very gentlemen had voted, and who were now so much shocked at the idea of compulsion, were carried on upon the very same compulsory principle of ballot; and without compulsion, and expence, which was another objection to the bill, he should be glad to know how it was possible to have any public force in the country? Another objection to the bill was, that its principle was unjust, oppressive, and a violation of a positive contract entered into by parliament and the country; namely, that if they raised, in the several districts, a certain number of men, that they should be exempt from the operation of a somewhat similar principle under a former bill: but he begged to know how such a contract, entered into under circumstances existing at that moment, was for ever after to tie up the hands of parliament, and prevent them, under any change of circumstances, from adopting measures absolutely necessary to save the country from destruction? Upon the whole, the right hon. secretary contended, that the present bill, so far from going to abolish the volunteer system, went hand in hand with it, and was immediately calculated to keep it from going to pieces: and, in answer to the arguments of gentlemen deduced from his speeches uttered 3 years ago, he asserted that the phrases attributed to him, as in ridicule or contempt to the volunteers, were unfounded or misrepresented.

Mr. *Canning* reserved to himself the privilege of delivering his sentiments upon its principle, upon the report of the committee.—The question was then put, and carried for the committal of the bill, without a division. The house accordingly went into a committee, and the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Thursday.—Adjourned at 2 o'clock on Wednesday morning.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, June 25.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA—FIRST CHARGE AGAINST MARQUIS WELLESLEY.] Mr. Paull moved, that as the evidence of the first charge against marquis Wellesley was on the table, the charge should be printed, in order to afford an opportunity of comparing it with the charge.

Sir *A. Wellesley* opposed the motion, and stated what the house had already done on the subject. The first resolution of the house for printing it had been rescinded next day. The reasons were, that no evidence was then before the house, and also that a charge of such a nature should not be eventually circulated through the country, before the house could take it into consideration. It did not appear that the house would be able to enter into this charge during the present session. He could not, therefore, see any benefit that would arise from printing it, while the character of his noble relative might, in the mean time, receive essential injury.

Lord *A. Hamilton* contended that the house was now in a different situation from what it had been formerly in, when it resolved that the charge should not be printed. It seemed then to be agreed, that the proper time for printing it would be when the evidence was before the house; and now that the principal papers were before them, it was proper that they should be fully enabled to compare the evidence with the charge.

Mr. *Rose* was of opinion, that the house would derive no advantage from printing the charge at present, while the character of the noble lord might receive no trifling injury from its circulation during the recess of parliament.

The Marquis of *Douglas* supported the motion, and took that opportunity of declaring that he saw nothing in the charge but what was supported by the papers before the house.

Mr. *Windham* asked what was the reason for printing papers at all? Was it not for the use of the members? And the more numerous and complicated these papers were, it became the more important that the charge which they were produced to support, should also be printed, that the house might be fully able to compare the one with the other. It had been said, that false impressions would be produced; but he did not see much danger of that. A great deal of evidence had already been produced in defence of the noble lord, and more was on the point of being so; the danger of ex parte representation would therefore be much diminished. The sooner the house had the charge in their hands, and the longer it was in their possession, the better able would they be to come to a proper decision upon it.

Lord *Castlereagh* saw no possible benefit to any one from printing the charge. It would be a source of much hardship to the noble lord to have it printed. Much of the evidence for the defence was not yet before the house.

Lord *H. Petty* thought no inconvience or prejudice could arise to the noble marquis from printing the charge. There was much more reason for not printing the evidence than for not printing the charge when the evidence was printed. The probable delay of the consideration of the charge till the next session was rather a reason for printing it, that gentlemen might make themselves fully masters of the case.

Mr. *Bankes* thought the charge ought not to be printed while the evidence was so imperfectly before the house, and when the charge could not be considered till next session.

Mr. *Grant* observed, that the eyes of India, and of the empire in general, were fixed upon the conduct of the house in this business. With regard to the objections urged against the publication of *ex parte* statements, he was surprised at the quarter from whence they proceeded. For he would ask, whether various papers and *ex parte* statements were not circulated by the friends of the noble marquis, though not among the public, yet among those who were to decide upon the great question to which the motion before the house referred?

Dr. *Laurence* considered the grounds of opposition to this motion as of a most extraordinary nature. The charges against Mr. Hastings had, it was well known, remained on the table and were printed above 18 months before they were taken into consideration; and yet it was now argued, that the charge before the house should not be printed until the shortest possible time before the house should be called on to decide upon it. But no one attempted to argue in this way excepting those who, he had no hesitation in saying, were the avowed friends, supporters, and advocates of the noble marquis; and would the house allow itself to be dictated to by them? If so, there must, of course, be an end to all hopes of justice in the case. He apprehended that if the advice of the noble marquis's connections were attended to, the day of judgement would never come, although, strange to tell, those connections were sometimes heard calling out for a speedy trial. To-night, however, their language was, that it would be absurd to think of going into any of the charges until the next session.

Mr. *W. Pole* pledged himself to this fact, that not one word had been written or printed by marquis Wellesley or his friends relating to the first charge against that noble lord.

Mr. *Sheridan* thought the charge ought not to be printed until all the evidence should be before the house. Nor would this delay be attended with any inconvenience, for he presumed that all the evidence required on both sides had already been moved for. At any rate the printing need not be deferred till the next session, for on the very last day of the session an order might be made to print and deliver papers to the members even during the time that the house was not sitting.

Mr. *Paull* was at a loss to conceive why the friends of marquis Wellesley were so averse from allowing this charge to be printed, when in fact there was not a single allegation contained in it which was not also contained in a paper above 10,000 copies of which had been circulated by order of the court of East India proprietors. Whatever might be the decision of the house on the subject of marquis Wellesley's conduct, a decision had taken place elsewhere. In a court of proprietors a motion, which was stated at the time by the friends of the noble lord to convey censure on him, was carried by a majority of 960 to 170, and of 23 directors to 1!

Mr. *Johnstone* recommended the hon. gent. who had just sat down to agree to the proposition of the right hon. gent. who had preceded him. The object of the motion which he had made in the court of East India proprietors, and to which the hon. gent. had alluded, was not to criminate marquis Wellesley, but simply to express his sense of the manly and laudable conduct of the Court of Directors.

Lord *Folkestone* urged the immediate printing of the charge.

Lord *H. Petty* finding that the sense of the house seemed to be, that it would be more fair to defer printing the charge until the whole of the evidence was before them, thought it most advisable to move the previous question; which was agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, June 26.

[MINUTES.] The judges attended in pursuance of the order of the house, to deliver their opinions on questions put to them, relative to the appeal, Lucina v. Crawford. This case arose out of a policy of assurance, effected by the commissioners for the management of Dutch property, detained under certain circumstances in the year 1795, on certain detained Dutch vessels and cargoes, on their voyage from st. Helena to this country, some of which vessels were afterwards lost, and an action brought by the commissioners on the policy to recover an average loss. The cause, after being litigated in the courts below, was brought up by appeal to the house of lords, where, after counsel had been heard on both sides, 8 questions were propounded to the judges for their opinion on points of law arising out of the case. The main question, to which the others were in some measure subordinate, was, in substance, whether the commissioners had a legal interest in the property, on its voyage from st. Helena, so as to enable them to effect a legal and valid policy of insurance thereon. Upon these questions the judges commenced the delivery of their opinions *seriatim.* Mr. baron Graham first delivered his opinion, which was as to the question of interest, that the commissioners had a sufficient interest in the property to enable them to effect a legal and valid policy. Mr. justice Chambre was decidedly of opinion, on the contrary, that the commissioners had no such interest; that they had no interest in the property, either in possession, reversion, or expectancy, in the legal sense of those words; that the most it amounted to was a naked expectation that the property on its arrival in this country might come under their management, and that upon the same principle they might have insured every Dutch ship in the Dutch ports, in the expectation of their being detained by British vessels and brought into the ports of this country.

Lord Walsingham then moved to postpone the further delivery of the opinions of the judges till Monday next, which was agreed to.

[INDIA—RECAL OF SIR G. BARLOW.] Lord *Melville* rose and stated that he came down to the house with the intention of putting a question to a noble lord (Minto) had he seen him in his place, relative to the dispatches which had just been received from India. He was impressed with an opinion that ministers were not fully aware of the nature of those dispatches, and the consequences which might probably result from them. If he saw the noble lord whom he alluded to, in the house to-morrow, he would then put a question to him, for the purpose of ascertaining what were the ultimate intentions of his majesty's government as to the recal of sir George Barlow. It would depend on the answer he should receive, whether he should, or not, give notice of a motion on this subject on Monday. He did not wish to be considered as now giving any notice of a motion, and repeated, that whether he should do so, would depend on the answer he might receive to his intended question.

[TEMPLE-BAR AND SNOW-HILL LOTTERY BILL.] On the question for the third reading of the Temple-Bar and Snow-Hill Lottery bill,

The Duke of *Norfolk* rose, and expressed a variety of objections against the measure. The bill in question arose out of circumstances which had nothing to do with the real principle of a lottery, and would go to extend an injurious spirit of gaming among all ranks of people. There were now no less than three regular state lotteries, which the exigencies of the state, and the financial benefits derived therefrom, were grounds for tolerating. There were, however, other grounds, but of rare occurrence, on which he deemed an expedient of the kind not objectionable. He meant, in cases of rare or costly works of art or ingenuity, where the parties were not able to procure a sale or market for them, save by an extraordinary or peculiar measure of this nature. But, to enable persons who speculated in buildings, and which they might not be able, from a variety of circumstances, to dispose of, to come forward to parliament for a lottery to assist them, was what he could not approve of. The case of Mr. alderman Boydell's lottery being one upon the rarely-occurring principle he had alluded to, he offered no objection to it, but the present measure was one of a very different description. His grace then adverted to some points which had transpired in the committee on the bill; and proceeded to observe, that the present bill would almost to a certainty, generate a future application for another lottery, inasmuch as it was intended to extend these improvements to the south side of St. Clement's church, which now were only carried into effect on the north. Upon the whole, he saw no adequate grounds for the parties coming forward to parliament for a lottery, in the present case. He would, therefore, give his negative to the measure.

The *Lord Chancellor*, much as her expected whatever fell from his noble friend, certainly differed from him materially, on the present occasion: the lottery proposed by the present bill, was undoubtedly one of that description, in which the lower orders of the people could not venture, and therefore it was impossible it could operate injuriously with respect to them. On the contrary, those who would speculate in the lottery proposed by the bill in question, or were persons of some property or substance, engaged in some beneficial branch of trade. With respect to what the noble duke observed relative to lotteries in favour of the disposal of rare and costly works of art, he cordially agreed with his noble friend. In the case of the Boydells, for instance, in the then state of things, there was no hope whatever for a mart or issue for such articles, particularly upon the continent, where many of the prints or pictures used to be disposed of at the great fairs. As things then stood, they might as well expect to sell so many cobwebs, as pictures. It was, therefore, necessary to have recourse to the expedient of a lottery to enable the worthy proprietors to dispose of the valuable articles alluded to. With respect to the case of Bowyer's History of England, the principle was the same. The history of such a country as England must be valuable; and to have that history illustrated in the splendid manner of the history alluded to, highly desirable. To a certain extent, this principle certainly applied to buildings, in cases where great improvements, or ornamental decorations were included. In the present case both these estimable objects were united. The speculation was entered into with such a share and mixture of public spirit, as did the projectors great credit. Much of what the parties had to complain of arose from the sudden breaking out of the war, by which the prices of all materials were greatly increased, and those of labour in a still higher proportion; so that it was impossible the parties could go on, without plunging into the gulph of bankruptcy. On these grounds, he submitted to his noble friend, whether he would carry his disapprobation so far, as not to yield to the consideration of unavoidable circumstances; besides the bill had been sent up from the commons, and had passed through every stage among their lordships, save this very last. He would again submit to the noble duke, whether it would not be better to consider the observations he had made as a kind of caveat in future against applications of the kind, from mistaken or interested speculations? The ruin of the parties might be the consequence of the rejection of the bill; of men who had come forward with a degree of public spirit, in an undertaking tending to improve and beautify two important avenues in this great metropolis, and which circumstance redounded to their honour. For his part at his advanced time of life he should rather wish to see these improvements hastened than retarded, in order that he might see some of them carried to perfection. On the whole, his sentiments of the measure were such, as fully to justify him in urging their lordships to pass the bill.

The question was then put and the bill read a third time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, June 26.

[MINUTES.] Mr S. Le Fevre presented three petitions from the inhabitants of Brighthelmstone, in favour of the bill for constructing a Jetty or Jetties near that town.—Mr. Tierney presented a petition from the Butchers and Farmers, within fifteen miles of the metropolis, against the Hide and Skin Regulation bill.—On the motion of sir J. Newport the Irish Revenue Jurisdiction bill was read a 2d time.—On the motion of sir J. Newport the Irish Distillery bill went through a committee.—On the motion of the lord Advocate of Scotland, it was ordered that the house should to-morrow resolve itself into a committee on the report of the committee of the 21st of July 1803, relative to the Bell Rock Lighthouse in Scotland.—Mr. Grenfell presented a petition from the London Assurance Company against the bill for the incorporation of the Globe Insurance Company. Referred to the committee on the said bill.—Mr. Calcraft obtained leave to bring in a bill to make compensation to the proprietors of certain lands at Chatham, Warley Common, and Woolwich, which had been occupied for the purposes of his majesty's ordnance. Mr. C. immediately brought up the bill, which was read a first time.—Mr. King brought up a bill to amend the Post Office acts; which was read a first time.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee on the bill for regulating the office of the Receiver General of the Post Office, which was agreed to.—Mr. Rose presented a petition from the Trustees of the British Museum, praying aid to complete the purchase of Mr. Townley's Collection, and to finish the buildings now erecting for the use of that institution.

[VOLUNTEERS.] Mr. *C. Wynne* said, that in consequence of something he had heard was mentioned in the house yesterday, he thought it necessary to state, that no communication whatever was made to the volunteers from the executive government since the 1st of Feb. last, and that there existed no disposition whatever to withhold any information that might be desired upon the subject. Every paper that had been ordered, was already before the house; and if the hon. gent. who alluded to this subject yesterday, thought proper to move for others, they would, if forthcoming, be immediately granted. Here the hon. member read the papers relative to the volunteers, which had been written from the Secretary of State's Office since Jan. last; and expressed his readiness to accede to any motion that might be made for their production. The hon. member took notice of the order for regular returns from the several Volunteer corps, with which order the corps under the command of the hon. gent. had not complied; and before the hon. gent. had ventured to charge a public officer with neglect of duty, he ought to have taken care, if not to perform his own public duty, at least to be better informed as to the attention of others to that point.

Mr. *Bastard* disclaimed the intention of imputing any neglect to the officer to whom the hon. member alluded; the hon. gent. would be glad to have all the volunteers on the same establishment, and therefore did not object to the proposed change. As to the returns which ought to have been made from the corps under his command, he had to state that although the commander of 5 or 6 battalions, he left altogether the drawing of pay and the making of returns to the commanders of the several battalions, he being himself unable to attend to such things, from his connection with the militia, with whom he generally was out of the county in which the volunteers alluded to were stationed. The hon. gent. concluded with moving for Copies of the Letters addressed by Mr. Smyth, of the Secretary of State's Office, to Mr. Moore, of the War Office, dated Jan. 27, and Feb. 1; and also of that addressed by earl Spencer to the Secretary at War, in March last.—The two first letters were ordered, and upon the motion being put as to the last,

Mr. *Bastard* expressed a hope that the volunteers would know ere long, upon what footing they were to stand, as much confusion resulted from the uncertainty in which they were at present placed. Indeed the evil was such, that he could with difficulty contrive to keep quiet the corps over which he had any influence, until their fate should be known. Perhaps this uneasiness might have arisen from misrepresentation, but certainly the regulations respecting the volunteers ought to be announced with all convenient expedition.

Mr. *C. Wynne* was surprised that any such uncertainty should prevail, as the hon. gent. alluded to. For it was already very explicitly declared, that among that great majority of the volunteers, who were on the August allowance, no change whatever had taken place, excepting the reduction of the drill serjeant's pay. And as to those on the June allowances, the intended change was very fully understood. With regard to the other point in the hon. gents'. speech upon the subject of the future regulations of the volunteers, they were of course to act upon the regulations at present existing, until the new regulations were communicated to them. These new regulations were already in a very forward train, and would be sent to the several corps as soon as they could be prepared. Upon the conduct of the hon. gent. or his corps, he meant to make no other remark than was warranted by fact. As to drawing for pay, he could not say that the hon. gents'. sub-commanders had neglected their duty upon that point, nor, indeed, did he ever hear of any volunteer officers who were at all remiss in drawing for pay, but he was enabled to state from papers he held in his hand, that notwithstanding the utmost endeavours on the part of the secretary of state's office, and frequent exhortations to the several commandants, to make the regular returns four times a year, no return had been made from the corps under the hon. gent.s' command, on any of the quarters ending in the months of Aug. Dec. or April last.

Mr. *Long* asked the hon. gen. if he was competent to answer, whether it was meant that if any of the corps upon the August allowance should be reduced in number, they would be at liberty to admit new members, under the same regulations as formerly?

Mr. *C. Wynne* answered, certainly, until fresh regulations should be made out.—The motion was then agreed to.

[BANKRUPT LAWS BILL.] The *Solicitor General* rose, pursuant to notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the Bankrupt Laws, or rather, he said, more correctly speaking, to remove certain defects in those laws. It was by no means his intention to attempt the amendment of the whole of the law upon this subject, but to remove certain great defects, the mischievous consequences of which were every day observed, and most sensibly felt by all who had any opportunity of considering the question. His object at present simply was, to introduce some regulations which were obviously necessary. According to the existing Bankrupt law, any acts done or debts contracted by the bankrupt, in the course of the period which intervened between the committal of the act of bankruptcy and the taking out of the commission, was, as it affected the creditors, completely annulled. The evils resulting from this provision were of the most serious nature; for it often happened that a bankrupt had sold a real estate, and received the money for it, after the committal of an act of bankruptcy, and yet, unless according to the act of the 21st of James 1. such sale had taken place 5 years before the commission was taken out, the purchaser was deprived of his purchase, and it became the property of the assignees of the bankrupt. Another evil resulting from the present law was, that if money was lent to a bankrupt at any time during the period just referred to, such money was liable to be distributed among the creditors, and the lender was not, any more than the purchaser of the estate, allowed even the small consolation of receiving a dividend, or any portion of his money from the bankrupt's effects, nor had he, indeed, any remedy at all. The learned gent. referred to the acts which it was his object to amend; and proceeded to observe upon their nature, the principal of all which was to protect the debts of a *bona fide* creditor's bankrupt. That act the house must be fully aware, which in law was an act of bankruptcy, was by no means an act of notoriety, nor even such generally as a creditor could by the utmost vigilance contrive to know. In most cases, indeed, it was an act known only to the bankrupt himself, or any of his servants, who by his direction denied his being at home upon a creditor's calling for him. Why then, the learned gent. asked, should such mischiefs as those he had described be allowed to accrue to men liable to deal with a bankrupt under such circumstances? and why should their ignorance of an event, which it was almost impossible for them to know, be permitted to involve the forfeiture of their just claims? But these were not all the evils which the present law produced; for it was not less severe against the bankrupt himself than it was against his creditors. The avowed principle of the bankrupt law was, that when a bankrupt gave up all his property he should be discharged from all his debts: but by the law as it now stood, that principle was not acted upon; for the bankrupt's total release from the commission did not protect him from those debts which he might, perhaps unknowingly, have contracted after the committal of the act of bankruptcy which led to such commission; therefore the bankrupt was placed in the extraordinary situation of being called upon to pay that which he could have no property to pay, unless he were guilty of an act of felony.—What he had already stated the learned gent. conceived quite enough to impress upon the house the necessity of amending this law. But there was a still greater evil than any he had mentioned, produced by the present system. If after a commission had been taken out, an act of bankruptcy was proved anterior to that upon which the commission was grounded, all the proceedings of such commission were void, and the commission was superseded. In consequence of which the assignees, who were made responsible for all the bankrupt's property they possessed, or had previously sold, were placed in a situation of extreme hardship. It had not unfrequently happened, and indeed, in the course of his own experience, he had known an instance in which a first, second, and even a third commission had been set aside in this way. In that instance, as no doubt in others, the object was to defeat the proceedings taken against the bankrupt, by whom, with that intention, the anterior acts of bankruptcy were kept back. If then in addition to the injuries thus arising to the bankrupts, the assignees and the creditors, one considered the enormous expence of actions depending on the committal of acts of bankruptcy, the amount of the bankrupt's property dissipated in such actions, and with no other object in general than mere litigation, it was impossible not to feel astonished that the law should have been suffered to remain so long in its present state. Three modes were suggested, the learned gent. stated, of remedying the evils complained of: the first was, entirely to abolish one of the great principles of the present bankrupt laws, namely, that no man should be considered a bankrupt until the time at which the commission should be taken out. But various objections offered against this suggestion arising out of the expedients notoriously resorted to by bankrupts fraudulently disposed. Another provision was recommended, that no commission should be granted unless the act of bankruptcy alleged by the petitioning creditor had taken place a certain time before the commission, according to the advice of some, three or six months. But to this recommendation he knew of several objections, which urged at least the propriety of a much greater distance of time. When it was considered how reluctantly creditors in general took out a commission of bankruptcy, how frequently they granted a deed of trust in order to avoid bringing expence and trouble upon themselves, or disgrace and ruin upon the bankrupt, and when it was recollected that those deeds were often protracted much longer than six months, he trusted the house would feel that no such period ought to be fixed. But although great inconvenience and injustice might result from such an arrangement, still the law was not to be left as it stood. It appeared to him, that without fixing any period upon this point, *bona fide* debts contracted by the bankrupt at any time before the commission, should be recoverable from the effects of the bankrupt, notwithstanding any previous act of bankruptcy. This seemed to be the only remedy fairly applicable to that part of the law, namely, that all honest debts contracted, all payments made, all conveyances and engagements entered into by the bankrupt, should be good and valid, notwithstanding any previous act of bankruptcy, provided the person or persons entering into such contracts or lending such money to the bankrupt, should have no notice of such act of bankruptcy, or knowledge of the bankrupt's insolvency. He proposed too, that as to such debts, the bankrupt's certificate should be a protection, as complete as with regard to any debts claimed under the commission. Another object of the bill he meant to bring forward would be, that no commission of bankruptcy should be superseded in consequence of previous acts of bankruptcy done by the bankrupt: and also, that debts contracted by the bankrupt, which were not payable until after the commission was taken out, should be provable under the commission, whether they were simple debts or those for which securities were given. The learned gent. concluded with observing, that these were the only objects which the bill he proposed to bring forward had in view.—Leave was accordingly given to bring in the bill.

[IRISH POOR RELIEF BILL.] Sir J. Newport brought in this bill, and moved that it be read a first time.

Mr. *Bagwell* thanked the right hon. baronet for his perseverance in this bill, but apprehended there was a point or two in which they might have some difference of opinion. As the law was already, grand juries had the power to raise 400l. on counties, and 200l. on cities; the consequence of which was, that in those counties which had cities, there were houses of industry, supported by the aggregate sum; but, in those counties which had no cities, the contrary was the case; and he, therefore, hoped, that power would be given to the grand juries of the latter, to make up that deficiency, as many of the counties so situated in Ireland, possessed more opulence than some of those which had cities. From the time that this assessment of 400l. upon counties was first granted for the poor, it had never been increased, although for other purposes, rates had been made to the amount of 30,000l. though the people themselves were so anxious to have provision made for the poor, that houses were built by private subscriptions, rising in a gradation of from one to 100 guineas. It should be remembered, that there were no poor laws in Ireland, and he hoped it would remain so, for the country was too poor to support the extravagance of them.

Mr. *Foster* considered this as a law professing to assist that of 1772, for taking up idle persons, and obliging them to work. That act was only carried into execution in Dublin, where there was now the sum of 20,000l. paid annually for the support of vagabonds; and Dublin being considered as the centre, all the other counties entirely neglected them. If the bill was, as he supposed, intended to compel grand juries to extend their powers in this respect, he should vote against it, and particularly, as he thought it by far too late in the session to press a measure which had before been so frequently agitated and rejected in the Irish parliament.

Mr. *Bagwell* said, there were houses of industry in other places besides Dublin, but that they were supported by private subscription.

Sir *J. Newport* explained, that if the right hon. gent. attended to the bill, he would find it expressly provided, that one half of the houses should be appropriated to the correction of vagabonds and sturdy beggars, and the other half to the relief of the needy poor. The right hon. gent. was also wrong in supposing that this was the first time of levies for this purpose being made compulsory upon grand juries, of which he quoted two or three instances, and the only compulsion was on the counties which had houses of industry, to maintain them. As to the charge of bringing it forward so late in the session, he appealed to the recollection of members, whether he had not made the same proposition last year. In the early part of this session, he was, for a time, kept out of his seat, by what he must consider a very improper proceeding. Since then, his time had been fully occupied, as would be proved by the great mass of business he had already brought forward; and, late as it might be, he hoped he should now be permitted to go on with a measure, which he felt to be so essential to the welfare of his country.

Mr. *Alexander* said, that however disagreeable it might be to oppose a measure, the object of which was professed to be humane and charitable, he must object to all new and partial schemes, as hitherto the relief held out to one class of the poor in Ireland, fell heaviest on the other poor part of it. The greatest part of the taxes of the north of Ireland, was paid by people inhabiting houses of about 5l. a year, and as no other property there but lands and houses contributed to the payment of the poor, he was desirous of having some more general measure.

Mr. *Parnell* said, it was impossible to travel over the high roads in Ireland, without being sensible of the necessity of this measure; and as to the objection of its falling heavy on the land owners; they were a description of persons in that country best able to afford it.—The bill was then read a first time.

[TRAINING BILL.] On the motion of Mr. Secretary Windham, the house went into a committee on this bill. That clause being read which confined the operation of the bill to England

Mr. *Yorke* rose to express his opinion of it. He approved of the general principle of the bill, as far as it was similar to that which he had the honour to bring in on a former occasion, and thought it, in the present state of Europe, of essential importance to the safety of the country. United with the militia, the men levied under this bill would form a second line to the regulars, should the enemy effect a landing. So much for the general principle of the bill; but it must undergo considerable modification, before it could meet his entire approbation. He should afterwards shew, that, instead of confirming, it abridged the royal prerogative; but he should at present confine himself to that clause which limited its operation to South Britain. Now he could see no reason why Scotland should not be subject to the same burden, and possessed of the same means of defence with England. He would therefore propose, that the words "Great Britain" should be inserted instead of "England."

Mr. Secretary *Windham* acknowledged, that there was much weight in what the hon. member had observed, and that all must be agreed in distributing the burden and defence as equally as possible. But he should state the reasons which induced him to confine the present operation of the bill to England. In the first place, to a great part of that country, especially that part called the Highlands, the bill would not apply, and besides, from the general habits of the people, it was less necessary. In Scotland the people were also better trained and more military than here. The state of the volunteers was superior, according to what he had learned, not in point of numbers, for he did not know that in this respect they exceeded their proper proportion, but in point of discipline. But then came the objection that the numbers of the volunteers would be much diminished by withdrawing the June allowances. Though gentlemen seemed to hold out such considerations as these, somewhat in the way of a menace, yet he was willing to hope that this menace or expectation was ill-founded. It ought to be considered, that if the allowance was diminished, the duty was also diminished. To that part of Scotland, called the Lowlands, certainly the bill might be more applicable; but still it was thought proper to try the experiment in England, and not to include Scotland in the first instance. There might be reasons why it should not extend to Scotland at all, though he rather thought it might at some future time; but at all events it would be imprudent to extend it to Scotland now. Another reason was the advanced state of the session, when many gentlemen of that country were out of town, and, therefore he would oppose the amendment.

Sir *James Pulteney* saw no reason why the provisions of the bill should not extend to Scotland. It might not apply to the Highlands; but why not extend it to the Lowlands, which was the more populous part of the country, and that part too which was most exposed to attacks from the opposite coast. He allowed the excellence of the volunteers in that country, but it was to be considered, that on account of the distance from the capital, there was but a small regular force kept there, and therefore it ought to have the advantage of every other mode of defence. Whether or not the volunteers would be diminished, he should not say, but he hoped that, whether the provisions of the bill were to be applied to Scotland this year or not, they would be afterwards applied to it.

Mr. *Perceval* observed, as to the point of the bill's not being applicable to Scotland, that the provisions of the bill of 1803 had, in fact, extended to that country. The reasons given for not extending this measure to Scotland were perfectly nugatory, for they would apply equally well to many parts of Wales, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, in the mountainous districts of which the population was very much scattered. But at any rate there was no reason why the bill should not extend to the Lowlands of Scotland. Though the people might be more military and better trained, still the king ought to have the power of calling them out; and this he might exercise according to his discretion, and exempt particular districts, as circumstances should require. There was no difficulty in executing the militia laws in Scotland, and why should not this measure be extended to that country, when the principle was the same? But then it had been said that the volunteers were in a better state there. It was certainly to be considered, that these were to be deprived of the June allowances, and scarcely any motive but their zeal would remain to keep them together; and here the reasoning of the ministers themselves, that a variety of motives, such as the ballot for the militia and the army of reserve, were necessary to induce men to continue in these corps, might be turned against themselves. He would certainly, therefore, support the amendment.

Colonel *Wood* observed, that the militia laws were new in Scotland, and had at first occasioned considerable dissatisfaction there. He thought, therefore, that it would be better to wait for another year, before the principle of this bill should be extended to Scotland.

Mr. *Calcraft* said, that his reason for not wishing to extend the provisions of the bill to Scotland, in the first instance, was, that the experiment might not be tried on too great a surface, but that it ought to be confined to the country were it was most applicable. As to the act of 1803, it was to be considered that it had not been carried into effect; and it was questionable whether, at the time it was brought in, it was intended to be carried into effect.

Mr. *Bastard* contended, that whatever might have fallen from the hon. secretary, the volunteers of England were not one jot behind those of Scotland either in discipline or in zeal. Besides, there was no certainty whatever of raising men under the present bill. It was in fact a money bill, since upon paying a fine of 5l. any man might be exempted from its operation;

and he thought that all who were by any means able to afford it would rather pay the fine. This would make the bill liable to the same objections as the parish bill. Was not Scotland bound to bear a share in the general expence of the country, and why should a burden be imposed on this country from which Scotland was exempted? He spoke with great warmth of the enthusiasm of the volunteers in that part of the country with which he was best acquainted, and thought that the defence of the country might be safely intrusted to them. If the volunteers of Scotland were well disciplined, they had also been liberally paid, since a much greater number of corps had been there upon the June allowance, than in this country.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* observed, that gentleman argued as if he had said that the lateness of the session precluded him from doing what he would otherwise have done. He had said no such thing, for though this might be a motive for the house to oppose the amendment, he allowed that it was no justification of ministers. But he had said, that at whatever time the measure might have been brought forward it ought not to apply, in the first instance, to Scotland. As to the general principle of applying to one part what was not applied to another, the gentlemen on the other side ought to think of their own practice, and not insist on the principle of equality too broadly, because in that view Ireland also ought to be included. There might be reasons why the bill should not apply to Scotland for two or three years. Perhaps it might never apply, although he rather thought that it might some time hence. The militia ballot too, was in force in Scotland, and this would be a motive for the volunteers to continue in their corps. As the situation of Scotland was not so favourable to this bill, we might, in applying it, also lose the good will of the people.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that the right hon. gent's arguments did not appear at all satisfactory to his mind. If he wished to make an experiment merely, he should recommend it to him to try it on a much narrower scale, and to confine, for the present, this boon of his to the county of Norfolk with which he was best acquainted. As to Ireland, no argument whatever could be founded on its not being proper to apply the bill to that country, in favour of the exemption of Scotland. The state of the two countries were totally different. The circumstance of the militia-ballot being still in force in Scotland pointed out to him a defect in the right hon. gent's military system, of which he had not before been aware. The militia-ballot was to be given up here because it injured the recruiting service. But now it appeared that it was still retained in that place where the recruiting could succeed best. He thought that both countries ought to be included in this bill.

Mr. *Whitbread* contended that this bill was totally different from the parish bill, in respect of fines, for the people were fined so enormously, that they could not pay, for not doing what they could not by any possibility perform. There were few labourers who would not choose rather to be trained 24 days, with 1s. a-day, than to pay 5l. If gentlemen went on a principle of equality, the bill ought to extend to Ireland; there were reasons against this, and so there were for extending it to Scotland. He was of opinion that none of the volunteers of Scotland would withdraw themselves, on account of being deprived of the additional allowance.

Mr. *Bankes* observed, that he had never heard a measure supported on such slender grounds, or by so little good sense. The bill was to be considered both in the light of a benefit and a burden, and he could see no reason for confining its effects to one part of the country. With regard to the most extensive and populous part of Scotland, whatever was applicable to England was also applicable to Scotland. As to the bill being a matter of experiment, he would ask, was a small surface selected, when it was proposed to extend the experiment to all England? and why should England alone be selected for this experiment, which, if not found to answer, was to be withdrawn, after the feelings of Englishmen had been sported with? Were we so vile and contemptible as to be called upon to bear this burden alone? From all he had heard of the volunteers of Scotland he was disposed to speak of them with respect, but it gave him pain to listen to the invidious and unfair comparison that had been made by a right hon. gent. this night. He would ask him, what he had to complain of as to the zeal or discipline of the volunteers of England? On the whole he thought, that Scotland, where the great body of the people had the same manners and habits with the people of this country, should not be exempted from a burden which this country was to bear. With regard to the number of men that would come forward to be disciplined, he was not very sanguine on that point. It would be a material drawback with many, to consider that they were liable to be drafted into any regular regiment, for an unlimited period, as might happen to be the case under the bill.

Colonel *Eyre* considered, that for a permanent military arrangement, there was too much of severity in this system. The people of England were ready to bear those hardships which appeared necessary, but not those burdens for which they could see no necessity. When there was a pressing danger, the volunteers appeared sufficient to meet it; and if there was any relaxation in their discipline, or deficiency in their numbers at the present time, it was merely because the danger was less urgent.

Mr. *C. Wynne* thought the provisions of the bill not applicable to Scotland at present. When it was now argued that this bill, by inflicting a fine, imposed a great burden on the people of England, he must beg leave to remind the right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke) who brought in the other bill, that that was supported merely by arguments on what was called the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and that there were no means given of escaping its operation even upon the payment of a fine. It must, therefore, evidently appear that the former bill was a greater burden imposed upon the people of England. An hon. gent. was mistaken who supposed, that because the fines were remitted which were due in consequence of the parish bill, that, therefore, the fines must be remitted which would become due under this bill. The reason that the fines were remitted to the parishes on the former bill was, that it was conceived unjust that they should be fined for not raising men, when it was impossible that they could have raised them. Nobody, however, would say, that there was any impossibility to prevent the service of those who should be balloted under the present bill.

Lord *Binning* thought, that whatever there was of good or of evil in the present bill, should be extended as well to Scotland as to England. He did not like a gratuitous and unnecessary distinction between one part of G. Britain and the other. He thought the principle of the present bill was generally applicable to Scotland, for there was not more than a fourth of the whole population of that country under the circumstances which were stated as an objection. There were several parts of England and Wales that lay open to the same objection, but he did not see why the whole of Scotland should be exempted on account of the circumstances of a part. As to the volunteers of Scotland, they were entitled to every degree of praise, but at the same time, he thought, that equal credit was due to the volunteers of England, and therefore that the argument founded on a distinction between them was entitled to little weight.

Colonel *Matthews* was of opinion, that the experiment would completely fail, and therefore, it was not of much consequence on what scale it was tried.

Mr. *Huskisson* perceived a great inconsistency in the arguments of the supporters of the bill. At one time, they spoke of it as an experiment, which, in another year, might be extended to Scotland; and, at another time, they spoke of it as inapplicable to Scotland, on account of the smallness of its population. This last objection had no sort of connection with the former; for whether the experiment succeeded in England, or whether it failed, the mountains of Scotland would not disappear and the Highlands would remain just as they were. As to the argument of freeing Scotland from the burden on account of the number of the volunteer corps, he must observe, that the more volunteer corps were scattered over the country, the less would be the pressure. If there were fewer corps in England, of course it was more difficult for men to escape the operation of this act, by entering into them, as men could not in every part of the country find a volunteer corps to join. There was another argument which had been stated, but which he could by no means assent to. The mover of the bill supposed that there was great dissatisfaction in Scotland about the militia. He would confidently assert, that, although there might have been some ferment in 1797, when the militia was first introduced in Scotland, yet, at the present day, there was no dissatisfaction upon that subject.

Mr. *Calvert* thought that the great advantage would be rather in the enrolling the men, than in the training of them. As to the enrolment, he could see no reason why that should not take place in Scotland; and as to the training, that was a thing which might or might not be acted on according to the circumstances of the country.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* said it appeared to him that it was a serious objection to bringing on a measure which would affect Scotland so much at a period when a great number of the Scotch members had gone home and were at such a distance that it could not be expected they would return to be present at the discussion. He could not allow that the fine proposed was any burden at all, as it was only a commutation for a duty which it was allowed by every body that the country had a right to call for. If this duty were performed, there would be no fine, and if any man wished to exempt himself from performing this duty by paying the fine, he certainly could have nothing to complain of. If he had not proposed a greater fine, the reason was that he really hoped that the bill would be efficient, and that a number of men, even of a better description (to whom the shilling a day would be no object), would by their personal service, set an example to their neighbours, and shew that they conceived it no disgrace to come forward and receive that degree of instruction which would be necessary to enable them to defend their country if it should be invaded. In describing the awkwardness of serving personally, an hon. gent. (Mr. S. Stanhope) had rather clumsily expressed himself on a former night when the spoke of the embarrassing situation of a man standing in the ranks between his own groom and his father's chimney-sweep. Now, if a gentleman was obliged to stand in the ranks next to a chimney-sweep, he did not see how it made the matter worse that it was his father's chimney-sweep. All this awkwardness would, however, be done away by the present bill, for if the gentleman did not chuse to enter a volunteer corps, he might still be exempted on paying his fine of 5l.

Mr. *Yorke* thought it his duty to take the sense of the house upon the present question. The question was not merely about extending a new experiment to Scotland, but it was whether Scotland should be exempted from what it was now liable to by the existing law, the levy-en-masse act; and whether it should be freed from a burden which England was called upon to bear. As to the difference between Scotch and English volunteers, he trusted the right hon. gent. did not mean to rest on such an invidious distinction. The question, then, was merely, whether Scotland should be exempted because a part of that country was thinly inhabited? He could not allow that there was any other objection; for, at the time that he was in administration, and had the honour to bring in the former bill, he never had heard a single word of objection from any Scotch member, on the ground of its producing dissatisfaction. Under that bill there was a complete return of the enrolling in Scotland, and he therefore saw no reason why the men who were ready to be enrolled, should not also be trained. As to the thinness of population in certain districts, that ought to be no objection. The bill should be made general and there might be clauses which would confine its operation in districts where there were any local objections. As to the late period of the session, that could not be relied upon by the right hon. gent. as an argument, as several months had elapsed since his opening speech, and he had had time sufficient to have brought in the bill perfect.

Mr. *Ryder* observed, that there were many parts of the Highlands of Scotland, particularly in the counties of Dumbarton and Perth, which were more populous than Wales, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and many parts of England in which the bill was to operate. As to the Lowlands, he conceived them to be exactly in the same situation as England, and that there was no reason why they should be free from this burden.—The committee then divided, when there appeared. For Mr. Yorke's amendment 38; Against it 76: Majority 38.

On a subsequent clause of the bill respecting the numbers to be enrolled,

Mr. *Yorke* moved, as an amendment, that these words should be added, "regard being had to the number of volunteers enrolled and actually serving." He considered that the appointment ought to be directed now, as on former occasions, by the number of volunteers. For instance, if Lancashire had 18,000 volunteers, and Yorkshire, which was a much larger county, had but 10,000, he thought that regard should be had to that circumstance, in the apportionment of the number of men for which these counties should be called on.—Mr. *C. Wynne* did not think that the appointment ought to go by districts. The individuals who were in volunteer corps were not liable to be called upon in this force; but he did not see why persons who were not in volunteer corps should claim any advantage merely because their neighbours were volunteers.—Lord *Castlereagh* thought, that in the apportionment each county and each parish should have credit for the gross number of volunteers they furnished, and that a parish that had most of its population engaged in the volunteer service, ought not to be called upon.—Mr. *Windham* allowed, that it would be a sufficient answer to the call, if a parish could shew that those who were liable were serving in another description of force.—Lord *Castlereagh* replied, that if such was the hon. gent.s' opinion, he was at a loss to conceive what was the object of his bill. He had always understood it, that he wished to raise 200,000 men in England, exclusive of the volunteers, but now it appeared possible, that the bill would not raise a single man.—Mr. *Windham* replied, that he did not absolutely undertake that the bill should raise 200,000 men, for if the men who were called upon by ballot to serve should be actually serving in another way, the intention of the bill would be answered as well.—Mr. *Perceval* then said, that it was possible that the ballot for those 200,000 men might fall upon part of the 300,000 volunteers; who being exempt, not a man would be raised.—Mr. *Yorke* thought, that between the volunteers who should be balloted, and the men who would pay their fine of 5*l.* the measure was not likely to be efficient.—Mr. *Windham* thought that this was supposing an extreme and improbable case. It could not be supposed that the ballot would fall entirely on volunteers, and persons disposed to pay the fine. The ballot would be from the lists of those liable to serve in the militia. The volunteers, of course, were not in that list.—Mr. *Yorke* replied, that the volunteers certainly were upon that list, and liable to be balloted for, although they were afterwards exempted from serving. He complained of the manner the house was treated on the present occasion. They were referred upon this bill to the schedule of another bill, which was to come on after this was disposed of (he alluded to the militia act, which directs the returns that are to be made under it). This was completely reversing the order of things, and putting the cart before the horse.—Mr. *Giles* said, he should not go into the details, but argued, that as the men were by this bill to be apportioned according to the number of men liable to serve in the militia, the volunteers could not come under this description, as they were not liable to serve. He saw no objection to this act operating according to the returns which were called for by another act (the militia act). It was generally allowed that it would save a great deal of trouble to magistrates and others, if there should be only a single list, and that of the persons liable to serve in the militia.—Mr. *Perceval* was not surprised that his learned friend (Mr. Giles) had not chosen to go into details, as the bill was in this respect most inexplicable and unintelligible. The right hon. gent. who had brought it in had proved that he did not understand it, and was therefore now very properly employed in consulting other people. (Mr. Windham was then conversing with Mr. Giles and others). He had at first considered that the volunteers were not liable to the ballot; in the next explanation he said they were, but that it was most improbable that the ballot should exclusively fall upon them; and in his third explanation he talked only of his militia lists, and of volunteers not being upon those returns. In this third explanation he was found to be equally wrong, and it could not now be denied, that the names of volunteers would be found on those militia lists. When this bill referred to the schedules of another bill not yet passed, it was giving the right hon. gent. a strange degree of credit. He viewed his superstructure before he thought of his foundation; and he then told the house, that although they saw no foundation at present, they might depend upon it that he would hereafter make a foundation to support his building. The house might give him that degree of credit if they pleased, and gentlemen might vote for his bill; but if any person who voted for it pretended to understand what he was voting for, he must say that man was either a conjuror or a prophet, if he could foresee and anticipate those things which had not as yet occurred even to the fancy of the rt. hon. gent., which were altogether in nubibus, and which the right hon. gent. could not attempt to explain.

Dr. *Laurence* affected neither to be a prophet nor a conjuror; but, without either inspiration or magic, he thought he could correctly understand the clause of the bill, although it was not to be expected that by a layman minute legal details should be accurately set forth in this stage of the proceeding. His hon. and learned friend seemed to expect a precision in this case, which he himself (Mr. Perceval) could not attain, even after his own bills had been ultimately sanctioned: at least, it was evident, that after he had prepared them (the volunteer acts) he did not comprehend their purport; and one of the statutes to which he had just referred, which was designed for operation in the months of July and August, was not carried into effect until the most ominous day distinguished in the annals of folly and illusion, the first of April.

Mr. *Ellison* said, that the rt. hon. secretary was, by his projects, oversetting the whole system of government in this country. Although, said the hon. gent. I wish to support ministers, I will not, and cannot, as they go on.—The amendment as proposed by Mr. Yorke was then put and agreed to.

On proceeding to the concluding part of the bill, which is intended to regulate the power of his majesty, with regard to the incorporation of these levies with the regiments, in case of invasion,

Lord *Castlereagh* again rose to observe, that many material particulars occurred to his mind, which might occasion a protracted debate on this subject; he therefore proposed that the chairman report progress, and ask leave to sit again the next day, which was acceded to, and the report was made, and permission given accordingly.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, June 27.

[MINUTES.] Lord Holland brought in the bill, for enabling the Creditor to discharge his Debtor from prison, without, however, resigning his future claims on the effects of the prisoner; the bill was read a first time.—The Irish Post Road bill went through a committee in which the clauses were agreed to, and the bill ordered to be reported.—The Office of Receiver General's Regulation bill, and the Irish Schools Fund bill, were brought up from the commons, and read a first time.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, June 27.

[MINUTES.] The Clyde Canal bill was read a third time, and passed.—The Solicitor General brought up the bill for altering and amending the several laws relating to Bankrupts, which was read a first time.—Mr. Vansittart, brought up a bill for regulating the Auditing of Public Accounts. Read a first time.—Mr. Dugdale moved the further consideration of the Report of the Birmingham Canal bill; a conversation ensued on an Amendment moved by sir J. Wrottesley, that the report be taken into consideration this day three months; and a division took place; for the amendment 57; against it 33; majority 24. The bill was of course lost for this session.—Mr. Alexander brought up the Report of the East India Shipping bill, which was agreed to, and the bill ordered to be read a third time on Monday.—Sir John Newport, pursuant to notice, moved that the Order of the Day for taking into consideration the County of Wexford Election Petition, on Wednesday, the 3d of July, be deferred to Wednesday the 10th of July, Ordered.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, the house in a committee of Ways and Means, agreed to a resolution for granting a sum of 4,500,000*l.* from the arrears outstanding of 14,500,000*l.* voted as the produce of the war taxes of the year 1805, and remaining to be received on 30th May 1806. This was to make good a like sum issued on Exchequer bills, on the aids of this year to replace Exchequer Bills of last year to the same amount, called in.—In answer to a question from Mr. Huskisson as to the amount of the outstanding balance of the war taxes for that year on 30th May last, Mr. Vansittart stated, that the amount received at that time was about 4,900,000*l.* He could not however, state exactly; but in a few days the account would be accurately made up. The report to be received on Monday.—Mr. Hobhouse reported the answers of general Craig to the questions put by a committee of the house, in relation to the charges against marquis Wellesley. Ordered to be printed; as were also the minutes of evidence taken before a committee of the whole house upon the Oude charge against the noble marquis.

[BALLOT SUSPENSION BILL.] The house went into a committee on the bill for the suspension of the militia ballot.

Lord *Castlereagh* thought that though it was not intended now to extend the training to Scotland, correct lists of the population of that country would be useful with a view to its eventual extension to it; and that in a country where military spirit was so prevalent, the suspension of the ballot would be useful with a view to recruiting.

Mr. *Windham* thought the continuance of the ballot in that country would operate as a stimulus to volunteering. The lists of the population may be called for at the same time that the training was extended, if at a future time that should seem fit.—The report was brought up, and ordered to be taken into further consideration on Tuesday.

[PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETY'S BILL.] Mr. *Holford* moved the order of the day for the third reading of the bill for incorporating the Philanthropic Society. The bill was read a third time, and, after a short adjournment of the proceedings on the third reading, in order to afford time for engrossing a clause proposed by Mr. Tierney, with a view to make the society responsible for any costs or charges that might be incurred by the parish, in case any of the persons educated in the institution should hereafter become a burthen to the parish, the clause was brought up, but opposed by Mr. Holford and Mr. Perceval, on the ground of the absurdity of such a provision, which would have the effect of subjecting the charity to repay to the parish whatever expence it might be put to by persons educated in the institution, who, though they should obtain a legal settlement, might even 40 years hence become a charge upon the parish. The clause was negatived without a division.

Dr. *Laurence* contended for the right of the rector to nominate, or at least to controul, the appointment of the preacher or lecturer in chapels of ease within his rectory, of which description he conceived the chapel of the Philanthropic Society to be, although annexed to a public charity: for it was not confined as a private chapel, for the mere use of the institution, but executed upon a spacious and superb scale, obviously opened for a general congregation of the parishioners, and calculated to entice away the regular congregation from the parish church, with an obvious purpose of creating revenue, and of trenching upon the parochial rights of the rector. He took occasion to allude to similar chapels attached to the Asylum, Foundling Hospital, and other public charities, for similar purposes, and the attraction of fashionable and enthusiastic auditors by musical performances, and by a complete departure, on the part of the preacher, from the sober piety, and decorous manner of preaching in the established church: and the adoption of a new-fashioned dramatic style of pulpit-eloquence, addressed to the fancy and imagination, rather than to the heart or understanding, and calculated more to catch the fervor of the enthusiast by high-fraught pictures of the horrors of a death-bed, or the joys or torments of a future state, than by promulgating the truth of the Gospel, to excite to that solemn and rational piety and devotion, which are so much the characteristics of the established church; and if parliament should be induced to countenance such a system, independant of the controul of the lawful pastor of the parish, the consequence would be, that every year numbers of those chapels would start up in every part of the metropolis and its vicinity, and the parish churches be deserted by more than half their congregations, to follow those new LIGHTS. He could not therefore consent to so unlawful an infringement upon the rights of the regular church establishment; and he concluded by moving an amendment, the object of which was, that the rector of St. George the Martyr should have the power of nominating to the appointment of chaplain to this chapel, or, at least, of a negative upon any appointment made without his consent, in order that he might be enabled to secure for the institution the appointment of a clergyman of the established church.

Mr. *Holford* observed, that the hon. and learned gent. seemed to have widely mistaken, and certainly he had widely misstated, he must presume, from misinformation, the facts of this case. This chapel was not erected with a principal view to revenue, but was certainly built on such a scale, as to accommodate a number of other children, besides those of the institution, who could not find accommodation in the parish church. He felt that he should be but a feeble antagonist indeed to the hon. and learned gent., if he presumed to contend with him upon ecclesiastical law; but there was one thing he would not find on his books, namely, that chapels of this sort, attached to charitable institutions, and built by charitable contributions, could, by any possibility, come under the description of chapels of ease to the parish church. Such chapels were mostly, if not entirely, of very modern erection, and not very usual, until long after the law allowing chapels of ease was passed. This chapel was not built at the parish expence, nor was any part of the costs of its establishment charged upon the parish: consequently, it could not come under any description of a chapel of ease, any more than that of the Asylum, which, however, was out of the question, because it was protected by a special act of parliament. Neither was it intended, as the hon. and learned gent. was pleased to conjecture, to be converted into a theatre for music, or dramatic eloquence, or enthusiastic rhapsody. Those who conducted that institution were as sound protestants of the established church as any of those who opposed it, and as little likely to promote schisms or innovations in the mode of public worship. It was an institution originally set on foot about eighteen years since by the charitable contributions of humane persons, for the purpose of educating the bereft orphans of convicted felons, thrown upon the world, without protection, and of other children, betrayed to early habits of criminality, but whose tender age rendered them fitter objects for the correction of a moral and religious education, than for the severities of the criminal law; and when it was recollected that this charity, although supported partly, and to a considerable extent, by charitable contributions, yet derived also from the industry of those children who were the objects of its protection, an average sum of not less than 1,200l. annually, he hoped it would not be considered unreasonable that the society should have the management of their own funds, and the appointment of those persons who were to be paid from those funds, so long as by the appointment of such persons they sought not to trespass upon the rights or privileges of any other persons. It was erroneous to say, that they endeavoured or wished to deprive any ecclesiastic of the controul he ought legally and reasonably to possess; and this would appear the more unquestionable, when it was told to the house, that at the head of their institution, and foremost in bringing forward this bill, was a protestant bishop. The society did not wish to deprive the rector of st. George the Martyr of his privilege of controul over the appointment of chaplain, or of the negative to that appointment, if it should really be an improper one, and just and reasonable cause assigned. But it was to the privilege of negative, without assigning cause, they gave resistance. No means of conciliation on their parts were left untried to compromise this matter with the rector: the society had proposed to pay him an annual stipend out of their funds to any reasonable extent, in which he should say his interests could be injured by this chapel. And what was his conduct, after taking time to consider their proposal, and giving some grounds to believe he would accept it? Why, a threat to charge them with simony for making the offer. This bill had been repeatedly postponed at the instance of that gentleman, on the promise of his preparing and offering to him (Mr. H.) two clauses, which he wished to have inserted in the bill; but the day passed by, and no such clauses were ever produced. Upon the whole, he must consider the conduct of the rector in this affair, as extremely unbecoming a protestant clergyman, whose object it should be, and whose duty it was, to promote, and not to impede the religious instruction of those children, and the success of a charity to which, however, he never contributed any thing, and which he took much pains to embarrass and obstruct, by keeping this chapel shut three years.—The question upon Dr. Laurence's amendment, was then put and negatived, and the bill read a third time, passed, and ordered to the lords.

[BELL ROCK LIGHTHOUSE.] The *Lord Advocate* of Scotland moved, that the house should go into a committee on the report of the committee in 1803, for erecting a light-house on the Bell Rock on the east coast of Scotland. The learned lord stated that the measure, though universally admitted to be highly advantageous to the shipping interest, and though agreed to by the house in 1803, had failed of being carried into effect, in consequence of circumstances which did not now apply. His lordship then moved that it be the opinion of the committee that a lighthouse be erected on the Bell Rock, or Cape, on the east coast of Scotland, near the entrance to the Forth and Tay.

Lord *H. Petty* seemed to doubt of the necessity of the measure. On an explanation from the lord advocate, however, he stated that what he had thrown out, he did more in conformity to the opinion of the first lord of the admiralty, than to any opinion he himself had entertained.

Mr. *Baker* did not pretend to be competent to judge on the subject, but as it seemed to be intended that part of the public money should be expended on the erection, he wished the learned lord would more clearly point out the utility of the measure.

The *Lord Advocate* referred for the utility of the measure to the report of the committee in the year 1803. He had no doubt the hon. gent. opposite would have no objection to the measure, if the erection could be made without money. Nay, he conceived it to be a self-evident proposition, that in a mercantile country there could be no objection, if it could be done without expence, that a light should be fixed on every rock in the ocean. The report of the committee, in the present case however, shewed that here there was peculiar danger; that seldom a vessel came near it without being almost instantly dashed to pieces; and that from the circumstance of its being covered at half tide, there was hardly an instance where such an occurrence took place, but every soul perished.

Mr. *Perceval* expressed his surprize that the business had been so long delayed. He also thought, if, as was stated the preceding night, no measure could be extended to Scotland at this period of the session, there was no call on the house at so late a period to confer a boon on that country.

The *Lord Advocate* said, he should be able to shew, if it should afterwards come before the house, that the measure alluded to was inapplicable to Scotland. He declared that he had no particular predilection for the present measure, which he only brought forward in the discharge of his duty as representing that part of the country where the beneficial effects of the measure would be most felt. As to the subject of money for carrying on the erection, that was not now before the house. The only question was, if it would be advantageous that the erection should take place. Besides the funds from which it would naturally fall to be supported, he understood they would be entitled to a farther sum from the commissioners for northern lights.

Mr. *Johnstone* recollected that his hon. relation (sir W. Pulteney) had formerly carried through this measure, and had shewn to the house that it would be highly advantageous to shipping in general, particularly to those ships trading from Hull and Scarborough.

Mr. *W. Smith* confirmed the statement. The cause of the former measure not succeeding, was an idea entertained of comprehending the Baltic trade among the ships which were to pay a certain per tonnage, which was objected to. The house would be better able to judge of the matter when the estimates came in. The resolution therefore had his concurrence.—The committee then passed resolutions declaratory of the advantages which would result from the erection of the lighthouse in question; and that there be paid for every British vessel passing in the line pointed out, being between Peterhead and Berwick-upon-Tweed, a duty of 1½d. per ton, and for every foreign vessel so passing 3d. per ton.

[Training Bill.] The house having resolved itself into a committee on the Training bill,

Sir *James Pulteney* proposed, as an amendment, that the first 200,000 men should be trained for two years instead of one, so that they would have 48 days training; a plan which would be more useful than giving 24 days training to double that number.

Mr. *Windham* resisted the amendment, because, as this would materially increase the burden, it might produce a greater degree of dissatisfaction than the advantage was worth. Perhaps the number of days for training might be increased, but that would be for future consideration.

Lord *Castlereagh* supported the amendment, and drew a comparison between the expence of this system and that of the volunteers. The expence of the former, he contended, would be greater without the same advantages. Since there was a provision in the bill for enabling the king to appoint officers for these trained men, he wished the right. hon. gent. had stated how he was to exercise this power. He thought it a most extraordinary thing, and one which was reserved for the present ministers alone, to ask such a power, without stating how they were to exercise it. These men would be far less efficient than the volunteers, who would be disgusted at the treatment they received.

Mr. *Windham* said that the noble lord was always fond of referring to the volunteers on all occasions. But this, and a great part of what he said, was quite out of place here. He was hardly excusable in following him, but as to the point of expence, he contended that that of the volunteers, taking the sums provided by private contributions, was much greater than the expence would be under this bill. Besides, here we had the advantage of both systems. It was true that under the bill of 1803 the men were to be trained 40 days. But then 20 of these days were Sundays, and these were here given up. It had been communicated to him from various quarters, that training men on that day diminished the reverence for it. On that point he would leave the noble lord in the hands of the gentlemen near him (Wilberforce and Bankes). If this was the case, we were to consider the disadvantage under which the additional training was gained. He himself wished earnestly to preserve the reverence for the Sabbath. He had shewn it when he wished to suppress the growing evil of Sunday Newspapers, though he did not experience the support from certain gentlemen which he might have expected. He did not think, however, that training men on Sundays would diminish their reverence for it, but in this point he had yielded to the opinions of others. As to the officers for these men, he never meant that they should be in the first instance permanently and regularly officered. These the king would appoint as he saw occasion. There must be officers, for instance, in case of invasion, to conduct them to the regiments, as it was not to be supposed that they were to have directions put about their necks and sent off in that manner.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* wished to ask, whether the men, when at drill, were to be under the command of the serjeant, or of the constable who was to stand over them? He was anxious to know what the right hon. gent. meant to do on this head, as, being a deputy lieutenant, enquiries might be directed to him on the subject.

Mr. *Windham* replied, that the serjeant would instruct them, and the constable would stand by (a loud laugh from the Opposition.) Though gentlemen might laugh, he would ask with Bayes in the Rehearsal, "Where was the joke?" He could not perceive any thing laughable in this. The constable was to be present, and to assist the serjeant in the performance of his duty, and this he would be better enabled to do, from long habits of legal obedience in the people.

Mr. *Perceval* observed that his right hon. friend's training act had provided a captain, lieutenant, ensign, and serjeant, for every body of 120 men. Here there was some rational provision for discipline and obedience. But there was now to be a constable to take the man to prison, if he did not turn out his toes properly, or obey the signals of "eyes right," or "eyes left," with sufficient promptitude. They were to be taken from the plough or the loom, just as they were, and only one serjeant and a constable to teach or enforce discipline.

Mr. *Windham* observed that even in volunteer corps, the captain was more military in name than in reality: rather a civil than a military character; and he had little doubt that the means now proposed to enforce obedience, would be just as effectual as those which had obtained among the volunteers.

Mr. *Perceval* replied that the volunteers had more of the *esprit du corps* than was likely to belong to the motley collections under the present bill, and therefore were more likely to advance in discipline.

Mr. *Bastard* was afraid that frequent quarrels would take place between the serjeant and the constable. Among the volunteers every thing was done by zeal and good will, but here all would be done by force and by the halbert.

Lord *H. Petty*, in answer to the observation of a noble lord with regard to the want of cloathing if called to act against the enemy, observed, that though in that case they could not be cloathed all at once, yet all those might be cloathed who were to act at one point; and, besides, this could form no objection to their being prepared in the mean time.

Mr. *Spencer Stanhope* objected to the

clause allowing the deputy lieutenants to choose the time and place for training or exercising; as he did not think that either deputy lieutenant, or any other person, would have a right to order any person to give up his field for that purpose, or even of bargaining for it.

Sir *J. Newport* replied that he considered that any deputy lieutenant, or person under them, might make the bargain under the powers of this act.

Mr. *Wilberforce* stated that many persons, whose opinions were intitled to great weight, objected to Sunday being appointed as the day of training. The actual consequences of its being at all allowed was, that drilling not only went on through the time of divine service, but inspections also took place. This produced a desertion of our churches, and a filling of our ale-houses on Sundays, which, he thought, was subversive of religion. As to the saving of money, that was a fallacious argument, for in every county the price of labour was so proportioned to the means of subsistence, that if men were to labour the seven days, they would receive no more than for working six days.

Mr. *Calvert* considered, that the military instruction was so sacred a duty that it might well be performed of a Sunday. In other countries it had been practised without any ill effect. It was practised in Switzerland, and yet he never heard that the Swiss were either an immoral or an irreligious nation. The fact was, that unless the training was of a Sunday, it would be so inconvenient as to be altogether impracticable.

Mr. *Yorke* declared, that although he had as much regard for the religion of the country as any other man, yet he considered that the training on a Sunday (provided that it was not in the hours of divine service) would relieve the labouring class from a great burden. It was not only in Switzerland that this was practised, but in this country it had been the established practice in the time of Henry the 8th, and in later times, that the people should be practised in the use of arms on that day.

Mr. *Windham* thought, that instead of causing irreverence and disregard to the Sabbath, it would, on the contrary, exalt and dignify the duty that they had to perform. He therefore supported the clause as it now stood.

Sir *J. Pulteney* declared, that he had seen many volunteers exercising on a Sunday, and he always observed that degree of decency and propriety that he thought gave a great solemnity to it. As to the prejudices of the people at large, he was convinced they were not against it, and he thought it would be extremely hard that the opinions or consciences of a few should deprive the nation of so great a benefit.—A long and desultory conversation took place. Mr. Calvert, who had moved for allowing them to be trained on a Sunday, finding the sense of the house against him, withdrew his amendment, and the clause was passed in its original state.—The chairman had leave to report progress, and the committee was appointed for Monday. Adjourned at two o'clock on Saturday morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, June 30.

[Affairs of India—Recal of sir G. Barlow.] Lord *Melville* adverted to the intention he had intimated on Thursday, of asking a question this day, respecting the affairs of India. Seeing a noble lord (Minto) in his place, he wished to ask, whether there existed at present any government general of India in Bengal, and if there did, of whom it consisted?

Lord *Minto* said, he felt no difficulty in answering the questions of the noble viscount, to whom, as well as to every noble lord in the house, he wished to give every information in his power, whenever it could be given with propriety. He conceived that the same government general of India existed now in Bengal as there did when that event took place, which was so much deplored, the death of marquis Cornwallis. He had no hesitation in stating, that his majesty had been advised to issue orders for vacating the commission under which the functions of the government of India were exercised. This had been done according to the terms of the act of parliament. There was, however, a provision made in the orders sent out, that all the members of the present government should exercise their functions, until the publication of a new commission at Calcutta. There would not, therefore, be a moment's interval between the cessation of the functions of one government, and the assumption of those functions by another.

Lord *Melville* felt it necessary to trouble the noble lord with another question, which was, whether any intimation had been sent to sir G. Barlow, that he only held the government until the arrival of a successor?

Lord *Minto* said, that intimation had been sent to sir G. Barlow of the vacation of the commission of government. The vacation of the commission of course applied to all the members of the council, but only *pro forma,* it not being the intention of government to make any change in the council. This, however, as the noble lord knew, rested with the court of directors: all he could say was, that it was not the intention of government to change any of the members of the council.

Lord *Melville* maintained, from what the noble lord had stated, that there was at present, virtually, no government general existing in India. From what had been stated by the noble lord, added to the dispatches in the gazette, which he had read within an hour of his coming to the house, he could not help feeling considerable anxiety with respect to the situation of affairs in India. His lordship gave notice of a motion respecting the government general of India for Friday, for which day the lords were ordered to be summoned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, June 30.

[MINUTES.] A new writ was ordered to be issued for the election of a member for the borough of Sligo, in the room of Owen Wynne, esq. who had accepted of the office of escheater of Munster.—Mr. Williams presented the 14th report of the commissioners of naval inquiry. Ordered to be printed.—Lord Howick said, that he was about to move for some papers, to the granting of which there could be no objection. It would be proper to state to the house the reason why he asked for them. Soon after he had come into office he had been informed on good authority that in consequence of the embankments at Catwater, near Plymouth, the Sound there might in a short time become unsafe for his majesty's ships. Having this information from respectable authority, he had thought the matter of sufficient moment to require examination. He had accordingly ordered an inquiry to be made by engineers, whose reports, in some degree, confirmed what he had heard on this point. They, however, requested time to make a more minute and accurate report, and this, by some accident, did not come to his hands till the 18th of the present month. This he stated to account for the lateness of the period at which he submitted this affair to the house. After he should have obtained the papers, his design was to refer them to a committee, which should inquire whether any injury was likely to arise to Plymouth Sound from these embankments, or if no injury was likely to arise, whether any more works of that kind should be allowed to be carried on without authority from some competent public body, or a consent on the part of the crown, such as was required in a grant of public money. He concluded by moving, for a copy of the report of the 18th, made by Messrs. Rennie and Whitby on this subject, and an extract of the other report, with the plan of the Sound. The motion was agreed to, the papers presented, and referred to a committee as proposed.—A message from the lords desired a present conference with the commons in a matter that concerned the good correspondence between the two houses. On the motion of lord Howick, the house agreed to the conference: managers were appointed and went out. On their return, lord Howick stated that the lords had communicated to them that in consequence of the examination of lord Teignmouth before the commons, relative to a charge against marquis Wellesley, they had taken the matter into their most serious consideration; that they had searched for precedents, but could only find one, which was that of lord Balcarras in 1779. On the motion of lord Howick this communication was ordered to be taken into consideration on Friday next.—On the motion of sir W. Young, lord Temple's proposed motion relative to the Oude charge was postponed from Wednesday to Friday.—Mr. Kerr gave notice that early next session he would move for a committee to examine the acts relative to the Irish roads.—Lord Douglas moved, that the return to the order of the house of the 8th of May, for an account of the gratuities and pensions granted by the East India company since 1793, should be made forthwith. Ordered.—The Greenwich chest and Greenwich hospital bills were brought up, read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time, and to be printed.—On the motion of Mr. Windham, the training bill was committed, when a discussion took place on every clause; the whole, however, was at length got through, the house resumed, the report was received, and ordered to be taken into farther consideration the next day.—Mr. Yorke gave notice that he should on the third reading of the bill propose a clause, enabling his Majesty, if a sufficient number of volunteers to his satisfaction should offer, to suspend the operation of the bill.

[BARRACKS.] The *Secretary at War* said, that seeing an hon. member in his place, who had moved for certain papers relative to the Barrack department he wished to know whether he meant to bring forward any motion on them?

Mr. *Robson* answered, that he made a motion for such papers, but that the business had been taken out of his hands by the chancellor of the exchequer, and if he did justice to the cause he had taken in hand, it would not be necessary for him to make any motion on the subject; but if the chancellor of the exchequer did not pursue it, he would make a motion on the subject in the course of the present week.

The *Secretary at War* wished the hon. Member would name the day, as he had other papers to move for, which would throw more light on the subject.

Mr. *Robson* replied that he understood by what had passed that the chancellor of the exchequer had abandoned the business, and he therefore gave notice, that he would, on Friday, bring forward a motion on the subject.

The *Secretary at War* said he had no authority from the chancellor of the exchequer, who was not then in his place, to say he had abandoned the business, nor did he say any such thing.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 1.

[MINUTES.] The Insolvent Debtors bill was read a third time and passed, with an amendment proposed by lord Ellenborough, the object of which was to exclude persons from the benefit of the act, who were in custody under verdicts obtained against them for any malicious injury.—Lord Westmoreland thought that every possible information that could throw light on the present state of our affairs in India, should be laid before the house before the discussion which was expected to take place on Friday next. He should therefore move an humble address to his majesty, praying he would be graciously pleased to give instructions for the production of the following papers, to which he did not conceive there could be any objections, viz. a copy of the warrant issued under his majesty's sign manual, vacating the commission of the governor general of Bengal, &c. granted.—A copy of the treaties lately received from India, &c. granted.—A copy of dispatches, if any, which might tend to explain the nature of these treaties. Also, a copy of dispatches, if any, which related to the means of meliorating the financial state of our East India possessions.—Lord Minto said, that he willingly agreed to the production of the three first papers, moved for by the noble earl; but he should think it improper to produce the two latter, which contained only confidential opinions, which were not intended to be made public.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 1.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Hurst presented a petition from the Albion Fire and Life Insurance Company, against the bill for incorporating the Globe Insurance Company, praying to be heard by counsel against the same. Referred to the committee on the said bill.—On the motion of sir J. Sinclair, the house went into a committee, to consider the report of the committee on the Expiring Laws, in which a resolution was agreed to, that the act of the 45th of his present majesty, for allowing, under certain restrictions, until the 1st of August 1806, the bringing of coals by inland navigation to the cities of London and Westminster, had nearly expired, and that it was advisable to renew it. The house having been resumed, the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—Mr. Calcraft obtained leave to bring in a bill to vest certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in trustees, for the purpose of securing his majesty's docks at Portsmouth, and extending the works at Dover. Mr. C. immediately brought up the above, which was read a first time.—Mr. Vansittart obtained leave to bring in a bill to consolidate the several acts for building and improving the streets leading to Westminster-hall and the two houses of parliament.—Sir C. Price brought up a bill for making certain regulations concerning Smithfield market. Read a first, and ordered to be read a second time.—On the motion of sir J. Newport, the Irish Butterage bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed.—On the motion of sir J. Newport, the Irish Militia bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—Mr. Secretary Windham, in moving that the report of the committee on the Training bill be taken into further consideration, observed, that it was his intention to propose several new clauses, and suggested the propriety of postponing any further discussion until the report should be again considered, which he meant to move should take place on Thursday. — Mr. Canning had no objection to the course of proceeding which the right hon. gent. suggested, although it would be attended with some inconvenience to the gentlemen who remained in town solely on this account. He should avail himself of the next opportunity to take the sense of the house on the principle of the bill, which in his opinion, no new clauses whatever could possibly amend.—A variety of clauses was then introduced by Mr. Windham, and the report was ordered to be taken into further consideration on Thursday.

[BARRACKS.] The *Secretary at War* moved for the production of copies of certain letters which passed between the secretary at war, the barrack master general, the deputy barrack master general, and major Davis, barrack master of Sandown, relative to the building of barracks, and the hiring of barns, &c. in the Isle of Wight, including the letter of the secretary at war, on the 15th of February last, which communicated his majesty's order for the dismissal of Mr. Atkins from his office as barrack master of Sandown.—Ordered. They were accordingly presented, ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. *Robson* thought proper to add to the papers just presented another document connected with the same subject. In calling the attention of the house to this business, he could assure gentlemen that his sole motive was to prevent the improper expenditure of the public money, and he was persuaded that the right hon. secretary had no other object. With a view to that object he had to move for a paper to the production of which he hoped there would be no objection, as it would serve to afford the house much useful information. The hon. member then moved for a Copy of the Memorial presented by John Pritchard, late barrack master of Sandown, to the Commissioners of Military Inquiry, relative to certain glaring peculations in the barrack department.

The *Speaker* suggested to the hon. mover, that the latter words of his motion were rather such as it was unusual to introduce or admit in describing a paper to be submitted to that house.

Mr. *Robson* said, that he took the description from the title of the memorial itself.

The *Secretary at War* concurred in the observations of the Speaker, and suggested the insertion of "certain practices," in lieu of the words objected to.—This suggestion was adopted, and the motion, so amended, was agreed to.

[IRISH QUIT RENTS BILL.] Upon the motion of sir John Newport, that the Irish Quit Rents Sale amendment bill should be read a second time.

Mr. *J. Fitzgerald* opposed the motion, on the ground that the bill proposed to dispose of, for ever, a large proportion of the hereditary revenue of the crown. This bill, the right hon. gent. observed, passed the Irish parliament in 1798, and was meant to produce a certain sum for the supplies of that year, but it produced nothing; and it was rather odd to have it proposed now, when the supplies of the year were provided for. Such a measure could not be acceded to, without, in his opinion, doing great injustice to his majesty's successors; and he begged the house to consider that the practice had never been heard of in England, of disposing of the hereditary revenues of the crown, without allowing an hereditary compensation, which was not the case in this instance.

Sir *J. Newport* was surprised at the opposition made to this bill, which was introduced solely to amend a verbal inaccuracy in the Irish bill passed on this subject in the year 1798. The right hon. baronet denied that this bill was meant for an immediate supply to the finances of Ireland; for, from its very nature, its produce must be progressive. No minister could calculate upon the sale of a revenue of 60, or 70,000l. within one year. This revenue was, it must be recollected, commuted for an adequate increase in the Irish civil list; and gentlemen must be aware that those great risks produced more arrears and insolvency among collectors than any other branch of the public revenue.

Mr. *Foster* concurred in the opinion of his hon. friend (Mr. Fitzgerald), and maintained that, as the sum proposed to be raised by this means was one million, the object could he attained on cheaper terms, as the late loan sufficiently proved. He recommended the postponement of the proposition till next sessions.—The further consideration of the bill was agreed to be put off till Monday.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 2.

[MINUTES.] Lord Grenville presented a message from his majesty, adverting to the inadequacy of the funds at present assigned for the provision of the younger branches of the Royal Family (similar to that presented to the House of Commons, and to which we refer), and desiring the concurrence of their lordships in such measures as may be deemed necessary, to enable his majesty to supply such deficiencies, &c. The message being read in the usual way, the same was, on the motion of lord Grenville, ordered to be taken into consideration to-morrow, and the lords summoned thereon.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA—RECAL OF SIR G. BARLOW.] Lord *Minto* seeing a noble earl in his place (Westmoreland), begged leave to address a few observations to their lordships, for the purpose of explaining and rectifying a mistake which he had made, inadvertently, yesterday, for want of proper information at the moment. What he alluded to, was his statement in the conversation which took place between him and the noble earl, on the subject of the India Papers he had moved for—"that there had been no correspondence between the Board of Controul and the Court of Directors, on the topic of vacating the present Commission of the Government General in Bengal, after that proceeding had taken place." It happened, however, and which had since come to his knowledge, that some correspondence had taken place between those officers, after the circumstance alluded to had occurred; but he felt it incumbent on him to observe, that those communications were of a nature involving such particular points and considerations, that he must resist any motion tending to their public exposure, unless very clear, and very strong grounds indeed, should be laid for the propriety or expediency of such a production. Of this, he thought proper to apprise the noble viscount, on whose behalf he imagined the noble earl opposite to him came forward on the occasion. In the course of that morning, he had understood, he observed, it was intended to move for the production of those papers.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* shortly stated that his noble friend (lord Melville) intending to postpone the motion he had given notice of on Friday, to another day, he would therefore move to discharge the order for summoning their lordships for Friday next, in order to renew the same for Tuesday next.

Lord *Minto* had no objection to the proceeding, but expressed his wish to know, whether it was the intention of the noble viscount to move for the papers he had adverted to? To this query, the earl of Westmoreland answered in the affirmative. The order was then discharged, and a similar order made for summoning their lordships on Tuesday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 2.

[MINUTES.] The Insolvent Debtors bill was read a first time.—Mr. Vansittart brought up a bill for consolidating and rendering more effectual several acts for improving the approaches to Westminster Hall, and the two Houses of Parliament. Read a first time.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee on the act for allowing the introduction of a limited quantity of coals into the cities of London and Westminster by the Inland navigation. The resolution of the committee was agreed to, and a Bill for continuing the act of the 45th of the king, for that purpose, ordered pursuant thereto.—Mr. Vansittart moved, "that the house do resolve itself into a committee of ways and means," in which it was resolved that the lords commissioners of the treasury should be empowered to issue tickets, not exceeding 100,000, for the purposes of one or more lotteries for the present year, on the usual terms of 10l. a ticket, and subject to such regulations as the Lords of the Treasury shall think proper. The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—The House, on the motion of Mr. Vansittart, resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of allowing a bounty on the exportation of oil of vitriol, in which it was resolved that a bounty of 5s. 6d. per cwt. should be allowed on all oil of vitriol made in Great Britain, and exported to foreign parts. The report was ordered to be received to-morrow. Mr. Vansittart moved, that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to consider of the supply granted to his majesty; in which it was resolved, that a sum not exceeding 1,000,000l. be granted to his majesty to enable him to pay the same to the East India company, for money laid out by them in the public service. Also a sum not exceeding 3,000,000l. towards defraying the expences of the extraordinaries of the army for the year 1806. Also 600,000l. for the extraordinaries of the army in Ireland Also 5507l. 18s. 8d. for the purchase of ordnance lands, for the better security of the docks, ships, and stores at Chatham. The house was resumed, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.—On the motion of sir J. Sinclair, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the report of the committee on Scotch forfeited estates, in which various sums arising from the said forfeited estates were voted in aid of different specific purposes; such as completing the buildings for the court of Exchequer, promoting the fisheries, and the agricultural interests of the Highlands and for the support and repairs of roads and bridges in Scotland. The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

[KING'S MESSAGE RELATING TO THE ROYAL FAMILY.] Lord *Henry Petty* acquainted the house, that he had a message from his majesty to this house, signed by his majesty; and he presented the same to the house; and it was read by the Speaker, and is as followeth, viz.

"George R.—His Majesty having, by "his message of the 8th day of April, "1778, recommended to his faithful commons to make competent provision for "the honourable support and maintenance of the younger branches of the "Royal Family, and in consequence "thereof, an act having passed, charging "certain annuities, for such purpose, "upon the aggregate fund of Great "Britain; but no provision having afterwards been made in the act, by which "the several revenues composing the "said aggregate fund were transferred to "the consolidated fund of G. Britain, "for securing the said annuities, by reason whereof the provision so recommended by his maj. and carried into "effect by act of parliament, has failed "and become ineffectual; his maj. recommends to the house of commons to "consider of such measures as may be "necessary for securing the said annuities "upon the consolidated fund, and his "maj. cannot forbear taking this occasion to express his desire, that his "faithful commons will take into consideration the propriety of such increase of the said allowances, as the "change of circumstances that has since "taken place shall appear to have rendered just and reasonable; and that "they will make such further provision, "in consequence thereof, as the nature "of the case shall be found to require."—The message was referred to the committee of supplies.

[AUDITOR'S BILL.] Lord *Henry Petty* moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Auditor's bill.

Mr. *T. Jones* wished, as considerable doubts had gone abroad on the subject, to ask the noble lord whether they were to understand that any considerable portion of the 450 millions, he had stated on a former occasion as the amount of unaudited accounts, was recoverable to the public?

Lord *Henry Petty* was surprised, after all the discussions that had taken place on the subject, and all the explanations that had been given, that any doubt could be entertained on this subject. He meant as he had stated, that public accounts to that amount were still unaudited, and of course unaccounted for, that is, that the accounts had not been regularly investigated, or finally audited.

Mr. *Rose* stated, that he did not expect the second reading to have been pressed this night, the bill having only come into the hands of the members within the last two or three hours.

Lord *H. Petty* said, he had no wish to press the bill, but thought the debate on the principle might as well take place on the question for the Speaker's leaving the chair. To this

Mr. *Rose* assented. He had, however, serious objections to the principle of the bill which he thought calculated to raise the surmises to which an hon. gent. (Mr. Jones) had just alluded. He maintained that nine tenths of the 450 millions mentioned by the noble lord as unaudited had actually been audited before they came to be considered by the Commissioners of Accounts, by whom it had formerly been resolved, that it was an unnecessary waste of the public money, to audit the accounts of the Navy, Army, Bank, Ordnance, Customs, &c. which were actually audited, and effectually audited, previous to their coming before them. If these were laid out of the computation he contended that not ten millions would remain of accounts unaudited, and if the noble lord at the head of the Treasury Board, or the noble lord opposite, had been aware of this circumstance, he was convinced the house would never have been troubled with the present bill.

The *Attorney General* could not allow the noble lord's statement to have been so much misunderstood by the public, as to be interpreted into an assurance, that the vast sum unaccounted for was a recoverable balance yet applicable to the public service. It was certainly a public evil calling for an immediate and decisive remedy, that the accounts to so large an amount should remain above 20 years unexamined, as was the case with those of the Paymaster of the Forces. Nothing could be a greater temptation to abuse.

Mr. *Huskisson* said the paymaster was merely bound to return a list of those to whom he issued the sums drawn by him from the Exchequer; and those persons were bound to account for what was issued to them. That had been done with very few exceptions.

Mr. *T. Jones* hoped the bill would make effectual provision for a speedy audit. He would propose a clause to that effect in a future stage.

Mr. *Windham* could not conceive how a delay of 20 years could have occurred in the audit of the paymaster's accounts, if the sub-accountants had accounted regularly.

Mr. *Rose*, in explanation stated, that the paymaster was to give in a certified list of those to whom he issued the money: the Commissioners of Audit were then to call on the persons named in this list.—The bill was then read a second time.

[ASSESSED TAXES ALLOWANCE BILL.] Lord Henry Petty moved the further consideration of the report of this bill.

Mr. *Huskisson* wished the noble lord to be more explicit in his explanation of this measure. When he proposed an increase of the property tax, the noble lord thought that no allowance should be made in it for the number of children, and now it was impossible to discover, whether he proposed this abatement in consideration of the pressure of the property tax, the assessed taxes, or the taxes generally. One thing was certain, that this would make a very great diminution, to the extent of 2 or 300,000*l.* in the produce of the revenue upon the permanent taxes. The assessments afforded no criterion of a man's income, and the bill should properly state the principle on which it proceeded. The surplus of the consolidated fund was a security against any defalcations: but by this exemption, it would be considerably diminished. The noble lord found himself under the necessity of adding 1,200,000*l.* to the permanent taxes; and, by this measure, he would increase the charge upon them, without having made any further provision for it. If the war should cease, the noble lord might be induced to repeal the property tax, and this deduction would operate on that part of the consolidated fund, upon which there were permanent charges. He stated his intention to propose a clause for remedying this inconvenience.

Lord *H. Petty* remarked, that when he proposed the additional property tax, the gentlemen on the other side seemed to wish the exemptions to be continued as before; but he thought it objectionable, as well upon general principles, as in its application to the execution of that tax. This mode also was not entirely consistent with what he conceived to be the general principles of taxation; but he adopted it, as being less objectionable in practice than the other. He held it to be the most blameable and mischievous of all delusions, to hold out exemptions, which could not be realized, on account of the difficulties and impediments that might be thrown in their way, which could not happen in this case. He had no objection to explain, that the principle of this allowance arose out of the general pressure of taxation upon the people of this country, and he did not wish to limit it as to time, but to let it remain, while that pressure continued. It was true, that some inequalities would necessarily exist in it; but if it were made general, it would lead to that delusion, which he was desirous of avoiding. As to the diminution it would occasion, that would be made up by the surplus upon other taxes, and the consolidated fund would be secured by giving it a credit in the war taxes.

Mr. *Huskisson* still objected to the diverting of any part of the permanent taxes, for the purpose of relief from the pressure of the temporary taxes. He concluded by moving a clause, by which it was provided that a sum equal to the amount of the exemption should be paid into the consolidated fund out of the property tax.—Lord H. Petty agreed to this amendment, and the bill was ordered to be read a third time the next day.

[VACCINE INOCULATION.] Lord *Henry Petty* rose, and addressed the house as follows:—I rise, sir, in pursuance of the notice I gave to the house a few days [illegible]o, to call your attention to a subject [illegible]eneral importance. It is indeed a subject which is totally unconnected with all party principles. It however, concerns the welfare, health, and existence of a large portion of his majesty's subjects, and, therefore, is well deserving of the consideration and support of parliament. I mean, sir, that very remarkable discovery, and the practice which has followed it, of inoculation of the cow-pox, commonly called Vaccine Inoculation, as a substitute for the loathsome small pox, an evil which has spread a dreadful desolation throughout the whole world. In submitting this subject to your notice, I shall not enter minutely into an investigation, or inquiry, as to the gradual progress which the practice of this inoculation has made among the several nations of Europe. I shall briefly mention it to be the discovery of an eminent and most celebrated physician, who for 30 years has devoted his whole mind and attention to promote its salutary effects amongst mankind. The knowledge of this important subject first commenced in the year 1777: so early did it strike Dr. Jenner, a name which has become well known amongst all the nations in Europe, and indeed throughout the whole world. That gentleman, by devoting the whole of his time, attention, and labours, to this subject, has, by a slow and gradual progress, brought the practice of his valuable discovery into very great reputation. It was, however, in the year 1796, when he first thought of extending its benefits by inoculation. To that illustrious character, therefore, we are entitled to ascribe our being likely to get rid of the small pox, one of the most dangerous calamities that mankind has ever been afflicted with.—In the year 1798, Dr. Jenner having ascertained its advantages by sufficient experiments, it was extended, and soon after submitted to the consideration of this house, and under its sanction, and chiefly owing to its patronage, it was established throughout England. In the year 1799, this discovery gained its way over the whole continent of America, and even amongst the Indians, it has been practised with a degree of success fully answering the most sanguine expectations of him who at first suggested it. In 1800 it was adopted upon the continent; and, under the auspices of our commander in chief, it extended to the shores of the Mediterranean. Afterwards from its favourable reception in the kingdom of Naples, and most of the Italian states, it gradually made its progress northwards. In Russia, Prussia, and Denmark it was eagerly embraced; but I could wish to call the attention of the house in a particular manner to the success which it has met with in the dominions of the House of Austria. In the year preceding its introduction into Vienna, the average amount of deaths, occasioned by the small pox, was 835, but in 1799 the vaccine inoculation was introduced, and in 1802 the number of deaths arising from that fatal malady was reduced to 61. In 1803 it was further reduced to 27, and in 1804 the actual number who died of the small pox amounted to two persons only, and these were arrivals from the country. Upon a fair calculation, therefore, it may reasonably be computed that the whole annual saving of the lives of persons from that disorder, amounts on an average to 833 in one capital, by the beneficial practice of vacine inoculation. After having stated this fact, which makes the deepest impression upon my mind, I think I have submitted one of the strongest motives which have induced me to adopt some measure to promote its progress in our own country. While the inhabitants of all Europe and America are at this moment reaping the beneficial consequences of such a wonderful discovery; while in the East Indies alone, there have been upwards of 800,000 persons inoculated in the space of a single year; and whilst in the empire of China, too, its introduction has become general, and it has been regularly successful in its effects in every part of the globe; I am sorry, extremely hurt, however, to observe, that in this country alone, in which the discovery had originated, the salutary practice of vaccine inoculation has been of late years undergoing a retrograde movement. What has been the real cause of this melancholy circumstance? Objections certainly have been started, and the promulgation of them in the manner in which they have been circulated throughout the kingdom, has no doubt had the effect of arresting very considerably the progress of vaccination, and of spreading abroad the dreadful consequences of the original malady, thereby increasing the number of its victims. I observe, in the city of London, in the year 1802, the average number of deaths for six years, was 1811, but the effects of the vaccine inoculation, at first, went considerably to reduce that number, and in 1804 it was only 629, being about one-third of the average number of individuals who had perished by the small pox, for six years preceding the introduction of vaccination. But, in consequence of the numerous prejudices which have been excited, and the opinions that have been circulated adverse to vaccination, the original practice of inoculating for the small pox has been gradually making progress, and the number of deaths which have happened during the last year has amounted to no less than 1680, which is bringing back nearly that average degree of depopulation which had been experienced previous to the introduction of the vaccine discovery. Under these alarming circumstances, sir, I found, that in every point of view, this measure claims the most serious attention of the legislature, and, therefore, I am now about to submit some mode of procedure concerning it. I have not the smallest inclination to propose any compulsory measures, being well convinced that whatever may be our view of any subject of science, this house ought to pause very long indeed, before they prescribe any law to individuals upon matters which relate to their own health, and even on which the very existence of their children may depend. These, indeed, are topics upon which private individuals in society are to be allowed to be the most competent judges; but, if I am not to have recourse to compulsory measures, I feel that it is at least a duty incumbent upon me in the situation in which I stand at this time, to submit a motion to this house, to which, if they agree, their procedure will tend to enlighten the public, by informing them in a formal and regular manner, of what appears to us to be the truth. It will give to this valuable discovery the advantage of having all the weight of promulgation which the high character and popularity of parliament is capable of. With that view, I shall think it proper to submit a plan by which this house shall become possessed of a mass of evidence as to the real merits of this discovery; which will prove highly satisfactory both to ourselves and to the public at large. This measure I propose to effect by the house voting an address to his majesty, praying that his royal college of physicians shall be requested to enquire into the progress of vaccine inoculation, and to assign the causes of its success having been retarded throughout the united kingdoms, in order that their report may be made to this house of parliament, and that we may take the most proper means of publishing it to the inhabitants at large. If the result of such proposed inquiry turn out (as I am strongly disposed to think it will) a corroboration of the beneficial effects which other nations seem convinced are derived from vaccine inoculation, it will satisfy the people of this country of the many evils which arise from the rapid progress of the other fatal species of disorder. It will prove to them that the bad effects which have been ascribed to vaccination have been dreadfully exaggerated; and that the temporary duration of its benefits, in a few cases, have been owing to some kind of mismanagement. If such shall be the result of the proposed inquiry, I have no hesitation in saying that it ought afterwards to be for this house to consider whether or not any reward has been bestowed upon the original discoverer of vaccine inoculation, which is in any degree adequate to its real importance, and as such consistent with the general character and liberality of this country. This, however, is a subject for after consideration; but in the mean time the house will agree with me as to the propriety of collecting opinions relative to the general effects of this mode of inoculation, and to show to the world that if there be any truth as to its benefits, we shall not be the first to reject them; but that, on the contrary, we shall use every means to encourage its progress, and this in a manner consistent with the dignity and character of our nation.—The noble lord concluded with moving, "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to request that his majesty will be graciously pleased to direct his College of Physicians to enquire into the state of vaccine inoculation in the united kingdom, and to report their opinion and observations upon that practice, the evidence which has been adduced in its support, and the causes which have hitherto retarded its general adoption; and that his majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that the said report, when made, may be laid before this house.

Dr. *Matthews.*—It is with much satisfaction, sir, that I rise to second the motion which the noble lord has just now made, and to take this opportunity of stating my own sentiments upon this invaluable discovery. From the time of its first publication to the world I have paid it the utmost attention, and have carefully watched its progress. I must confess that, at first, although I was perfectly disposed to admit the veracity of the celebrated discoverer himself, yet I received the accounts of its success with a certain degree of caution. I then thought that it might be attended with considerable hazard to society were we to give up practising a mode, the good effects of which had been already fully experienced, in order to adopt one which might be uncertain, precarious, and dangerous in its consequences. Under these impressions, sir, I attended with assiduity to the progress of this new practice as it advanced, and the result has been, that my mind has now received the fullest conviction of the vast superiority of the vaccine inoculation over that of the small pox inoculation. It may be right, that I should, on an occasion like the present, submit to your notice a few of the most striking circumstances which have occurred to me as to the effects of the original mode of inoculation for the small pox. In the first place, in many cases, where the disorder takes a bad turn, not only will deformities arise upon the human countenance, but death itself, in its most awful form often ensues. In the second place, however beneficial this original mode of prevention may be to individuals, it is well known that it forms a magazine of the most dreadful evils, and that contagion, with all its baneful effects, usually follows. A reference to the bills of mortality will prove this assertion, and show to demonstration, that the number of deaths have been greatly increased since the first discovery of the small pox inoculation. In the third place, my great objection to conveying the variolous matter into the human constitution is, that it has been the means of introducing scrophula, which is a more dangerous and pernicious disorder than even the natural small pox itself; insomuch, as that the one makes a speedy and the other, a slow progress towards, death. The numerous cases which have come under my own observation, since the introduction of the vaccine inoculation, have effectually persuaded me of its advantageous effects, notwithstanding the variety of opinions it has excited, and the several instances which have been adduced to demonstrate its failure. These instances, sir, I have found upon minute investigation, have been exceedingly equivocal, and in several cases the experiment has turned out not to have been properly performed. Where a few instances have been produced to prove that the small pox had ensued even after vaccine inoculation, they by no means tend to convince me of the inefficacy of the discovery; for even similar cases are known to have occurred in the other species of inoculation. None of the instances, which have hitherto been brought forward by those who professed themselves to be enemies to this valuable and important discovery have had the smallest effect in creating doubts in my mind as to its ultimate success. I have no hesitation, therefore, in saying at this moment that I am fully convinced, the result of further experience will correspond completely with my most sanguine expectations.

I cannot doubt, sir, that the country in a short time will hasten to testify further marks of its gratitude for the inestimable benefits it has received from the assiduous exertions of the respectable and learned doctor to whom this important discovery is owing. His name, I doubt not, will be enrolled by posterity amongst those

> 'Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes
> Atque sui memores alios fecere merendi.'

Such are the grounds upon which I rose to second this motion of the noble lord, and I have only to express my hope that the house of commons will add some other solid proofs of its gratitude, and thereby shew the disposition in parliament to encourage all manner of discoveries which tend materially to the general benefit of mankind.

Mr. *Wilberforce.*—It gives me, sir, the greatest pleasure to find that the noble lord opposite me has now taken up this question. I have long entertained an anxious desire, that such an important subject should be brought into the house, through the medium of some individual in an high and powerful situation. Although that noble lord has fulfilled my hopes and expectations in this respect, yet, sir, I am greatly disposed to doubt, whether the plan he has just now suggested is so likely to have the desired effect as some others that might be submitted to the consideration of the house. It may be remembered, that some time ago, a certificate had been made out and signed by a most respectable body of medical gentlemen, as to the propriety and efficacy of vaccine inoculation. I believe that every medical name of any celebrity, in the city of London and its environs, was attached to that certificate, and, therefore, so far as the effect of such a mode of procedure, as relates to medical men could go, it has already been tried. Undoubtedly there have been various rumours circulated and arguments raised against the practice of inoculation for the cow pox, and every one has heard of some individual instances of failure, and it has unfortunately happened, that many of these failures have originated through the imprudent management even of its best friends. Many persons have taken upon them to give this disorder, without any study, relying upon the bare description they had received of it, believing this to be sufficient to enable any individual to pronounce upon its real character, and to practise it with success and the utmost safety. This, I believe, has been carried too far, and consequently there have been instances in which persons have been inoculated with the vaccine matter, who have had no true disease; hence some have had the natural, and others the inoculated small pox, at some distance of time after such imperfect operation. To this kind of mismanagement I am inclined to attribute the foundation of the various publications which have tended to retard the progress of this valuable and important discovery. What I conceive as a preferable and more practicable course of procedure, in regard to the object which the noble lord has in view, would be, that a committee of the house of commons, and another of the house of lords, should be appointed to enquire into the actual state of the disease, and to receive evidence as to its progress and effects. When the last measure was adopted by the house of commons, upon this same subject, various cases were brought forward by persons who said that the practice of inoculation amounted to a failure; such cases were heard by the committee with the greatest impartiality, yet we all know how favourable their ultimate report to the house was as to its success. Upon these grounds I cannot help thinking that another report of a similar nature with the former, being presented to the house, would be attended with much greater advantages than merely a report or certificate, from the college of physicians, and would be much more congenial to the inclinations and feelings of the people of this country. The one might be considered as being biassed by prejudice, but the other universally as acting with the greatest impartiality for the general good of the nation. Although I agree with the noble lord, that compulsory measures, in such cases ought carefully to be avoided, if possible; at the same time I think there is another method which may be adopted with absolute justice and propriety. Although we cannot force people to inoculate with the vaccine matter, in preference to that of the small pox, yet we may impose certain rules, or restrictions, on those who do put the latter practice into execution upon their children. This would contribute greatly to secure the public against the effects of contagion, in the same manner as is done in the case of the plague. The laws of quarantine have continued long enough to be enforced, and have been found to be attended with infinite advantage. These may be deemed a constraint upon the public, but having proved so beneficial, why not impose the same controul over mankind in other cases where communications with the diseased may be attended with dangerous consequences? Now we know, sir, that the small pox has been found by long and fatal experience, to be nearly a kind of plague, so that great advantage would arise to society were we to prohibit persons who do not vaccinate their children, from allowing them, when labouring under the small pox, to go out amongst others who have hitherto escaped its dreadful consequences. This is a sort of justice, which I conceive parliament owes to the country, and a benefit, which would, by our example being followed, even extend itself to other countries. The present permission of variolated patients going abroad amongst society is not productive of any advantages, either to the children themselves, or their parents. If we found that the parents were not willing to confine their children in their own houses, would there not be an evident propriety in government having places appointed for that express purpose? I only throw out these hints, as I think it is a thing which gentlemen ought to hold in their minds. This measure of regulation could by no possible construction be reckoned as compulsory upon the feelings of the people, or in any degree injurious to the liberty of society. It is merely an act of security, rendered necessary in order to guard the lives of some of our fellow-creatures against infection, and is both a salutary and mild restriction. It is not contrary to measures which parliament have it in their power to adopt, in regard to other cases of contagious disorders. I remember perfectly well, that soon after the discovery of vaccine inoculation, it was said that many more people had died of the small pox than before; this however, was found to be entirely owing to the patients going into the open air, and catching infection at a time when they were most susceptible of it. I am not at all surprised that the practice of vaccine inoculation has made so very little progress in this the very country where it originated, as it is owing to one of those curious circumstances which arise from the state and principles of human nature that new discoveries are viewed with greater caution and surprise in those places where they are first made, than in those countries where they are afterwards disseminated. While in other countries great labour and pains are bestowed in cultivating and improving a discovery, and in putting it into practice for the benefit of the human race, it is often found that the reputation of its original success dies gradually away in the very country which gave it birth.—Now, Sir, what is the best mode of getting the better of that extraordinary antipathy which arises in the human mind upon the subject of discoveries or innovations? Is it not to infuse information into the minds of the people by every possible means! To hold out to their view proofs of its superior efficacy in foreign countries, and to demonstrate clearly the advantages with which it might naturally be attended in our own? and to remove those prejudices which have arisen from the vague and unfounded reports of self-interested individuals? These surely are the means which, if adopted, would tend to disseminate the happy consequences of this useful and wonderful discovery throughout the inhabitants of our own country, and still farther to extend its advantages to the most distant quarters of the globe, On the whole, sir, I cannot help wishing, that the noble lord would consider whether, or not, it would be practicable to appoint such a committee to report to the house the result of their investigations against next session of parliament, and also to ascertain whether, or not, such restrictions as those which I have now suggested, would not be attended with most beneficial consequences to the health, welfare, and happiness of society. The plan of having this committee to procure the evidence adduced before themselves, I am convinced would be much better relished by the country than the mode proposed by the present motion of leaving that committee to form this judgment upon the previous report of the College of Physicians. The same species of evidence would still be open to them, and they would no doubt be inclined to view the whole through an impartial medium; their minds being previously quite unbiassed upon the subject, would only be susceptible of changes by the evidence before them.

Mr. Secretary *Windham.*—The only point, sir, in which it appears to me, that we differ in opinion, as to the subject under our consideration, is, as to the mode that ought to be pursued in effecting the object we have in view. Upon this point I must say, that I am rather inclined to give the preference to the plan which has been suggested by my noble friend, who brought forward this motion. The proposition which has been just now made by the hon. gent. seems to be merely a commutation of that which has been suggested by the noble lord near me. The whole difference turns upon the question of substituting the report of a committee of this house for that of the College of Physicians. The hon. member seems to think, that an investigation and report, proceeding from a committee, would have more weight and authority with the public, than a report issuing from a body of Physicians. In this particular, however, I must beg leave to differ from him, as I think a committee of this house would be less competent to form a correct and sound judgment upon the subject, than medical men would be. Their incompetency would be felt and considered by the public, and consequently an opinion from them, as to the good or bad effects of the vaccine inoculation would have much less weight on their minds. It would not tend to allay their suspicions, nor administer a guidance for their future conduct. Far different, however, would be the effect of a report proceeding from that learned and respectable body, the Royal College of Physicians, most formally called upon by parliament. By the noble lord's plan, I think the authority and influence of parliament would come in just in the way in which it ought to come. "It will add a superior degree of solemnity to our sanction of what we deem a most useful and highly beneficial discovery. In the one case, the house would be grounding their procedure upon the opinion of a committee, founded perhaps upon fallacious principles, while in the other they will proceed upon the surest grounds, upon the sentiments and opinions of men of experience, in a learned profession, which enables them to judge with superior accuracy and acuteness upon subjects connected with that profession. To committees of this house the common adage might be applied, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam;* for it is a well-known fact, that a man is always a more competent judge of matters relating to his own profession than another who is a perfect stranger to such subjects.—On the whole, I think, that the plan of my noble friend would have infinitely the best chance of overcoming the public prejudices, and of giving validity to the opinions of those best able to judge of the real merits of this valuable discovery made by Dr. Jenner. Perhaps, indeed, these prejudices may be found already too deeply rooted in the minds of some few individuals to be extirpated by the combined efforts both of the college of physicians and of parliament, if we were to judge from the failure of our former sanction, in accomplishing the utmost of our wishes. This, however, I sincerely trust will not be the case, as I am one of those who, convinced of its superior efficacy by its success in foreign countries, have only to deplore that it has not met with better encouragement in our own.—The hon. gent. who spoke last recommends a certain species of compulsion, and indeed I think it is such a one as the legislature of any country may, in certain cases, be well entitled to adopt, in order to prevent contagious maladies from spreading among society. Such compulsory measures ought, however, not to be adopted except in cases of the most urgent necessity. If it really can be shewn that compulsory measures are requisite upon the present occasion, then is parliament blameable for not having adopted them sooner.—It is now common to be scandalized at seeing the wretched and miserable objects, who are afflicted with this baneful disorder, carried about in the public streets, in the arms of their anxious and afflicted parents, mingling with society, as if no such infectious disease existed.—I know well, however, that the moment any kind of compulsion is adopted upon subjects of this sort, that moment there is a greater degree of hatred excited in the public mind against what may be judiciously prescribed; and I therefore should be exceedingly unwilling to resort to such a measure.—The mild, solemn, and considerate recommendation of vaccination by parliament being what they judge the most prudent plan to be pursued, will no doubt go infinitely further than any constraint whatever. Had the question this day related solely to the quantum of reward which parliament ought to bestow upon the discoverer of this most efficacious and beneficial practice, I should not have objected to the appointment of a committee in the manner the hon. member proposes, namely for the purpose of leaving the business entirely to their discretion. That subject, however, will be more fit for future consideration, when this previous point is properly ascertained to the satisfaction of the public. Then will be the time to remunerate and encourage that meritorious individual to whom society in general owes the utmost gratitude and favour, and who, I cannot help thinking, has not yet been sufficiently rewarded for the expence and trouble this discovery has cost him. Such are the grounds upon which I think it my duty to support the noble lord in the motion he has made, and the reasons which would make me exceedingly unwilling to resort to compulsory measures under any circumstances, except those of the most urgent and dangerous necessity.

Mr. *Wilberforce* in explanation, said, I should be sorry to be in any degree misunderstood as to what I have said in regard to compulsion. The rt. hon. gent. seems to suppose I meant to suggest the propriety of adopting compulsory measures in regard to the practice of the vaccine inoculation. So far from meaning that kind of constraint, I think I expressed myself so as to imply that it would be absolutely wrong. This is my most deliberate opinion. All that I meant by talking of compulsion was, that some particular mode ought to be prescribed for enforcing certain regulations and restrictions upon those individuals, who might in a voluntary manner submit to small-pox inoculation, such regulations being of a kind neither to be injurious nor to bear hard upon them in any respect whatever. It was alone with the intention of providing for the convenience of such afflicted individuals, who, from their situation in life, or other circumstances, might not be enabled to provide for themselves proper accmomodation. These, sir, were my sentiments; and I still think that some such provision is necessary, in order to afford vaccine inoculation the benefit of an impartial, a prudent, and an effectual trial. Such a measure would be attended with this important advantage too, that the public themselves would more easily become witnesses of the greater efficacy of the vaccine inoculation, and consequently of its rapid and successful progress throughout the united kingdom.

Mr. *Bankes.*—Sir, it appears to me that the mode proposed by the noble lord is exceedingly eligible at this late period of the session, in so far as he wishes to combine the science of a learned body with the judgment and deliberation of a committee of the house of commons, and that nothing should be determined upon until both their reports have been conjoined and submitted to the consideration of the house. If this motion had been made however, at an earlier period of the session, I cannot help thinking that, in a matter of this sort (which is a matter of fact, and not a question of science), there could not be a better mode of procedure than that which has been suggested by my hon. friend near me. Even those the best acquainted with the matter under discussion cannot pretend to give an accurate description of the real sources from which the existing prejudices have arisen, or the causes from which its want of cultivation and encouragement have originated. The subject in which the public are most materially interested, and the fact which remains to be more clearly ascertained is, whether this discovery, which has been made by Dr. Jenner is, in the mode in which it is now practised, of such a sort as to afford us a reasonable security against the ravages of that more dreadful disorder which it is intended to prevent.—This, sir, appears to me to be a subject of consideration so distinct from that of a scientific nature, that it is one which any number of reasonable and thinking men, affording their time to it, are as capable of laying distinctly and clearly before the public, as the most learned body that ever existed could do.

—As my noble friend, however, does not, by his proposed plan, preclude a combination of all the advantages resulting from science and learning, and experience, I cannot object to it, although I may think it capable of some improvement.—From the understanding I have of the matter, I think, that the peculiar disadvantages under which this valuable discovery has laboured in this country, and the causes which have retarded its progress here more than in other parts of Europe, have been in a great measure owing to the manner in which the operation of introducing the vaccine matter has been performed. While in other countries, the practice has been solely confined to scientific persons, it has been rendered here so exceedingly plain to every understanding, that all persons have been enabled to put it into execution. In this country it has been found that scarcely any one of the profession is called to practice it. To this indiscriminate use, therefore, I am inclined to attribute its failure in success in those cases which have been urged by its enemies as arguments against its introduction. In those countries where it has been entirely confined to medical persons, it has been ascertained, that no such exceptions to its success have ever been started; for as I have been informed no such cases of failure have ever happened amongst them. The improvement, or rather addition, which I am inclined to suggest to the noble lord's motion, is the junction of another learned body, who have been overlooked on this occasion, but who, it would be exceedingly proper, should also be requested to join in this enquiry. The learned body to which I allude, sir, is that of the Royal College of Surgeons. If we are to enter into a minute investigation at all, and endeavour to receive information from men of science as a general rule for our conduct, why ought we not to make that enquiry and research as general and extensive as possible? A subject of this kind does not require us to confine our investigation to physicians alone. Upon that footing, sir, I shall take the liberty of suggesting to the noble lord, that a provision should be inserted for the purpose of referring the question as to the vaccine inoculation also to the Royal College of Surgeons. I cannot help stating, that I still persevere in the opinion I formerly entertained, that if this discovery be of that utility and advantage, which I trust and hope it will prove to be, it will find its way against all opposition, and that the learned doctor, who has been the discoverer of this great and important secret to mankind, cannot in such a country as this, fail of obtaining his due reward, by the immense extension of his medical practice. Add to this, that the learned doctor, who has made this valuable and beneficial discovery, certainly must also gain a considerable additional advantage, in consequence of this inquiry now about to be set on foot, in order to quiet the fears, and strengthen the conviction of the people, which leads me to think that Dr. Jenner will find himself well remunerated without any thing further from parliament. As to the question of compulsion, which has been touched upon in the course of this discussion, I can hardly think that my hon. friend near me (Mr. Wilberforce), who has shewn himself so well acquainted with the general principles of liberty upon all occasions, meant to recommend any compulsory measures, that would infringe upon that freedom, which even allows prejudice to work its way. You may be assured, sir, that there is a sense in the people of England, which will not long oppose truth; that even without the aid of parliament, without enquiries through the means of committees or investigations and reports made out by a College of Physicians, prejudice will at last disappear, and truth will ultimately prevail. As the mode now proposed, however, will certainly tend either to expedite on the one hand a conviction of that truth which it is so desireable to assert, or, on the other, to expose the fallacy of those arguments which have been adduced in favour of the discovery, without any undue means being used to support the one, or the other, I shall certainly vote for the motion which has been made by the noble lord.

Mr. *William Smith.*—I do not rise, sir, for the purpose of discussing the real merits, as to the effect of this wonderful discovery, relying that we shall in the end find, that it will turn out to our most sanguine expectations, and consequently well worthy the further liberality of parliament. I merely wish to make a few observations upon a subject which is of such vast importance to the public at large, that I do not think a few minutes will be at all mis-spent upon this occasion, although there is to be an ulterior discussion. I cannot help thinking with the honourable gentleman who spoke last, that if there were also to be a reference to the College of Surgeons as well as to the College of Physicians, considerable advantage would be derived, for this plain and obvious reason, that surgeons more than physicians, have had occasion to practise the vaccine inoculation, and to enter into the merits of the arguments which have been raised concerning it. With respect to the reasons which have prevented the propagation of this measure for saving the lives of the people in this country, as it has done in others, I must admit that my learned friend (Dr. Matthews) has hit upon the very sentiments I wished to have expressed. I do not believe that any effectual plan has been adopted in order to prevent mistakes in the performance of the operation. I really am of opinion, that a great part of those prejudices which have arisen, proceeded entirely from the circumstances of its having been conducted by the hands of persons who from carelessness or ignorance have communicated to their patients a false and spurious species of this disorder. This is indeed a cause which we must all lament; and I think that it affords an additional reason for referring the subject to the investigation of surgeons as well as physicians. I must confess, sir, that I rose chiefly to express my extreme satisfaction, that this most important and interesting subject has been brought forward from the respectable quarter from which it has proceeded. The high and respectable character which the noble lord possesses in his majesty's government is a circumstance alone sufficient to do away those prejudices which are at present excited, and to obviate the objections which have been maliciously raised against this valuable discovery. I do, I affirm, most sincerely rejoice that the matter has been thus taken up, for at all events I am convinced that if the plan proposed by the noble lord be adopted by the house, the ends in view will be completely answered, and the country will soon reap infinite advantage, by a saving of the lives of thousands of its inhabitants.

Mr. *Paull.*—Sir, I beg leave to make a few observations upon the subject now under discussion. I happened to live many years in the town of Lucknow, where there is reckoned a greater population than in any other part of the East Indies. The vaccine inoculation was there first introduced by men of science, although it afterwards came to be known, and practised by people in the profession of physic two centuries behind us in the knowledge of medicine. In that town, sir, the number of lives, which were annually lost by the dreadful ravages of the small pox, was reckoned to amount to between 670 and 800, annually, but since the introduction of this discovery, there were not above 75 persons who annually died of that disease during the last 3 years I resided in that place. The people in that part of the world, so far from thinking it requisite that men of science should alone practise it, were convinced that it was only necessary to be performed by slight intelligence in order to be effectual. There is one other circumstance which I think worthy of remark; which is that in Scotland prejudice is certainly much stronger against the practice of vaccination than in England, and particularly in the most northern parts of it, and for that reason, I am inclined to suggest to the noble lord the propriety of joining the college of Physicians at Edinburgh in the proposed investigation.

Lord *Henry Petty.*—Sir, I certainly experience a very great degree of satisfaction in finding the house so unanimous as to the general object in view from the motion which I have thought it incumbent upon me to submit to your consideration, and I think that nothing but the lateness of the session should prevent us from coming to some conclusion upon this important subject. Those hon. gentlemen, who have spoken upon this occasion, have distinctly and accurately stated the object I had in view, to consist in combining all the weight of scientific knowledge that could possibly be obtained. This end, I think, may be fully accomplished by the inquiry being instituted by that learned and scientific body, recognized by the government of this country, under the name of the Royal College of Physicians, and by an ulterior reference of their sentiments to this house through the medium of our committee. I cannot however, agree with an hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Bankes) who has given it as his opinion, that this enquiry will not be one that involves a question of science but merely a matter of fact. Could that hon. gent. really suppose it possible that any committee of this house can investigate the question in such a manner as to ascertain what is a criterion with respect to the age of the matter to be infused, and how to distinguish the spurious from the genuine pustule! I do firmly believe, sir, that one of the great causes from which its failure has arisen has been the adoption of late matter, and introducing it into the human system instead of that particular description of matter recommended by the learned discoverer himself. I must differ somewhat, too, from another hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Wiberforce), when he suggests the mode of leaving the whole inquiry to a committee of the house; must it not occur to every one, that the best method, to ascertain with precision its evil or its beneficial consequences, will be to institute the inquiry by means of medical men, as none but such men can rightly judge of these matters. Could a committee of this house, unassisted by professional gentlemen, be capable of properly ascertaining the degree of credit which ought to be attached to the various reports which have been most industriously circulated abroad, in the various publications which have lately appeared? Or is it to be imagined, that a committee of this house can determine the reality of the assertion in some of these pamphlets, that the vaccine matter is apt to produce the worst affections in the human frame? No, it is not in the power of any set of individuals, however learned and experienced they may be in other matters, to resolve with accuracy such medical questions without the assistance of professional men. I cannot, therefore, entertain a doubt that there are parts of this investigation which may be exceedingly proper for a committee, and other parts only for a medical body. Now, sir, with respect to annexing the College of Surgeons to this inquiry; I hope the house will do me the justice to think that I have before considered that point. It was suggested to me previously to my coming down to the house, but it occurred to me, that the inquiry ought rather to proceed from one centre. I have no doubt, sir, but that the Royal College of Physicians in London, being called on by the unanimous vote of this house, will be looked up to by the public with that liberality and those favourable sentiments which are due to them, and that the College of Physicians both in Scotland and in Ireland, will correspond with it, and also the College of Surgeons will communicate to that learned body every information in their power. Thus will the opinions of all the learned and scientific men in the three united kingdoms be combined, and together with the learning and discernment of the committee, be comprised in the Report to be submitted to this house. We shall then, availing ourselves of such an accumulated weight of information and evidence, lay the whole matter before the public, in order to remove their prejudices or confirm their doubts. Such, sir, is the mode which appears to me to be the most eligible on this occasion; and I trust the house will have no hesitation in agreeing unanimously with the motion which I have this day submitted to them. Before concluding, I cannot help taking notice of one other particular, which has been touched upon in the course of this discussion. It related to the remuneration which had been already granted by parliament to Dr. Jenner, to whom the world owes this invaluable discovery. As there will certainly be some ulterior proceedings upon this business, it will then become matter of future consideration, whether or not the reward, formerly conferred upon that learned gentleman, was sufficient, or inadequate, for those great services which he has rendered to mankind, and the great expence he has put himself to in bringing this subject clearly to light. If the report shall be favourable towards the successful practice of this discovery, as I have no doubt it will be, I shall think it my duty to contend on a future day, that the remuneration granted to Dr. Jenner is much more inadequate than it ought to be— On this point, however, there will be ample room for discussion, it being a case which touches the pecuniary concerns of the country, when it will be the duty of every member to state what occurs to him upon such a subject, so those who seem to imagine that the remuneration already conferred is sufficiently ample in every point of view, will have an opportunity of further stating the grounds on which their arguments are founded.—The motion was then put from the chair, and agreed to *nem. con.*

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 3.

[MINUTES.] The royal assent was given by commission to the Additional Assessed Taxes bill, the Tortola Free Port bill, the Irish Spirit Licence bill, the Irish Mine bill, the Excise Regulation bill, the Stamp-office Regulation bill, the Gibraltar and Malta Postage bill, the Prussian Yarn bill, the Duke of Grafton's Agreement bill, and the Temple Bar and Snow-hill lottery bill. The commissioners were the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and lord Walsingham.—The judges resumed the delivery of their opinions in the case of Lucina *v.* Crawford. All the judges having delivered their opinions, the lord chancellor moved to postpone the further consideration of the cause till Wednesday next. Ordered.—Lord Grenville presented two messages from his majesty, similar to those brought into the house of commons: one being the usual message previous to a vote of credit, and the other relating to continuing the annuity of 1,000l. per annum, granted to the late lord Rodney, to the present lord. His majesty's messages were, on the motion of lord Grenville, ordered to be taken into consideration the next day.

[KING'S MESSAGE RESPECTING THE ROYAL FAMILY.] His majesty's message of yesterday respecting a more effectual provision for the younger branches of the royal family, was then taken into consideration; the order and message having been duly read,

Lord *Grenville* rose. He observed, that the communication from his majesty which their lordships had just heard, resolved itself into two heads, or might be considered in two points of view. The general object was the concurrence of their lordships in such measures as might be deemed necessary to enable his majesty to make a more effectual provision for the younger branches of the royal family; and the present application arose, in some degree, out of an omission in the act of 1778, under which part of the existing provisions for the younger branches of the royal family was authorized. The particular circumstance, his lordship stated, which brought the omission into notice, was the loss which his majesty had suffered, in the lamented death of his royal brother, the late duke of Gloucester; which made it necessary to inquire how far the provisions were continued with respect to the present duke. It was found that under the former act, the provision was only of a contingent nature, consequently no transfer could be made at the time, of the charge in question, to the consolidated fund. On this head there could not exist a doubt of their lordships cordial concurrence in the necessary steps, to enable his majesty to rectify the omission, and to carry into effect what was intended on that head. With respect to the second part of the message, relative to the proposed increase of the allowances to the younger branches of his majesty's family, he also conceived there could be no doubt as to its propriety. It was certainly necessary, in our present circumstances, that every one should make great sacrifices to maintain the dignity, preserve the honour, and secure the interests of the country, and to uphold the monarchy and the constitution. To these sacrifices every one convinced of their necessity cheerfully contributed. To keep up the splendour of the throne and support the dignity of the illustrious branches of his majesty's royal house, was a part of the constitution, and an object to which every one who venerated that constitution, would readily contribute. There must be, he was certain, a full conviction, as the fact was, that his majesty would not have made this appeal to his parliament had there not been a real necessity for making that increase at which his majesty's message pointed. No increase had taken place in the provision made for the younger branches of the royal family since the year 1778, a period of nearly 30 years; and when it was considered how much circumstances had altered in the course of that period, and how greatly the price of every article necessary to the establishment of a household had increased, when it was considered also, that the illustrious persons for whom an increased allowance was now asked, were, from their age, and period of life, compelled to an increase of expenditure, he was convinced their lordships would feel no sort of surprise at such an application being now made, but be surprised at its not having been made before; that their lordships would shew, not only no reluctance, but an anxious desire, not only out of their personal affection for his majesty, and his royal family, but on the broad constitutional grounds he had stated, cheerfully to concur in the measures to be proposed for enabling his majesty to act as desired. As to any detailed consideration of the steps to be adopted, it would regularly come before their lordships when the bill to be brought in for the purpose should come up from the other house of parliament. In the mean time, he was confident of their lordships cordial assent to the address he should now have the honour to propose. His lordship then moved an address to his majesty on the occasion of his message, assuring his majesty that their lordships were desirous of availing themselves of every opportunity of shewing their attachment to his royal person and family, and that they would cheerfully concur in the objects of his majesty's most gracious message. On the question being put, the address was voted *nem. dis.*

[VACCINE INOCULATION.] The Earl of *Suffolk* took occasion to make a few remarks on the above subject. He expressed his happiness at what had taken place with respect to it in the other house of parliament, which he trusted would tend finally to do away (and to which effect he was ambitious of contributing his mite) those ill-founded impressions, which obtained against that useful and salutary practice, originating in certain scurrilous pamphlets, and the assertions of interested individuals. The practice was grown into extensive use upon the continent. With repect to Spain, (which was not mentioned in the other house), particularly, he had the authority of a nobleman of high rank in this country (the marquis of Bute) to state, that the vaccine inoculation was highly esteemed there, and encouraged by the government, so far, that in all the royal ordonnances relative to that subject, its worthy author was styled 'the immortal Jenner!' He had nothing now to propose but was so fully impressed with the importance of the topic, that he could not avoid thus troubling their lordships.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 3.

[MINUTES.] The speaker informed the house that George Davis, esq. the petitioner against the late return for the county of Wexford, had not entered into a recognizance, according to law, to prosecute his petition, and consequently the order for taking the said petition into consideration on Thursday the tenth inst. fell to the ground. Mr. Vansittart brought in a bill for continuing the importation of coals by the Paddington canal; which was read a first time. Mr. Robson withdrew his notice of a motion relative to certain transactions in the barrack department in the Isle of Wight, which stood for to-morrow, with a declaration that he would bring it forward as soon as the necessary papers should be in the hands of the members.—The Assessed Taxes relief bill was read a third time, and passed.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, leave was given to bring in a bill to enable the lords of the treasury to issue exchequer bills on the aids of the year 1805, according to the resolutions of the house to that effect.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, leave was given to bring in a bill for the more effectual performance of Quarantine in Great Britain.—A person from the commissioners of Military Inquiry, presented a copy of the memorial of John Pritchard, to these commissionersr, relative to certain transactions in the barrack department.

[KING'S MESSAGE RESPECTING LORD RODNEY'S ANNUITY.] Lord *Henry Petty* acquainted the house, that he had a message from his majesty to this house, and he presented the same to the house; and it was read by Mr. Speaker, as followeth, viz. "G. R. Application having "been made to his majesty, that the "pension which was granted by his majes-"ty of 1000*l.* per annum, on the reve-"nues of Ireland, to the late lord Rodney "for his life, to commence from the demise "of his father George Brydges, lord Rod-"ney, in consideration of the eminent ser-"vices which had been performed by his "said father to his majesty and the public, "should be continued to George now lord "Rodney, grandson of the said George "Brydges, lord Rodney, during his life, "his majesty, being favourably disposed to "the said request, recommends it to his "faithful commons to take such measures "as may be necessary for enabling his majesty to make such grant, in such form "as may, under the present circumstances, be most effectual. G. R." Resolved, that this house will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take the said message into consideration.

[King's Message respecting a Vote of Credit.] Lord *Henry Petty* acquainted the house, that he had a message from his majesty to this house, and he presented the same to the house; and it was read by Mr. Speaker, as followeth, viz. "G. R. His Majesty, relying on the "experienced zeal and affection of his "faithful commons, and considering that "it may be of the utmost importance to "provide for such emergencies as may arise, "is desirous that this house will enable him "to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprizes or designs of his enemies, and as "the exigencies of affairs may require. "G.R." Ordered, that the said message be referred to the consideration of the committee of the whole house, to whom it is referred to consider further of the supply granted to his majesty.

[Militia Ballot Suspension bill.] Mr. *Windham* moved the order of the day for the 3d reading of this bill.

Sir *W. Elford* rose, to make a few observations on that part of the bill, which suspended the ballot for the militia. The ballot was already suspended as to those regiments that were above their establishment; but the suspension ought not, in his opinion, to be extended to those which were below their establishment. This diminution of their numbers had been the effect of volunteering into the line. As to the plan of substituting a bounty, instead of the ballot, he thought it subversive of the principles on which the militia service was founded, namely, the prerogative of the king to call out a part of the people in defence of the country. From this it followed, of course, that the service was in its nature compulsory, and that a ballot must be employed to prevent arbitrary restrictions to particular classes. Ballot had accordingly been hitherto successfully employed for this purpose. He then contended, that compulsory service in the navy would be rendered more irksome and invidious, by doing away the ballot for the militia. As to the system of ballot bearing unequally on the rich and the poor, he maintained that this was precisely on the same footing with the other advantages which were derived from wealth. The rich, in this as in other cases, procured others to do that for them, which the poor were compelled to do for themselves.

Mr. *Windham* observed, that he intended to propose a clause, by way of rider, which would do away the objections of the hon. baronet. While the militia was on the whole above that establishment which had been thought sufficient, there were some regiments considerably below it; and this clause would leave it in the power of the crown to raise such reduced regiments up to their complement, whenever it might seem proper. This measure would keep alive the idea of ballot; and as to the question of bounty, since it was not proposed, at present, to have recourse to it, he would leave it open for future discussion.—The bill was then read a third time, and Mr. W. brought up a clause, enabling his majesty, if he shall think fit, to direct the ballot to take place, for supplying vacancies in regiments reduced below their establishment. This clause was then made part of the bill, by way of rider, and the bill was passed.

[Training Bill.] The report of the committee on the Training bill was then brought up; and on the question being put, that the report be now read,

Sir *Henry Mildmay* said, that he thought the country had reason to complain that ministers had delayed bringing this measure forward till so late a period of the session, when it was now impossible to ascertain the real sense of parliament on the subject. It was certainly desirable, considering the wild notions which have been lately introduced into the construction of the regular army, and that it was intended to suspend the laws which relate to the militia, that an efficient force should somewhere be created on which the country might rely in case of any unexpected emergence: but disapproving of the principles on which this bill was founded, and the provisions it contained, he did not consider it as that best calculated for such a purpose. It very much resembled the plan brought forward at the commencement of the war, in many respects, though it essentially differed from it both in the circumstances of the country at the time it was suggested, and in some of the most prominent features of its character. The former bill was introduced when we were at the beginning of a war, with our own military establishments on a very reduced scale, while the enemy had a large and well disciplined army actually on foot, with which he threatened us with immediate invasion. At such a moment any plan was judicious which placed arms in the hands of such a proportion of the loose population as the government thought equal to any necessity that might arise. But this was not the case at present: we had now a larger military establishment than the country had ever known; our militia, by long experience and discipline, was little inferior to the regular army, and we had 300,000 volunteers, most of whom had been reported fit to act with troops of the line. There was nothing in the situation of the country to create dismay, or to justify calling on the public to submit to the onerous and oppressive operation of this bill. The bill of 1803 gave a distinct option to the country, either to raise the number of volunteers prescribed by government, or to incur the inconveniences of the levy-en-masse. The country did not hesitate to accept the alternative, and the number of volunteers were raised without the least difficulty, and the government might have had three times as many if they had chosen to accept them. It was a distinct bargain made with the country, that by raising the volunteers, they should exempt themselves from compulsory training. After the country had scrupulously performed their part of the covenant, the government was precluded from resorting again to the measure which was now brought forward, without a manifest breach of public faith. The bill was also very objectionable, as it imposed an intolerable tax on the lowest orders of the labourers, the manufacturers, and the artisans, of whom this force was to be composed. The ordinary earnings of such persons might be taken at three shillings a day, whereas the pay allowed by government would amount to only 1s. so that each man would lose 2s. a day for every day he went out. This would amount to no less than 480,000l. supposing the whole 200,000 men called out for twenty-four days. The bill was also partial and unjust as applying to England alone. Why was Scotland excepted? If the bill was a benefit, as some contended, why was that part of the united kingdom to be exempted from such benefit? or, if it was a burden, what had Scotland done to redeem herself from her share of the pressure? No man could doubt the zeal and loyalty of that part of the kingdom, and no man could doubt that in case of invasion the coast of Scotland was as much exposed to attack as that of England; and why were they to be defended both by men and money at our expence? The bill had been called an experiment, and as such should be first tried on a confined scale: that might be a very good argument to Scotland, who was exempted from the burden, but would hardly be satisfactory to us who were to bear the whole expence. As to the volunteers, this plan was not calculated to encourage them: it took from them not only much of their allowances, but also many of those advantages which had contributed to raise them to the high state of discipline which they had attained. The language of contempt which had so lavishly been bestowed on that system, coupled with the provisions of this bill, must effectually damp the spirit and activity of the volunteers. It could not be expected from men, who served at great inconvenience and trouble to themselves, to continue in the service when they had so much reason to think that their exertions were undervalued by the government. That feeling generally prevailed. There was hardly a single volunteer who did not feel himself disgusted with the expressions and conduct of the secretary for the war department. It was rather singular also, that he should be the person to revive ballot and commutation of personal service for money, who had so pointedly reprobated both those measures. The concurrent jurisdiction of the constable and drill serjeant was ludicrous, and perfectly useless, unless indeed the drill serjeant was to be used as a crimp for the regular army. He proceeded to comment on several clauses of the bill, and contended that all that was meritorious in the plan was stolen from the act of the former administration; that it contained a distinct recognition of all that was considered most exceptionable in Mr. Pitt's additional force bill, and was wholly unworthy of a government who assumed such super-eminence of talent, and had promised so much to the country. He concluded by moving that the word "now" should be left out, and the words "this day three months" substituted in its stead.

Mr. *Eyre* objected to the bill because it was unnecessary. We ought only to resort to compulsion in the last instance —cuncta prius tentanda. At present we could have a sufficient number of volunteers. He adverted to the injury which the labour of the country would sustain from withdrawing such a number of men from it for 24 days in the year. As to the volunteers, he believed they would be completely destroyed by this measure. The volunteers relieved their districts, but under this bill the system would have a contrary effect, for the young, the active, and those who had most time to spare, would avoid the ballot by going into the volunteers, and leave it to fall upon others. The rt. hon. gent. complained of having been misrepresented. It might be so; but how could he explain away the sarcasm in this bill, which reckoned 300,000 volunteers as nothing? This was one sarcasm on the volunteers which he could not by any ingenuity explain away. If, however, he adopted the clause proposed by the rt. hon. gent. below (Mr. Yorke), which went to relieve the counties from the onus in proportion to the number of volunteers, his objections would be in a great measure done away.

Sir *R. Williams* asked, whether, in the present situation of the country, we were to give ministers no credit for saving 5 millions in 3 years? This measure did not destroy the volunteer system, but put it on its original footing; for it was well known that, at first, the volunteers were accepted only on condition of clothing themselves. Much as he regretted the loss of the late great minister; much as the country had to lament him; much as he deplored his death; yet, while the measures of the present ministry went to promote economy and the real interests of the country, as he thought they had, for the most part, hitherto done, they should always have his warm approbation and cordial support.

Mr. *Fonblanque* supported the bill. He denied that it could have any such tendency as that of putting down the volunteer system. He thought it was the bounden duty of his majesty's ministers to take every precaution for securing the country against the danger of an invasion; and with that view, to avail themselves in the utmost extent of the physical force of the country, and to render that force efficient by a timely training, instead of waiting until the last moment, when absolute necessity should demand the levy en masse, and when they must be assembled as a tumultuous, confused, and disorderly rabble, instead of trained men fit to be attached to and act with regular regiments. The hon. gent. had said, that the volunteer spirit of the country had been damped. He would take them at their words; and if their own assertions were true in this point, they offered the strongest argument for adopting this bill, which so far from depressing, would support the volunteer system, and, in all events, secure the country against the mischiefs which must result from the volunteers choosing, if they should ever do so, to withdraw their services, and desert their standards. His rt. hon. friend felt, they had a right, by the term of their service to do so, and it was his duty to be prepared against it, by a measure which would secure to the country 200,000 trained men, in case of emergency.

Mr. *Bastard* complained that the measure was brought forward without any estimate of its probable expence, or any ground whatever upon which even to guess what it would cost or how many men would be induced to train under it. There did not appear even a chance, that one-fourth of the number of 200,000 men would be secured by it, as every man who could pay the fine would, no doubt, exempt himself from the service. He disliked the bill for its compulsory principle, and was convinced that the yeomanry of this country would at any time of public danger, be more ready to act under the direction of their landlord, and the gentlemen of the country, than under any compulsive system like this, the effect of which would be to render them sulky and discontented. The hon. gent. took occasion highly to commend the spirit and liberality of the duke of Northumberland, in arming and training, at his own expence, the tenantry on his estate, who, he was convinced, would be found to act in the day of danger under an illustrious branch of the house of Percy, as a 'Theban band;' and he verily believed, like their brave ancestors the 1500 valiant bowmen at Chevychase, should they come to encounter any enemy in their native land, that

> Children yet unborn would rue
> The fighting of that day.

General *Loftus* was convinced of the necessity of the bill, and only wished it had gone much farther. It was necessary to use every exertion which the physical force of the country afforded for security at home, in order to enable us to act with effect abroad. Our chief danger from invasion lay in the vast extent of our coasts; and he would venture to assert, that if our armies were double or treble their present numbers they would not be sufficient to ensure our security without such a measure as this. Let it be recollected that though our fleets at present commanded the seas, yet it might happen not always to be the case; and even with all the force and vigilance by which we were guarded, yet one night might waft to our shores a formidable enemy. To encounter such an enemy on the first alarm, he could wish to see the population of every town, village, and district in the realm ready trained and fit to march at a moment's warning. He could wish to see them properly classed for the purpose, and he considered such a plan perfectly practicable, from what he had seen of the populace in Ireland at the time of the rebellion, and how formidable a force they composed; and only with pikes. The same might be done with the populace here, or a great portion of them. When he recollected the important services performed by the volunteers of Ireland in that rebellion, and that they had by their loyalty and valour, saved the country to England, he could never be supposed to undervalue the services of volunteers in recommending the training of such a force as he described. But these men every where armed and ready to form on any part of the coast against an enemy aided by detachments of artillery, before volunteers, quartered in towns, could be got together in force, must be of important service. As to the practicability of a formidable invasion suddenly, and in ships of war, he had a proof before his eyes; for being quartered at Yarmouth some years since, when admiral Duncan commanded a fleet in the North Sea, that gallant commander came into port, and swept the sea of all the Dutch fishing-boats in his way, to prevent their giving intelligence of his return to port. By desire of the admiral, he had marched down his garrison to the water's edge, in order to try how many men each of those schuyts where capable of conveying; and he found that each boat could conveniently carry fifty-five fighting men, with their arms, ammunition, and knapsacks; of such boats the Dutch have many thousands in their ports employed in the fisheries or in smuggling to our coasts, of which they know every creek where a landing might be effected, and every shoal and sand-bank over which their boats would float at any given time of the tide, with perfect safety. Seeing this to be the case and knowing it to be the firm opinion of admiral Duncan, that the landing of an enemy in such a way was practicable, he could not feel the country secure against danger even with all the protection of our formidable fleets at sea; and, therefore he thought our force at home could not be too formidable: for this reason, he highly approved of the bill.

Mr. *Matthews* considered the measure as unnecessary and injurious. It was singular, he observed, that gentlemen on the other side talked of the expenditure of millions as of a matter of insignificance, and yet they rested upon economy as the great recommendation of their course of proceeding with respect to the volunteers. The hon. gent. remarked upon the facility with which the present ministers contrived to change their principles with their places.

Mr. *Giles* vindicated the character of the measure under consideration, to which, he maintained, the charge of involving any breach of faith towards the volunteers was totally inapplicable. This assertion the learned gent. sustained by referring to the levy-en-masse act, from which the charge was professedly deduced, and also to the circular letter from the secretary of state, which was published subsequent to that act. From both he inferred, that nothing like a permanent pledge was given that if a certain number of volunteers offered for any district, such district should be uniformly exempted from the operation of any measure of the nature of that before the house.

Mr. *Ryder* considered the bill as wholly unnecessary at present, on a comparison with the period and circumstances under which the former training bill was brought forward by his right hon. friend; for at that time our regiments of the line were reduced to skeletons, our militia but just called out, after having been disbanded, and the regiments not one-third full, or disciplined; our volunteer corps but just forming, and scarcely initiated in their drills; and invasion threatening us every hour. But though he was by no means disposed to undervalue our danger, or the force of the enemy, yet he could not forget the vast difference of our comparative situation. The naval force of that enemy had been since destroyed by our fleets, while our army was increased above 100,000 men, and our volunteer force amounted now to 300,000 disciplined troops able to act with any corps in the field.

Mr. *C. Wynne* thought the best way would be to let the hon. gentlemen answer each other. Some of them objected to the bill, because it destroyed the system of equality which existed among the volunteers, while others objected to it because it introduced equality. With respect to putting the volunteers on the August allowance, he certainly approved it highly, as he thought it would be the greatest injustice, that one body of men should receive 85 days pay, when another would receive only 26. It had been said by some, that this measure would only tend to increase the volunteers, and, by others, that there would not be room for so great an augmentation. These, he thought, were reasons which might be allowed to pair off together; but he could not help observing, that there would be one advantage in it, namely, that the country would have the service of so many men for nothing. The hon. gent. concluded by saying, that his chief reason for approving of the measure was not the immediate advantage that would be derived from it, though he did not wish to undervalue the services of 200,000 men, trained for 26 days, but because he thought that it would infuse a military spirit into the country, which would render it invulnerable.

Sir *Robert Lawley* thought this bill would have the effect of rendering the volunteer system permanent, and was therefore of opinion, that the discipline of the volunteers should be rendered permanent, with a view to which object he had an amendment to propose.

Lord *Kirkwall* asserted, that the opinion which the volunteers had been naturally induced to form, as to the views of the right hon. author of this bill, had served materially to damp their zeal and diminish their numbers. In support of this assertion the noble lord stated, that he had the honour to command a corps of volunteers, which consisted of 460 strong and effective men, 12 months ago; but which at the last muster returned no more than 80. A similar reduction was, he apprehended, to be generally looked for, from the language and projects of the right hon. secretary.

Lord *De Blaquiere* believed the measure under discussion to be the most inefficient and inoperative that had ever been presented to parliament; yet its inoperation was its only merit.

Lord *Binning* called upon the learned gent. on the ministerial bench (the lord Advocate of Scotland) who was not present on a former evening when this measure was under discussion, to state his opinion upon the propriety of extending it to Scotland. If there was any benefit in the measure, the noble lord could not conceive that, upon any principle of fairness, Scotland should be refused a participation of it; and if it were a burthen, he did not think it fair that it should be confined altogether to England. There were many parts of Scotland to which this bill would be as applicable as to this country, and there was no danger of its meeting with any such opposition as the execution of the militia law formerly did. But that opposition was not, in fact, the effect of the militia, but of that disaffection to the government which, he was happy to think, was now no more.

The *Lord Advocate* was surprised at the line and tone adopted by his noble relation who had just sat down, and those who acted with him. They maintained, that this measure would involve a breach of faith, and an invasion of the king's prerogative; would be productive of great expence and oppression; and yet, said they, 'give a share of this abomination to Scotland.' They had been abusing the bill for some weeks, asserting that it would lead to confusion and pull down the volunteers; and yet, with all their professed regard for Scotland and the volunteers they would have the scope of its operation extended. As to the opposition to the militia law which had been alluded to by his noble relation, and which had been asserted to proceed from disaffection, he was not disposed to come in to that opinion. He was aware that disaffection, was often stated to prevail very generally in Scotland, and that he himself was described as one of the disaffected. But if he was disaffected then, he was so still. For he held no principle at that time, which now, in the king's service, did not remain perfectly unchanged, and they should ever continue so. But, to return to the opposition which at the outset the militia law met with in Scotland; that opposition did in fact arise from the general misconception prevailing of that law, and the pride and arrogance of some persons in that country, who would not condescend to communicate with the lower orders, and explain to them its object and provisions. If that law had been properly understood, he ventured to say that it would have experienced no resistance whatever. In the district where he resided, the law was fully explained to the lower orders, and therefore it was carried into execution without any attempt even at opposition.—With regard to the bill under consideration, the learned gent. confessed himself anxious that its principle should be extended to Scotland, and this opinion he had already communicated to its right hon. author. But yet he would not desire the present bill to be so extended, as in many of its parts it was inapplicable to that country. He would rather wish to bring in a separate bill upon the subject, and he would pledge himself to prepare such a bill in 48 hours as should be perfectly adapted to Scotland. The learned gent. asserted that the former levy en masse act was quite impracticable in Scotland; and concluded with pronouncing a high eulogium upon the conduct, disposition, character and efficiency of the volunteers of Scotland.

Mr. *Canning* congratulated the learned lord on the opportunity which had been afforded him of contributing, as much as in him lay, to extend the boon of this bill to Scotland, and could not help calling upon the house to notice the extraordinary system of carrying on the executive goverment, which they had now by accident discovered; as it appeared that the lord advocate of Scotland had not even been consulted with, as to the practicability of extending this measure to that part of the united kingdom; but had just declared, that he could, in eight-and-forty hours, frame the bill so as to be applicable to that purpose; whilst the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), by the united labour of this wonderful government, from whom so much was expected, and who were said to possess a concentration of all the talents and worth of the empire, had been four months in bringing it before the house, and when it was pressed by hon. gentlemen to extend it to Scotland, had pleaded, that it was too late to do that, which the labour of an individual was thus declared to be competent to, in so short a space of time. The learned lord, rejecting all shallow pretensions of want of time, had stated, that it would be rather a benefit than a burthen to Scotland; and he (Mr. C.), therefore hoped, gentlemen would not be to-morrow in the house, without a bill for extending the training to that part of the country. The right hon. gent. then proceeded to state some of the objections he entertained to the principle of the bill, particularly as it went to violate the faith of parliament, pledged to the public, on their commuting compulsory training for voluntary enrolment, and as affecting the prerogative of the crown. If the object of the measure was to diffuse amongst the youth of the country the practice of arms, he thought the exemption from its operation, allowed for so small a sum as 5l. was a radical absurdity. The change of the volunteers had been said to be for the purpose of having an officered, and a disposable force; but he would give the lord Advocate all the time he had required for framing a bill, to devise, if he could, a description of force that would be less efficient, connected, and applicable to the purpose of regular service, than the 200,000 men, who were to be drawn out in splendid array under a few constables and drill-serjeants. He then adverted to the state of uncertainty which the volunteers were held in, as to the conduct ultimately intended to be pursued towards them by government; and concluded by observing, that this bill went to discredit a force upon which we could rely, and to substitute the crude produce of an experiment; and that it was as much inferior to the bill it went to supersede, as the mind of Mr. Pitt was superior to that which actuated the present measures.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* began by taking notice of the expressions which the right hon. gent. (Mr. Canning), so frequently indulged in, about ministers claiming all the talent and weight in the country. This was a thing which appeared peculiarly to rankle in that right hon. gent.'s mind, and in the minds of those who sat near him, and entered with so much rapture into most of their speeches. Neither ministers, nor any of their immediate friends, had ever made use of any expression that amounted to such a claim. He could not say whether it was an injudicious friend, or a splenetic enemy who first used that sort of language to which the rt. hon. gent. so frequently alluded. Ministers, however, had repeatedly denied having ever put in such a claim, but they perceived that it gave the hon. gentlemen on the other side an infinite degree of pleasure in repeating it; while on the other side they might be assured that it gave no pain either to him or to his friends. The reason that he had expressly assigned for not extending the bill to Scotland in the present session, was not from any dissatisfaction which he supposed to prevail there, but merely from the absence of the Scotch members, whom he would wish previously to consult. As compulsion was the principle of the militia system, it appeared to him most strange, that militia colonels should inveigh against this measure as being compulsory. It put him in mind of an observation he had heard, that the most plausible schemes of retrenchments and paying off the national debt, often came from persons imprisoned for debt in the King's Bench and Fleet Prison. It also appeared to him most strange, that this could be said to be more compulsory, than the Training act of a former administration, when it was recollected, that in the present bill, it was provided, that the service might be commuted for a fine, whereas under the former system no such commutation was allowed. Gentlemen on the other side had often stated, that certain expressions which he was supposed to have used at a former period, must tend greatly to the dissolution of the volunteers. If it were true that he had used those expressions, which he denied, and even if those expressions had been as improper as could be represented to have fallen from any individual, he should ask, what sort of a volunteer army must that be, for a great nation to place its dependence upon, who could be driven from the duties they had undertaken by the expressions of any individual, and who could be disper ed like Virgil's bees—"*Pulveris exigui jactû*?" If many of the corps were rapidly decreasing in numbers, he could assign a better reason for it. It was, because many officers who had most meritoriously advanced large sums in the origin of their corps, finding themselves unable to continue those advances, and perceiving that government did not wish to pay the expences which were formerly defrayed by individual subscription, now seemed to wish to find some point of honour that would give an occasion for a quarrel, which would enable them to resign with a better grace. He considered the assertion, that this bill was a breach of faith, to be altogether unfounded and absurd. The parties to the contract, were not merely the volunteers and the government, but it was the whole community and the government. The question, therefore, was merely whether the measure was right or wrong, whether it was good for the community or not? If it were good for the community, it would be most ridiculous to tell the community that it would be a breach of faith to them to give them a measure that was for their good; and that government was bound by a contract to them not to adopt such measures as were necessary for their security and protection.

Mr. *R. Dundas* wished that it should be distinctly understood from the lord advocate, whether it was intended to bring forward a bill this session, for including Scotland in the levy for training? or whether it was now intended, for the first time, to depart from the system of uniformly defending the country, and making all parts contribute to that great object?

The *Lord Advocate* replied, he had no doubt that the measure was applicable to Scotland; but it did not rest with him to introduce a bill, in defiance of the right hon. secretary of state; and he thought the honour of his country sufficiently justified by the understanding, that a bill would hereafter be brought in, for the purpose of embracing it in the operation of the act.

Mr. *Rose*, jun. said, that although the opinions of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham), had not much weight with the volunteers when he sat on the opposition benches, it was a very different thing now he was a minister. If they considered him not friendly to their establishment, that circumstance must tend considerably to reduce their numbers.—The question was then very generally called for, and the house divided on the question, "That the word 'now' stand part of this question;" upon which it appeared that there were, Ayes 139; Noes 53. Majority 86.—The amendments were consequently agreed to. Some new clauses were added by way of riders to the bill, and the third reading was fixed for to-morrow.—Adjourned at half after one o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 6.

[CUSTOM-HOUSE FEES BILL.] The order being read for their lordships going into a committee on this bill, the chair was accordingly taken by lord Walsingham. On the clause being read for abolishing the existing holidays observed at the Custom house, with the exception of four or five,

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* expressed his disapprobation, in a great degree, of what was proposed. He expatiated on the importance of a due observance of certain solemn church festivals and holidays, besides the Sabbath. He was not an advocate, in any point of view, for an excessive number of holidays such as were observed in the church previously to the reformation; a number of these were, he thought, very properly abolished; on the other hand, there were several which, he thought, a due respect and reverence for the holy religion of which we were members, should inculcate the observance. On this principle, he would wish that, perhaps, three or four more holidays were retained, beside those already allowed in the bill. Those to which he chiefly referred were holidays more particularly commemorative of the history of our Saviour. Before, however, he moved any amendment with respect to these, he should wish to hear from any noble lord who supported the bill, the objections which he entertained to suffering the other holidays in the protestant calendar, to stand in the present bill.

Lord *Grenville*, argued in defence of the measure, in the shape in which it came up from the other house. In a great degree, the precedent of former regulating acts of the kind, was followed with respect to the present. The consideration of such days as the description of persons to whom the bill applied were in the habit of devoting to divine service, was kept in view, in framing the present measure. Many of the holidays, which, as far as Custom-house attendance went, were proposed to be abolished, were not appropriated by those persons for divine service, but for purposes of idle amusement or relaxation. The object was to compel those persons who were to execute the duties of the respective offices, duly and diligently to attend to the same. The inconvenience and disadvantage which the present number of holidays at the Custom-house produced to commercial men, was inconceivable. At times, and on days wherein all other species of commercial business was in a train of regular transaction, the doors of the Custom-house were shut. The merchant who could regularly perform all his other business, was unable to transact that, often most important part of it, which appertained to the Custom-house. After adducing some other observations in favour of the measure, in its present shape, he expressed his disapprobation of such amendments as were adverted to by the right rev. prelate.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* observed, that after what had fallen from the noble lord, he despaired of being able to introduce an amendment into the bill, for the observance of those holidays, he had at first in contemplation. There were some particular days, which he still remained strongly of opinion should be observed, such as those days for which regular church service was established. Notwithstanding, however, the objections which had been offered, he hoped their lordships would still agree to the addition of at least two holidays, which related to points essentially connected with the history of our Saviour. The first of these was the Epiphany, and which he should propose for insertion, as an amendment.

The Bishop of St. *Asaph* supported the observations of his grace of Canterbury. Those holidays which were commemorative of the earliest and most important facts in the history of the Gospel, should, at least, be retained; those especially which referred to the history of our Saviour's own life, should be retained; he meant at the Custom-house. Were those suffered to remain, he would not, in that respect, be so anxious about the rest. The days to which we understood the right rev. prelate to refer were, the Epiphany, the Annunciation, the Ascension, and the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. In what he advanced upon the point, he observed, he was not actuated by a puritanical desire for a rigid observance of holidays. He knew there were some wherein an idle or improper observance of the holiday did more harm than good; for that reason he was not unwilling to contract the number. He was aware, that in some cases the commissioners took the liberty to order the attendance of clerks on Sundays. In cases of urgent necessity, with respect to public business, he, perhaps, should not decidedly object to that—but upon the grounds on which he had stated, as well as those advanced by the right rev. prelate, he was of opinion, the holidays to which he referred should, at least, be retained on the present occasion.—The question was put on the first amendment, and negatived. Strangers were ordered to withdraw, but no division took place, and the bill passed through the committee and was reported.

[KING'S MESSAGE RESPECTING LORD RODNEY.] Lord *Grenville* moved the order of the day for taking into consideration his majesty's message relative to lord Rodney. His lordship stated that a pension of 2000l. per annum had been granted to the first lord Rodney for the eminent services rendered by him to his majesty and the public; 1000l. was to devolve after his death to his widow and younger children; the remaining 1000l. to his eldest son for his natural life. His eldest son, the late lord Rodney, enjoyed the pension but a short time after his father's death, and it was now proposed to continue that pension to the present lord. There were several who heard him that were old enough to remember the brilliant victory gained by the distinguished officer who first possessed this title, a victory which, independent of its own importance, was of the most essential benefit to the country at that time, when the circumstances of the country were not the most pleasing, and when our military character had been lessened. It was true, that the pension referred to in his majesty's message was granted for services antecedent to that victory, but not on that account the less important, which, on the contrary, entitled that distinguished officer to every mark of approbation from his country. As to the principle on which these remunerations were granted, there could not exist the slightest doubt of its being one of the best principles on which parliament could act. A reward of this nature granted for eminent services diffused an additional spirit over a whole profession, and stimulated every one engaged in it, to seize every opportunity of exerting to the utmost his skill and ability in the service of his country, confident that his success would receive a grateful reward, and that, if he fell, an ample provision would be made for his family. Public economy was at all times necessary, but that was the best public economy which afforded the best assurance of public services, and nothing could be more important than that those who were fighting the battles of their country should be thoroughly convinced, that if they were not wanting to their country their country would not be wanting to them, and that whilst England expected every man to do his duty, she was at all times ready to do her duty to them. He thought it was at all times adviseable, where his majesty was advised to bestow a peerage for eminent services, and where a pension was granted with it, to annex such pension to the title, in order to enable its possessors in succession the better to support their rank and dignity. He had no doubt that at any future period, if the present lord should have successors to the title, that parliament would readily grant the pension to the possessors of the title in succession. Under the present circumstances of the case, it was only intended to propose to grant the pension to the present lord Rodney for his natural life; at any future period parliament would of course act according to the nature of the circumstances then existing. His lordship concluded by moving an address to his majesty, declaring their readiness to concur in the object of his majesty's message; which was carried nem. dis.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 6.

[MASTERS IN CHANCERY BILL.] The *Master of the Rolls* rose, pursuant to notice, to move for leave to bring in a bill for augmenting the salaries of the masters in ordinary, belonging to the court of chancery, and also for granting a certain provision to such as may be or become unfit, from age or infirmity, for the discharge of the duty attached to their office. The sum necessary for this purpose, the learned gent. proposed to have made up from the interest of the money belonging to suitors, which the house must be aware was in the hands of the masters. This interest accrued from the vesting of such money in government securities; and the surplus beyond the purposes to which it was at present assigned would be quite sufficient to answer the ends which his motion had in view. The salary which the learned gent. proposed to grant to superannuated masters, he mentioned to be 1500l. a year.—The first motion being agreed to, the learned gent. proposed another, the object of which was to grant an addition to the establishment in the accomptant general's office, namely, that four clerks should be added, and that the salaries of all the clerks should be augmented, that the principal clerks should be allowed 500l. a year, the second 400l. the third 300l. and the junior clerks 180l. This augmentation of salary, combined with a sum which he thought necessary to defray the expence attendant upon the increased business in this office, and to satisfy the executors of the late Mr. Warner, for such expences incurred by him, the learned gent. proposed to provide for from the surplus interest of the fund already alluded to. The sum now vested in government securities by the masters in chancery, the learned gent. described to be about 21 millions; and the different accounts opened at the bank, in consequence of this sum by the accomptant general, he stated at about 5000. This circumstance, he mentioned to shew the increased business of the accomptant general's office, and he stated that the arrangement proposed had been agreed to by the late lord chancellor, by the present, and by himself.—Leave was given to bring in the bill.

[TRAINING BILL.] Mr. Windham moved the third reading of this bill.

Mr. *Yorke*, pursuant to notice, proposed a clause to enable the government to suspend the execution of this act in such districts as might offer a sufficient number of volunteers. If the act before the house were to pass in its present shape, he was very much afraid that the volunteers would consider themselves deprived of that protection for which, from their services, they were entitled to look. The general understanding was, that the object of this bill was to substitute compulsory for voluntary services, and if the clause he submitted, which was to be found in the original bill, were expunged, there was too much ground to warrant that understanding. Were the right hon. secretary to adopt this clause, he was persuaded that the bill would be much more palatable even to its friends. But, however the clause might be disposed of, it was his wish to bring it up, in order that it should appear as a protest on his part, and that of his friends, against a measure in his and their judgment likely to produce the most mischievous consequences.

Mr. *Windham* opposed the clause, as calculated to defeat the principle of this bill, which was not the substitution of a compulsory for a voluntary force; but the addition of the one to the other. As to those districts in which the volunteers were particularly numerous, there was a provision in the bill which enabled his majesty to return such districts in calling out, only so many as he saw occasion for; and therefore the object of the right hon. gent.'s clause was, in a great measure, answered.

Mr. *W. Smith* was only sorry that the measure did not go far enough, by proposing to train the effective population of the country. His opinion was, that even children at school should be taught military exercise, for his conviction was, that in the present state of the world, we should not, unless a greater portion of martial spirit were infused into the people, be able to maintain our rank among the other nations of Europe.—The clause was negatived.

Mr. *Yorke* then proposed a clause, to which he hoped there would be no objection, that every man called out under this bill should take the oath of allegiance. Such was, he observed, the clause of the former act, and such was uniformly the case with regard to the volunteers.

Mr. *Francis* asked whether, if a man should refuse taking this oath he should therefore be exempted from training?

Lord *Castlereagh* professed himself really surprized to hear the supposition supported, that any of his majesty's subjects would hesitate to take that oath, which by the common law it was the bounden duty of all to take, at as early a period of life as possible; and he would be glad to have the performance of that duty superinduced by any act of this nature.

Mr. *Francis* said, that he did not suppose that any individual would hesitate to take the oath alluded to, from a principle of disaffection; but if a man were conscientiously to decline it, what would be the consequence? Was he, therefore, to be excused from the training, or was he to be punished? If the latter, the measure would be compulsory indeed, with a vengeance.

Mr. *Windham* saw no necessity for proposing this oath; conceiving that every one of his majesty's subjects was equally bound to the duties which the oath prescribed, whether he took it or not; and he rather apprehended that the proposition of it might excite alarm among the more ignorant part of the community, and so defeat the object of the bill.

Mr. *Yorke* never heard of any alarm that was excited by the proposition of this oath to the volunteers, and why then apprehend it in this case?

The *Lord Advocate* was at a loss to conceive the object of this clause. Compulsion was deprecated by those who proposed it, and yet they now enforced this oath. If, however, a man refused to take it, it did not appear from the bill what consequence was to follow.

Mr. *Yorke* observed, that a man was bound by the common law to take the oath of allegiance, and in this case if a man refused such oath, he would of course be subject to the penalties which attached to a man refusing to be trained.

Mr. *Perceval* corroborated this observation, and begged the house and the right hon. secretary to recollect the salutary consequences which resulted from the administration of oaths during those unhappy scenes which were gone by, he hoped, never to return. But a statesman, framing a permanent measure like the present, should provide against even the possible recurrence of such an evil; and, remembering that men who took the oath of allegiance were always the most difficult to draw into the societies of disaffection, he would take care to extend that additional guard to loyalty.—The house divided upon the clause, Ayes, 38; Noes, 84. Majority against the clause 46. The bill was then passed.

[KING'S MESSAGE RESPECTING THE ROYAL FAMILY.] On the motion of lord H. Petty, the house then resolved itself into a committee of Supply. His majesty's message was then read, requesting that the house would transfer the sums paid to the younger branches of his family, from the aggregate to the consolidated fund; and would be pleased to enable him to make such farther increase to their incomes, as circumstances might render proper.

Lord *H. Petty* then said, that the first part of his majesty's message sufficiently explained its object, and did not require much comment. A provision had been made for his royal highness the duke of Gloucester and the princess Sophia, out of what was called the aggregate fund, which was since transferred to the consolidated fund. This was discovered on the death of the late duke of Gloucester, when it was proposed to continue his income to the present duke; but as the aggregate fund did not now exist, it became necessary to transfer it, by the interference of parliament, over to the consolidated fund. On this subject, he thought no doubt or hesitation could possibly exist, as it was only meant that that should be made good which parliament had formerly thought fit to grant. But the message did not stop here, and he flattered himself that, on due consideration, the house would feel as little hesitation respecting that part of it which called upon them to make such adequate provision for certain branches of the royal family, as was called for by the increased expences of the times. It was not proposed to include the duke of York in this additional grant. Such provision had already been made for him by parliament as he conceived sufficient, and he had generously declined coming forward with any claim on the liberality of the public. The provision for the younger sons of the king was fixed at 12,000l. per annum in 1778. This was judged at that time to be a proper sum, and adequate to the due support of their rank. But he would leave it to the house to determine, when they looked at the increased expence attending every article of consumption, when they considered that most of them were doubled since that period, and some of them more than doubled, whether that sum could be regarded as any way adequate. From the advanced ages also of the illustrious personages, more appearance and greater expenditure were called for, than in the younger part of their lives, when this sum was originally fixed. If it were necessary to look to precedent in support of what he should propose, it might be sufficient to observe that the late duke of Gloucester had an income from the public of 24,000l. a year, which he enjoyed to the last period of his life. This was considerably more than it was now proposed to bestow; though he was far from resting on precedent only, since only such an amount of income was wished for, as to enable the illustrious persons to keep up that state and situation in life, which it was incumbent on them to support. In this view it was proposed that their incomes, standing at present at 12,000l. should be increased in future to 18,000l. a year. It was also proposed to provide for the expences of the princess Charlotte of Wales, by a grant of 7000l. a year, instead of 6000l. which she had before. The provision for the princesses stood on the same footing. It was necessary, also, to acquaint the house, that the provision for the princesses stood on the same footing as that for the duke of Gloucester, and the princess Sophia, and must be transferred from the aggregate fund, now merely nominal, and fixed on the consolidated fund. The allowance to the princesses was to be increased from 4000l. to 5000l.; and it was proposed to grant 4000l. a year to the duchess dowager of Gloucester, for whom no provision had as yet been made, which was the same establishment as had been settled on the late duchess of Cumberland. He concluded with moving, "That his majesty be enabled to grant, out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain, a yearly sum, not exceeding 6000l. to each of their royal highnesses the dukes of Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, Sussex, and Cambridge."

Mr. *Rose* made some observations on the nature of the aggregate fund, and expressed his hope, that the resolution would pass with unanimity. He mentioned, that the late duke of Cumberland had also 24,000l. per annum, which was then equal to 30,000l. or 40,000l. a year at present. The income of every gentleman of landed property had increased greatly of late years, while his expences had also increased; and hence the house must be convinced how reasonable the present proposition was.—The resolution was then agreed to.

Lord *H. Petty* then moved, that there be granted out of the consolidated fund, a sum not exceeding 7000l. per annum to the princess Charlotte of Wales, during his majesty's life and that of the prince of Wales; also a sum not exceeding 4000l. a year to the duchess dowager of Gloucester. With regard to his highness the duke of Gloucester, he said, that it had also been thought fit to propose to raise his income in proportion to that of the royal dukes, and he therefore moved, that a sum not exceeding 14,000l. a year be granted to the duke of Gloucester, in lieu of 8000l. which he at present enjoyed; and lastly, that the grant to the princess Sophia of Gloucester, formerly charged on the aggregate fund, be transferred to the consolidated fund.—The several resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA—OUDE CHARGE.] Lord *Temple* moved the order of the day, for a committee of the whole house on the Oude Charge. On the question that the Speaker do now leave the chair,

Mr. *Paull* said, he did not mean to give any opposition to the motion, but rose to call the attention of the house to the very extraordinary mode of proceeding adopted by the noble lord. This was the first instance in the annals of parliament, of any member of the house taking out of the hands of another member any proceeding of this description.

Lord *Temple* felt it necessary to justify himself from the charge made upon him by the hon. gent. He had never called on the house to come to any resolution on this subject, but when the hon. gent. seemed indisposed to bring the question to any decision. All he had done, was with a view, when the charge had been brought forward, when the evidence in support of it had been produced, when that evidence was printed, to come to a speedy decision on that charge. All he asked on the part of his noble friend, was, what the meanest, even the most guilty individual of the community would be entitled to in a court of justice, namely a speedy decision on the merits of his ase. He took that opportunity of declaring, what he had often before stated, that it was not by any means his wish to take the business out of the hon. gent.'s hands. If the house should agree to his motion for going into the committee, and the hon. gent. should be disposed to make any motion on the subject, he should be very far from taking the business out of his hands.

Lord *Folkestone* said, that he could not have expected that any person would have proposed coming to an immediate decision on this subject, in the present state of the question, of the house, and of the session. Obstructions had been thrown in the way of the hon. gent.; and when at last the papers were in the hands of the members, he would ask, whether the other business of the house had allowed them sufficient time to come to a decision upon them? Besides, the Oude Charge was connected with others, and would derive support and illustration from the evidence in support of them. On this account, the whole discussion should be entered into at once, and the questions respecting lord Wellesley's conduct be decided at the same time. We had been told that the eyes of India were directed to this house, and he would ask, should a question, involving the interests and independance of so many Indian princes, he hastily decided in an empty house? Besides, from a cause, which every man must concur in lamenting, a right hon. gent. was necessarily absent, and he thought it material to know the opinion of the leading men in his majesty's councils on the subject of the charge. He implored the house, therefore, to defer their decision at this late period of the session, and under the present circumstances of the case; and, as the only way of getting rid of the question, he moved, that the house do now adjourn.

Colonel *Wood* was surprized at the charge of precipitation made by the noble lord who spoke last. Never had any charge been brought forward in that house by any member who had met so much indulgence as the hon. member who had brought forward this charge. It appeared to him a most extraordinary proposition, after the house had been so long occupied with the question, to defer it to next session. He should now vote to come to some decision upon the Oude charge.

Dr. *Laurence* observed, that he could not sit silent when he heard it asserted, that the hon. member who had brought forward the charge had received every indulgence, while in truth he was goaded at one time, and thwarted at another, and it was now endeavoured to precipitate that decision which had hitherto been retarded. This was a question which concerned the guardianship of 50 millions of the natives of India, who had no other protectors but this house. It was not a question between an individual and marquis Wellesley; it respected the validity of acts and resolutions in which the fate of millions was concerned. Every dependant power in India was interrested in the decision. No one particular charge could be fully comprehended without being accompanied with the evidence on which the others were founded. If a decision should be obtained under these circumstances, nothing would be gained by the noble marquis, because a motion might be made next session to rescind it. If no other member should move to that effect, he pledged himself to do it. He had taken a solemn oath to do impartial justice between all parties, and he should not fail to bring these great principles before the house, in order that the people of India might have the satisfaction of knowing that the question was disposed of after a full and fair discussion.

Mr. *Canning* should not enter into the merits of the charge, but confine himself strictly to the question before the house. He could not but notice the very extraordinary menace of the learned doctor, powerful when coming from any member, but still more powerful in his lips, and from his manner of expressing it. Any, the least considerable member of the house, possessed that power; but it would be for the house to determine whether it should rescind a solemn decision on such a ground. The learned doctor, however, had taken his tremendous oath, he did not know on what altar, and was determined to bring the subject forward; but it would be for the house to decide how far it would be desirable to adopt his course of proceeding.—Before they should come to a decision on the question for the Speaker leaving the chair, they ought to consider what was the situation of lord Wellesley. The charge had been impending over him during the whole of this session, and the business was brought forward at the chosen time and pleasure, as every accusation indeed must be, of the accuser. If the principle of the learned doctor were to be admitted, no decision could be had upon any part of complicated charges, embracing the whole policy of an extended administration, until the whole could be taken into consideration. So that the business might be continued year after year, session after session, parliament after parliament, and the time of trial or acquittal, would never arrive, whilst the accuser could produce any supplementary evidence or document to support his charge. If no decision was to take place, the noble marquis ought not to have been called on for his defence. The learned gentleman had kept back his doctrine too long. It was now too late to require to stay the proceeding till other evidence can be procured. The learned gent. might have thought that a peculiar species of knowledge was necessary to judge of Indian questions, and that he possessed that peculiar qualification; but by his cross-examination of major Ousely, a gentleman much better informed on the subject, the learned gent. appeared wholly ignorant with regard to the intoxicating drugs of India, and their effects. He believed the learned gent. to be in no degree better acquainted with Indian justice. The noble lord on the other side had not fairly quoted the right hon. secretary (Mr. Fox), the cause of whose absence he personally lamented as much as any man. He had clearly understood that right hon. gent. to have said, that the duties of his office prevented him from paying that attention to the question he could wish, but that, in his opinion, it would be a great and crying hardship on lord Wellesley, if the present session were to elapse without a decision on the charge. The only circumstance that could induce him to consent to put off the decision for a reasonable time, would be a prospect held out of the advantage of the presence of that right hon. gent. on some early day. He thought the house bound in justice to the noble marquis, to take the first practical time of considering the charge. He could neither agree with the learned gent. nor the noble lord, that an accuser, however founded or unfounded his charge might be, should have the power of procrastinating the vexation of a great and approved servant of the public, by multiplying and subdividing his charges, so that the sole reward of a life spent in the service of the public would be an anxious, uncertain, and interminable state of responsibility.

Dr. *Laurence* explained. The altar on which he had taken his oath was, the altar of justice, an altar perhaps unknown to the hon. gentleman.

Mr. *R. Thornton* said, the noble earl (Temple), seemed to wish that some determination should be come to this night. He had charged the hon. gent. who brought forward this business with slowness, but he believed the noble lord himself could with more propriety be charged with precipitancy, when he wished to bring this matter to a determination at such a late period of the sessions. It was his opinion, that if the noble marquis was acquitted under such circumstances, a stigma would remain for ever on his character.—He was ready to acknowledge, that it was extremely painful to the feelings of the noble person accused, but it was unavoidable, and should not be considered so great a hardship, as it was well known, that a noble lord, lately acquitted, had been obliged, during an entire session, to bear up against the charges preferred against him. The hon. gent. then declared, that he would not deliver any opinion at present on the merits of the case. He disclaimed any knowledge of the hon. gent. who brought forward the charge, except in his public capacity; perhaps he would not go so far as he would in criminating the noble marquis; but at all events, he thought the subject was entitled to a deliberate consideration.

The *Master of the Rolls* supported the motion for an immediate decision. He considered the charge as now ripe for a decision, and therefore it was competent for the house to enter upon it, however late might be the period of the session. It was contrary to every principle of justice, that when the charge was before the house, and all the materials by which it was supported, the person accused should not be allowed to call for a decision. The question was, indeed, of importance, but it had already been 6 months before the house, and they were surely ill qualified for performing their most important functions, if they were not now prepared to decide upon it. By the habeas corpus act, the meanest individual could call for the speedy decision of the law, and the noble lord was equally entitled to demand the determination of the house. If it were the object of the hon. gent. who had brought forward the charge to carry it beyond the present session, he thought it the duty of the house to disappoint that object.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* was against going into the committee, or urging the house to a hasty decision on the subject; and he vindicated the principles avowed by his hon. and learned friend near him (Dr. Laurence), of which the speech of a right hon. gent. was a complete misrepresentation from one end to the other. That the question was one of the most serious importance, every one must allow; but he could by no means agree to such a principle as that, because it was important, it should therefore be decided in the present session. He wished to know where it was that the hon. and learned gent. found such a doctrine? For his own part, he denied the conclusion, as wholly unwarranted by the practice of parliament. An opinion had been quoted as that of a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Fox), to which he should certainly be at all times inclined to pay great deference; as if he had said, that the decision of the house on this charge ought to take place in the present session, at all events. But, if it were possible his right hon. friend could have expressed such an opinion, without adverting to what might be the state of the house, and the due consideration of the evidence upon which it would have to decide, he must consider such an opinion as not delivered with his usual correctness. The hon. gent. who brought forward this charge had been accused of procrastination, because he had not moved for all the papers at once, which he thought necessary to support his allegations, but from the nature of a charge so complicated, how was this practicable? A member asks for a number of papers by general description, and upon reading them, he finds other papers suggested to him, which he also thinks necessary. In the present case this had happened on the side of the defence, as well as of the accusation, and ought not to be imputed as matter of blame to the hon. member who brought forward the charge, any more than to those who resisted it. Another imputation made against the hon. gent. was, that he contended no decision ought to take place upon the present charge, until the evidence upon all the other charges had been produced. Such arguments might be put into his mouth, to answer the purposes of those who were opposed to him, but he (Mr. W.) never understood the hon. gent. to use such a pretence, though it was very possible some parts of the present case were so involved in the same circumstances of testimony on other charges as to be best considered with them. But it was said the hon. member procrastinated; that the feelings of the noble marquis were involved; and that here the house must stop and come to a decision. He would say, No: he could not find that any unnecessary delay was fairly imputable to the hon. member. He was aware, as well as any man, that the feelings of the noble marquis, upon a charge so important, must be held in painful suspence, but from the nature of the case it was impossible it could be otherwise. It was impossible that every man charged with a crime could be brought to his trial the moment he was accused. The noble marquis might sustain in this case a mere damnum sine injuria, but it was a circumstance common to all cases of a similar nature, and could be no argument for pressing the house to a hasty and rash decision, in a case upon which the most cool and mature deliberation was peculiarly necessary.—The next point to which he would advert, was the proceeding of the noble lord in taking the management of the charge out of the hands of the member who brought it forward, and placing it in the hands of others, without any management at all; or, what was not better, in the hands of those who avowed themselves to be the friends and advocates of the noble marquis. But he begged to ask, was this the sort of proceeding to which the house would give its countenance, or upon which the friends of the noble marquis would wish to see his conduct vindicated? It had been said by a right hon. gent. (Mr. Canning) on behalf of the noble marquis, that the more high the station a man filled, the more power he possessed for acts of generosity and beneficence; and the longer he enjoyed that power, the more liable he became to charges of a malicious nature; but, surely, if ever there were cases in which the house should be more ready than in others to entertain impeachments, it was against persons who had filled places of high authority and power, who, while they had the means of doing acts of great generosity and beneficence, had also the power of doing many acts of injustice and oppression; and who should be made answerable for such abuses of their power, wherever the proofs could be made manifest. He must, however, say, that instead of any encouragement from the house, the hon. member who had brought forward this charge had met with peculiar discountenance; and, notwithstanding the urgency with which the friends of the noble marquis pressed forward this decision, he would ask the house, how far it was ripe for such a decision? How many gentlemen of those now present had taken time to read, and maturely deliberate upon the great body of evidence adduced in support of the charge? For his own part, he would acknowledge, that the variety of his own avocations had allowed him no such opportunity. How many members had left town, without reading any of the papers? And how far was it consistent with rational justice, to try such a case before a tribunal, reduced in its numbers, and incompetent from its very imperfect knowledge of the evidence upon which it was called to decide, to pronounce a final judgment that night, upon a subject of so much importance? He could assure the friends of the noble marquis, that never was there any thing less calculated to give satisfaction to the public mind than a decision upon such principles; and those men who could delude themselves into a supposition, that such a decision could have any other than a bad effect, must judge very ill indeed of public opinion in this country.

Mr. *Paull* said, it was not his intention to have trespassed upon the attention of the house that night with a single word on the subject; but feeling it necessary to say something in answer to the charges of delay and procrastination imputed to him by a right hon. and learned gent. (the Master of the Rolls) he rose to vindicate himself from an imputation so unfounded. His first motion for papers was on the 25th of June, 1805; and it was not until the 20th of May last, that any of the criminating documents were laid before the house. For the truth of this he appealed to the house; and he appealed also to the noble lord lately at the head of the board of controul, whether he had not been incessant in his applications to him to forward the production of papers in his department; and whether the noble lord had not told him, in March last, that it was a matter of question and doubt whether some of the papers for which he had moved, and those the most important, would be produced at all? As soon as he could obtain the chief papers for which he had moved, in five days afterwards he laid his first charge upon the table; but there were many other papers for which he had moved, which were not produced to this day—papers to prove the most exorbitant and extraordinary demands upon the nabob of Oude, to the amount of 300,000l. He moved for the accounts six different times; and all that he had yet been able to obtain, from all the diligence that could be used at the India-house, was a return respecting the 27th light dragoons, which he found to be a most false and exaggerated account. He had said to the house, that he would be ready to bring forward his charge on the 10th of June; but the noble lord had taken it out of his hands, and proposed to bring it forward on the 18th. This precluded him from moving a single step until the 18th, when he moved for the oral evidence, which was not concluded, with the examination of sir J. Craig, until two days since, and which was not until last night in the hands of members. Having therefore vindicated himself from the charge of delay and procrastination, he hoped the hon. and learned gent. would retract what he had said. But with respect to the subject itself, he conjured the house to consider deliberately, before they precipitated a decision upon a question of so much importance. If marquis Wellesley's reputation was the only question at stake, he should not wish to delay the decision of the house for a single moment. He disclaimed all personal enmity to the noble marquis, who had never done him an injury; he disclaimed all obligation to him, as never having received any favour at his hands, save an act of justice which it was his duty to render as chief governor of India. But it was not the reputation of the noble marquis, but the fate of India that depended upon the decision of the house; and that ample and impartial justice should be done, was of the utmost importance to every British interest in that quarter of the globe; for it was of the first necessity for the British parliament to shew, whether they were the guardians of the rights and liberties of British subjects in India, or the protectors of lord Wellesley. For his own part, he had done his duty in bringing forward these charges, and the evidence to support them. India looked anxiously to the issue of this question, and he hoped would bless the day on which the enquiry was instituted. He hoped they would be enabled to ascertain by the decision upon this question, whether the faith of treaties was to be maintained inviolate or not? to which faith they had witnessed the most honourable adherence under the administration of that ever-to-be-lamented nobleman, marquis Cornwallis; but he would call upon the house to look at the situation of India from the accursed day when marquis Wellesley first set foot there until the hour of his departure, during which time it continued a perpetual scene of rapine, of oppression, of fraud, and cruelty, which goaded the whole country into a spirit of revolt. He had brought forward his charges against the noble marquis in the face of England. He sought nothing but impartial justice, and he hoped parliament, for its own sake, would decide with the maturest deliberation, and in a full house.

Mr. *Perceval* said, he understood the hon. member who brought forward this charge, to object that the house should be the judge of the fittest time to form its own decision upon the subject, and to say he would entirely withdraw himself from any interference in discussing the subject, unless he was to be the judge of the fitness of the time for the decision. In such a case, he (Mr. Perceval) was of opinion the hon. member would abandon the duty he had undertaken, and incur the blame of any erroneous decision to which the house might be led, without the light which he was enabled to throw upon the subject. If the hon. member, however, would pledge himself to bring forward the investigation at any future day during the present session of parliament, at any reasonable distance, when he should have his thoughts better arranged upon the subject, he, for one, should not object to adjourning the further proceedings to such a day; and therefore he requested to know the hon. member's determination?

Mr. *Paull* declared he had not the most distant wish for delay; and that, if the remaining papers were produced for which he had moved respecting six British regiments in India, and which would furnish proofs of the most exorbitant and inconceivable extortion upon the nabob of Oude, he would be ready to go on with the charge next day, or in a week, just as the house should choose; but recollecting the delays and disappointments he had already experienced, he would not pledge himself to any particular day, until the papers were before the house.

Mr. *W. Smith* thought that, after what had fallen from the hon. gent. it would be a mockery of justice to proceed. The hon. gent. in his situation, could not fix any day. He regretted the delay; but as to the marquis Wellesley, it could not be too often repeated that it was damnum sine injuria. He thought that the friends of marquis Wellesley could not desire to proceed in the present situation of the case.

Sir *A. Wellesley* declared, that nothing could be more opposite to the wishes and feelings of himself, or his noble relation, than that the house should decide upon this charge, without having before them all the testimony the honourable gentleman wished to adduce; but as he had reason to believe that the documents which he had mentioned as the cause of delay really were not in the India-house, and had never been returned from India, he hoped, if the house should be satisfied of that fact, by those gentlemen now present who were officially competent to give information upon the subject, and that no such documents were to be expected, that the house would no longer defer its decision: more especially as it was the declared opinion of a right hon. gent. (Mr. Fox) that if a decision should not take place within the ordinary duration of the session, an address should be moved to his majesty, for prolonging the session for that purpose.

Mr. *R. Thornton* feeling himself thus called on, said he could not speak with accuracy as to the precise documents moved for being at the India-house; but he rather believed some fresh documents would be found there, and that the house ought not to proceed to final decision until further search should be made.

Mr. *W. Pole* supported the argument of his hon. relation, and wished to have a clear answer from some of those gentlemen who had been in the India direction, as to the existence of such returns.

Mr. *Paull* was not desirous of the returns of the strength of those six regiments. He only wished for the accounts of the sums charged as paid to them; and was confident such returns must have been made to the directors.

Mr. *Grant* said, that though he was not now in office, he was fully confident the accounts of pay must be in the India-house; but that the order for furnishing the returns of the strength of the regiments ought to have been directed to the war-office, where they would be found. He was for proceeding with the utmost deliberation upon a subject, whereon hung the fate of India. He thought the house could not, in so thin an attendance, comprising so many of the noble marquis's friends, and at so late a period of the session, come to a decision, consistently with the decorum which belonged to its deliberative justice; but that, if a decision was to be pressed upon the subject, there ought to be a call of the house, for which he, as one, should vote.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, he could not conceive that the absence of papers, relating to the charge against the marquis Wellesley, of having fraudently exacted an undue sum from the vizier of Oude, was sufficient to warrant delay; as both the fact and the intention would be necessary to be proved; and the latter had been completely disproved by the evidence of capt. Salmon, the accountant-general, who had distinctly stated, that in drawing up the estimates of the expence of troops to be defrayed by the vizier, marquis Wellesley had instructed him to make them rather in favour of that prince than otherwise: so that as far as the instructions, which were all that rested with the marquis, went, the charge was proved to be groundless; and the papers, if forthcoming, and shewing that a fraudulent sum was really charged, would not criminate that nobleman, but be useless.

Dr. *Laurence* spoke to order, and thought that after an order of that house had been six times made for their production, every member was interested in seeing that they were procured.

Lord *Castlereagh* expressed his surprise at the interruption, and thought that he was correct in shewing, from the oral evidence, which the house had had the advantage of, that the papers were not necessary, and did not contain any thing that could, by possibility, affect marquis Wellesley.

Mr. *Martin* (of Kinsale) thought that the papers might have great relevancy to the charge, as shaped by the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull), and that it was extremely wrong to force him to proceed, without what he himself thought sufficient to support his allegations.

Mr. *Burton* said, that after the evidence of the accountant general, the charge made upon the nabob, was, upon the whole, in his favour; all the evidence the hon. gent. wished to collect from the papers, might be admitted by the friends of marquis Wellesley, without any prejudice to him.

Sir *A. Wellesley* said, he was perfectly willing on the part of the noble marquis, to admit it; and therefore called upon the hon. gent. then to proceed.

Mr. *Paull* said, when the accounts were produced, he should shew that a sum of 470,000l. was fraudulently charged upon the nabob, by colonel Scott; having been some years after called upon to make up accounts against him, upon the basis of those estimates prepared by capt. Salmon, the colonel had been instructed to claim that excessive sum, unless the nabob would consent to cede his territory, in which case he was only to require the sum really due.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, the papers were

highly necessary to be produced, and corroborated the statement, that an unjust demand of nine lacs of rupees had been made upon the nabob.

Sir *J. Newport* deprecated the bringing forward of supplementary charges, and thought that the house, if they tolerated it, would never be able to come to a decision. He was of opinion that they should then proceed.

The *Solicitor General* said, the question was not if the decision upon these charges were to be deferred until the next session, but if the house would proceed this day to determine on an accusation, in which the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) said, he was not prepared to advance; so that the true enquiry was, if in this stage of the business the matter were to be taken out of his hands, in the absence of the information of which the house ought to be possessed in order to form its opinion. He could perfectly understand such an attempt, if this were a case of vexatious delay; but was this the complaint? The papers required were not obtained until the 20th of May; on the 25th of that month the charge was brought; on the 28th it was printed, and the evidence was only closed on Friday last; even at that moment the written testimony called for was not on the table, although the application was made for what was yet deficient as early as the 5th of June. Who could then seriously assert that there had been any unnecessary procrastination on the part of the hon. gent.? But it was said by the friends of the noble marquis, that from their knowledge of the documents sought, they would not at all conduce to support the charges. Were not others to obtain the same information, in order to satisfy their minds and come to the conclusions to which such premises should lead? If by the endeavour now made, the noble marquis should be acquitted, it would be such an acquittal as would afford him very little consolation; he was, it was to be presumed, an innocent man, and if he were so, justice to him required that this subject should be dismissed in a very different way; but it was not only justice to an individual that demanded it, it was justice to the collective body of that house, that required that no such precipitate decision should be formed; and the honour and character of the house were immediately concerned in the present proceeding.

Mr. *Hutchinson* thought the house would disgrace itself by acceding to the motion of the noble lord (Temple) and that it would be an evasion of justice to decide before all the evidence was adduced.

Lord *Temple* said, that after what had passed, he should not persist in calling upon the house to resolve itself into a committee that night, but would propose to defer his motion till Friday, by which time the papers might be before the house, and he hoped the business would be proceeded in.—This produced a long and desultory conversation, which ended in withdrawing the question for adjournment, and agreeing that the committee on the Oude charge should stand for next Friday; but Mr. Paull would not pledge himself to bring the business forward this session, without a call of the house, in which he was warmly supported by Mr. Windham, and several other members.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 7.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.] Mr. *Paull* brought forward a Supplementary Charge against the marquis Wellesley with respect to his treatment of the Zemindar of Sassnee, and some other Zemindars and Rajahs therein named.—The title of the charge being read, and the question being put on the motion for its being printed,

Sir *A. Wellesley* stated, that he had no objection to the charge being printed, but he should take the opportunity to request the hon. gent. would inform him and the house, whether it was his intention to bring forward any motion in the course of the present session, upon the charge now before the house? He had conceived it necessary for him to attend regularly in expectation of such a motion, but as he had also professional duties to perform, he should be very glad to know, whether it was necessary for him to continue this constant attendance?

Mr. *Paull* said, it was his most anxious wish to come to a decision on the Oude Charge, if possible, in the present session. There were still, however, very important accounts which he had moved for, and which were not furnished. He had called at the India-house on Saturday last, to facilitate them, but found that it would be near two months before they could be produced. He could not, therefore, in the present state of the session, and when the attendance was so small, give any pledge, that he should make a motion this session; but if that was impossible, he should pledge himself to do so at the commencement of the next session. A charge of a most serious nature, and much connected with the present, had been expected to have been brought forward by a right hon. gent. (Mr. Sheridan), but he appeared to have abandoned it. The transactions in the Carnatic were so much connected with the administration of the noble marquis, that if that right hon. gent. chose to abandon the charge of which he had given notice, he should feel it his duty to take it up, in order to throw light upon the general system of the administration of the noble marquis.

Mr. *W. Pole* thought it would not be proper for the friends of the noble marquis to press for any hasty decision of the house, after those circumstances had been stated. Their object was not to gain a premature decision, but to obtain the solemn decision of a full house, after a minute and deliberate examination of all the documents and evidence which the hon. member could bring forward to support his case. If they ever appeared to wish to press a speedy decision, it was merely when they supposed that the hon. gent. had produced all his documents, and that the house had had sufficient time to consider them, and form their judgment upon them. It never was the intention of his noble friend (lord Temple) to take, in any degree, the management of the business from the hands of the hon. gent. nor did the friends of the noble marquis wish to press the decision at all sooner than was necessary for the examination of all the documents. They had conceived, however, that all the documents moved for had been before the house, except one military account, and in that case they had offered, in order to save time, to admit every fact or inference which the hon. gent. could draw from it. He did not object to this supplemental charge being printed, but wished to know whether the hon. gent. had now moved for all the documents that he thought necessary?

Mr. *Sheridan* begged leave to trouble the house with a few words in consequence of his having been accused by the hon. gent. with having abandoned the subject of the Carnatic, and hinted that this had been done since he had come into administration. The fact was, and he thought the hon. gent. might have known it very well, that he had abandoned that subject when lord Powis was appointed, or understood to have been appointed, lord lieutenant of Ireland. But he had not abandoned his opinion respecting those transactions, and when the hon. gent. brought the affair forward, the should have his support. But his charge was against lord Powis, and not against marquis Wellesley, and he must say that it was somewhat singular that the hon. gent. who must have known this at the beginning of the session, had not come forward with this charge when he had the materials prepared to his hands.

Mr. *Paull* pledged himself, that if the right hon. gent. did not bring the business forward, he should do so, in the next session.—After some further explanations, the motion for printing the charge was agreed to.

[DEBTS OF THE NABOBS OF ARCOT.] Mr. Hobhouse moved, "That the bill for enabling the commissioners acting in execution of an agreement, made between the East India company and the private creditors of the nabobs of the Carnatic, the better to carry the same into effect," be read a second time.

Mr. *Francis* immediately addressed himself to the house in a speech, which we are sorry we cannot state more in detail for want of sufficient memoranda on such a multiplicity of topics and arguments, as his knowledge of the subject enabled him to bring forward; the general tenor of it was to the following effect: That he could not do perfect justice to the question without entering into many particulars, which, however necessary, were not likely to attract the attention of the house. Yet the subject was of great public importance, though the bill, now introduced, professed to be nothing more than a private bill for the purpose of giving effect and validity to a settlement of an account between parties, in which the public interest was not concerned. These parties were the supposed creditors of the late nabobs of the Carnatic on one side, and the Directors of the East India company on the other; as if, when once *they* were agreed, the house of commons had nothing to do but to ratify and enforce their agreement. On the 20th of May, when this debate was adjourned, it was formally asserted and maintained by lord Castlereagh, "that the Directors had a full and unquestionable legal right to enter into those articles of agreement, which were now to be acknowledged; that all the effect of rejecting the present bill would be to deprive the commissioners of a useful and necessary power, viz. to examine on oath, but that it could not stop their proceedings, and that it would require an act of parliament to dissolve this commission or even to stay its operation. Mr. Francis then said.—"I can by no means accede to this opinion. I do not think the directors of the India Company were competent to make this agreement; and, even if they were so, I still think it was their duty to have resorted to parliament in the first instance, and not to have come to any conclusion with the creditors, without a parliamentary sanction. All I desire is, that the house will look at the transaction and weigh the consequences before they determine that the public have no interest in it, nor any right to be considered as a party concerned in the adjustment of it. If they have such an interest and such a right, then I say that it cannot be safely trusted to a private compromise between the Company and the claimants, and that it can only be protected by the careful interposition of parliament. In this view, the amount of these claims is the first thing to be considered. I find them stated, first and last, at 9,289,250l.;—of which it appears that 3,658,432l. have been paid since the year 1784. The remaining demand of a capital debt of 5,630,838l. is now to be adjusted by these commissioners, and, as far as it can be established to their satisfaction, it must some way or other be satisfied out of the territorial revenue of the Carnatic; and yet it is contended that this is not a public question; and that it may legally be settled without the authority or even the knowledge of parliament! I advise his majesty's ministers to consider what they are doing. They know the situation of the India Company. The present services and interest of debts abroad far exceed the revenues. If the funds in India are wasted or diverted to private purposes, the deficiency must be provided for out of other sources; that is, by this country; I know of no other. The enormous amount of these supposed claims would lead one to conclude that all the wealthy natives of Change-alley and Lombard-street had gone to India, for the benevolent purpose of lending their money to the princes of that country. I doubt it. I do not believe that a single shilling of real English money was ever lent to a nabob of the Carnatic. If any thing was lent to them, it was out of their own property. When you see what these credits are, and what they amount to, I think you will have but one question to ask, 'Where did the creditors get the money?' By an act passed in 1784, and quoted in the preamble to the agreement, it was enacted, "That the court of directors should take into consideration the origin and justice of these demands, and, in concert with the nabob, establish a fund for the discharge of those debts, which should appear to be justly due," &c. By this clause, the investigation and the settlement are expressly committed to the court of directors. The trust was confined to them specially. They were delegates, and could not delegate. Against their opinion, however, and against their remonstrance, and without any investigation whatever, above three millions a half sterling were paid by the direct interposition and authority of the board of controul. Since that period, a new, or an old debt of five millions six hundred thousand pounds has started up; and this is the debt which is to be examined and liquidated by the present commissioners. Now, I think, sir, that on the principle, and in the spirit of the act of 1784, the directors themselves were bound to perform this duty; or, if they were unequal to the task, which considering the difficulty and their other avocations, might be true, they ought to have resorted to parliament, and stated the case. Instead of doing so, they have entered into a covenant with the creditors and provided a fund for the liquidation of their debts, to be adjusted under the arbitration of commissioners. This agreement in itself was not supposed to want the sanction, and never would have come within the cognizance of this house, if the parties had not discovered that the object of their agreement could not be effectuated without the assistance of parliament. They come to us now, not for our sanction of the plan, but for powers to carry it into execution. That is, if they could have acted without the powers, we should never have heard a word of the agreement. A claim of five or six millions on the revenues of India ought not to be disposed of in this manner. But it seems the capital of this debt, or of the amount that may be proved, is to be gradually discharged by means of a reserved fund of about 140,000l. a year, on which sum the company are to pay interest at six per cent. as long as it remains in their hands. This seems to me nothing but an indirect and perplexed way of funding the debt. For as to their really having such a surplus, or any surplus, after defraying all charges, I hold it to be very doubtful, if not impossible. Let us look a little now to the nature of these debts, as far as it can be collected from the quality of the creditors. The noble lord on the other side (lord Castlereagh) has declared his belief, that a considerable portion of the whole is unquestionably fraudulent. An hon. director (Mr. Grant) has stated his conviction that three-fourths of them are good for nothing, and that, if the remainder were admitted, it would be a large allowance. I am not at all disposed to canvass personal merits, or bring mere names into view; but where names are connected with station, and station alone will account for the demand, it cannot be avoided. The services of sir John Macpherson to the nabob (Wallajah) have been recited at large by the hon. member who opened this debate (Mr. W. Keene.) He was for a short time a member of the council and governor of Bengal. His claim, with interest, amounts to 101,700l. The late James Macpherson, esq. had a claim for 29,500l. Mr. Hollond, some time governor of Madras, has a claim for 55,000l. You have heard of this gentlemen, and of the vain attempts, which have been made to bring him to justice before the Indian judicature: 292,000l, stands in the name of Samuel Johnson, esq. who, I believe, was in council many years at Madras. If you wish to have an insight into these transactions, look at the printed evidence contained in the letters of Mr. Charles Darke* which were presented to the house so long ago as the 9th of Feb. 1803. I will not go any farther into this invidious detail, but there is one of these pretended debts, so singular and suspicious, and apparently so connected with the influence of station, that I must state it; and with that I shall conclude. Laurence Sullivan, esq. during many years was chairman of the Court of Directors, or high in the direction of the India Company's affairs; but he never was in India. To this gentleman, or to his estate, the old nabob is said to be indebted, on a bond, for 32,355l. The bond was granted in Feb. 1785, to John Stuart, in trust for Mr. Sullivan, and deposited with Mr. Fordyce; the claim was referred for examination to the committee at Madras, and in 1788, was reported by them to be just †. I do not believe that English money, lent to the nabobs, constitute any material part of these claims; but I do not deny that some of them, on account of payment due for services or for goods furnished, may be well founded. The fact is, that the good debts are overwhelmed and strangled by the bad ones, which throw a general discredit over the whole. Among these I should be inclined to admit the principle on which a debt due to the late sir Paul Joddrell is founded, because it appears to be for services of several years, acknowledged but not paid. I mention this instance, because it has been much insisted on, and not that I know any thing of the parties. The danger is, that, under cover of a few rights of this kind, many wrongs will be protected. Such is the general character of a pretended debt of 5,600,000l. for the liquidation of which the Court of Directors have covenanted with the creditors to provide a fund. Then comes the mode of adjustment, viz. under the arbitration of three commissioners. In the first instance, two hon. members of this house, were appointed by the Court of Directors, to whom personally there can be no possible objection. One of them (Mr. Ryder) has since resigned. The other (Mr. Hobhouse) in point of character and talents is perfectly qualified for this or any other place of trust. Still, sir, I should think that, when the connection of the India Company with government, through the medium of the board of controul, is considered, the house would demur at this way of appointing members of parliament to offices of emolument, by which their seats are not vacated. The three commissioners may not agree in admitting a debt; and then the act of any two of them shall prevail and bind the parties. In cases of debt or damages before a court of justice we expect a jury of 12 to be unanimous; but this, it seems, is too much to be exacted from only 3 commissioners. Now, I should think that, in a transaction so suspicious as the present, the objection of one opinion out of three, ought to be sufficient to extinguish the claim, or at least to suspend it. The general evidence and security, on which these creditors profess to rely, are bonds voluntarily given by the nabobs of the Carnatic, and which they say ought to be made good out of the territorial revenue, because the nabobs were the sovereigns of the country, and had a right to mortgage it to their creditors. On the 14th of April, the hon. member who introduced the bill, declared that, "whatever might be the differences of opinion respecting the propriety of the Company's seizing the revenues of the Carnatic, all must allow that they, who had them, ought to be answerable for the debts upon them, as long as those revenues were equal to the just demands upon them." But what is the evidence of a just demand?—The bonds of a nabob given to a supposed private creditor. In the year 1784, a principle of the same sort was set up and maintained; and, if it had prevailed, would soon have absorbed all the public revenue, and left nothing to pay the civil or military establishment. Mr. Burke's answer to it will satisfy any man, who knows any thing of the matter. "The gentlemen on the other side of the house, know as well as I do, that the nabob of Arcot and his creditors are not adversaries, but collusive parties, and that the whole transaction is under a false colour and false names. He is always ready to deliver up his territory and his subjects (even while they were his) to these pretended creditors." The Directors tell us, that the private creditors of the nabobs could have no lien upon the territory, nor any claim on the company as possessors of the Carnatic; and that this was the opinion of the Company's counsel. It is proper the house should know that these Indian princes have two treasuries, one private and peculiar, the other public, which, ever since they have fallen under British protection, they have carefully endeavoured to keep distinct. They never pay any thing out of their private purse, but in extreme necessity; but they care very little how they load the public revenue. Between a private loan and a public debt, they pocket all that they can borrow, and they pay nothing. By giving bonds, they get rid of importunity, or they gain friends, or they unite their creditors in a common cause with them; and, when the management of the territorial revenue is taken out of their hands, for these very abuses among the rest, these debts are brought forward as a just demand on that revenue. The chairman and deputy chairman of the Court of Directors, in their report of the 26th of Sept. 1804, observe, "that scarcely any other state ever furnished an example of the systematic extravagance of the nabob in coming under engagements, compared with his means of fulfilment." I say, it was his system, and not his extravagance. I believe, sir, I have said enough to shew that this is a public question, and that a public interest is involved in it. If so, the house of commons is bound to keep a watchful eye over the whole transaction. If once you let it out of your sight, I do not say that you may not safely rely on the integrity of the present commissioners, but the trust may devolve to others, whom you know nothing of, and who may easily take care that you shall know nothing of their proceedings. As soon as these claims, or any material portion of them shall be established, or as soon as it is known in India that parliament has given its countenance to them by passing the present bill, you will hear of other debtors, and of other creditors of the same quality. There are claims against the rajah of Tanjore and the nabob of Oude, and perhaps many other Indian princes, which only wait for the decision of this day to come forward on the same ground, and to demand satisfaction on the same principle. If you think the case deserves investigation, it ought to be done by a parliamentary commission, which should be bound to report the result of its proceedings, from time to time, to the house of commons; and all their proceedings should be as public as possible.

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* This gentleman appears to have been employed and trusted by the nabob, and finally, as he says, ruined in his service. His letters discover many curious anecdotes. In one of them, addressed to the nabob himself, he says (p. 153), "I will not, for the present, mention the bribes given by your highness on account of the unhappy business of the arrest of lord Pigot; but the amount of them make a great part of your highness's new consolidated debt." In short, he lays open a scene of bribery, fraud, and extortion, which fully account for the enormous sum of nine millions sterling paid to, or still claimed by these creditors.

† Vide Carnatic Papers, 2. 131.

Mr. *Sullivan* explained the nature of the connection of his relation of the same name with the nabob of Arcot, as originating with colonel M'Lean, who died in the service of that Eastern prince.

Lord *H. Petty* was desirous that the bill should be read a 2nd time, principally for two reasons; first, because the unjust claims would be more easily detected than at a later time; and next, because the just demands would be more easily ascertained. If the bill went into a committee, and no other person should suggest the amendments that appeared to him necessary, he pledged himself to bring them forward; they principally respected the mode of examination, the nomination of a parliamentary commissioner, and the periodical reports to be made on the progress of the business.

Mr. *Grant* considered the existing agreement between the India Company and the creditors under discussion, perfectly legal and binding unless superseded by a superior power. With regard to the nature of the claims alluded to, his opinion was, that although they amounted to 5,600,000l. they would be, upon investigation, reduced to one-fourth of that sum. The clauses proposed by the noble lord, he did not think material.

Sir *A. Wellesley* approved of the authority given to commissioners under the bill to discharge these claims; and took the opportunity of signifying his approbation of the late treaty with Holkar, under the auspices of sir G. Barlow.

Mr. *R. Thornton* said, the directors highly approved of the treaty, and he had no doubt, on Wednesday, a vote of approbation would be passed in compliment to the governor general.

Dr. *Laurence* commented upon what he had no hesitation in terming the scandalous mode in which the debts to which the bill referred were originated; and particularly upon the claim of Mr. Sullivan, which, as it appeared from an explanation of this evening, arose out of the desire of this Mr. Sullivan to create an undue influence at the India House. It was an insult to the understanding of the people of England, or of the India Company, to call on them to pay such a claim. What had they to do with it? And yet the hon. gent. who gave the explanation, seemed to feel quite satisfied of its equity. The agreement alluded to by the hon. director (Mr. Grant) was not, he was certain, at all such as that hon. ex-director described. In fact, it was not legally binding unless sanctioned by parliament.

Mr. *H. Martin* stated, that the public had a direct interest in the revenue of the East India Co. to the amount of 500,000l. annually. Neither the board of controul, nor the Court of Directors therefore, could have any legal authority to interfere with a measure which might naturally affect the interests of the public.

Mr. *Hobhouse* in explanation declared, that the commissioners only desired more powers with a view to exclude all fraudulent claims which might be preferred, to enable them to hunt out iniquity through all its mazes, and to render ample justice to the legal and equitable creditor.—After some further conversation, the gallery was cleared for a division, but the bill was read a second time by the general assent of the members present.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 8.

[AFFAIRS OF INDIA.—RECALL OF SIR G. BARLOW.] The order of the day having been read, for the lords to be summoned to attend this day,

Lord *Melville* rose and spoke as follows:—My lords, I regret much, that the house is not in possession of those official documents which would enable us clearly to see our way in the discussion of the important subject to which I think it my duty now to call your lordships' attention. For want of these we are obliged to grope in the dark, and take the prevailing rumours as the grounds of our arguments. I shall first, however, be obliged to give some kind of historical account of the transaction on which the discussion of this night will principally turn.—When lord Cornwallis had undertaken the government of India, and when in his zeal for the public service, he left the banks of the Ganges, and made a distant journey for the purpose of giving effect to the negotiations for peace, sir George Barlow, considering the delicate state of his lordship's health, and the danger he exposed himself to in his country's service, thought it proper to quit the seat of government, in order to assist his lordship in the negotiations; and in case of that event taking place, which has since happened, to receive his dying instructions, and to carry them into effect without delay. Sir G. Barlow had then for his instructions not only the system which lord Cornwallis actually pursued, but the orders of the Court of Directors, and the instructions given to general Lake on the 19th of September. The general principle of the negotiation with the native powers, as also the system of retrenching unnecessary expenditure, was begun by the marquis Cornwallis, and was afterwards pursued by his successor, sir G. Barlow. Such was the situation of India, as it was known in this country upon the 29th of January last, when his majesty's ministers with great wisdom and propriety, considering that it was not proper to leave India without the full benefit of those powers of government which had been always confided to governors general, recommended to the court of directors to give those powers to sir G. Barlow, in order that he might not be fettered either in conducting the negotiations, or in carrying on the government in India. With this recommendation, the Court of Directors readily and cheerfully complied. No appointment was ever less complained of, and no dispatch had since been received from India that did not convey the most sanguine expectation of success, from the measures pursued by the successor of marquis Cornwallis. The appointment in consequence of the recommendation of his majesty's ministers, was made on the 25th of Feb. and upon the 8th of March the Court of Directors received an intimation of the wish of his majesty's ministers that a successor should be appointed to sir G. Barlow. The Court of Directors were very unwilling to comply. They foresaw, or they thought they foresaw, great difficulties and great objections to complying with this intimation. Nothing effectual was done from the 8th of March till the 12th of May, when a communication was made to the Court of Directors, suggesting the recall of sir G. Barlow, and recommending the appointment of a noble lord (Lauderdale) high in his majesty's councils. This recommendation did not accord with the ideas of the Court of Directors, and some more delay was occasioned by the correspondence and communications that took place on this subject. At length, at the latter end of the month of May, his majesty was advised to recall sir G. Barlow, by an instrument under his own sign manual. Since that time it has not appeared that any governor general has been appointed, or any step taken to fill up the vacancy in the government of India. In the course of the last day or two, there has been a rumour that a noble lord (Minto) has been appointed; but this rumour is the only thing which the house is now possessed of, instead of that information to which it is entitled upon so important a subject. The intended recall of sir G. Barlow has been, however, notified to India in all the correspondence, both public and private, that has taken place with that country since the beginning of March; and it must occasion great uncertainty with respect to the system of government to be adopted for India, as well as great surprise in those who are best acquainted with the services, the talents, and the zeal of the honourable baronet. It will be now necessary to consider the act of parliament itself, under which his majesty was empowered to recall the governor general appointed by the Company. It is by the act which passed in the year 1784, that his majesty obtained that prerogative, and it will not be foreign from the subject to call the attention of your lordships to the circumstances under which that act was passed. It will be recollected that it was at that remarkable period when the whole country was convulsed with different opinions on the subject of the best mode of governing India. The different systems might be said to be contained in two bills; the one was commonly known by the name of Mr. Fox's bill, and the other by that of Mr. Pitt's bill. In the latter, however, to which parliament gave its sanction, the power of recalling a governor-general, or other officer, was given to his majesty by an express clause in the bill. If the house will, however, recollect the circumstances of those times, and consider the mode in which those two bills were universally understood at that period, it will appear that it was the general opinion at that time, that the real difference between the bills was a struggle for the patronage of India, whether it should be in the hands of the crown or of the company. The opposers of the bill of 1783 (Mr. Fox's bill) contended, that giving the patronage of India to ministers would overturn the independence of the lords and commons, and be subversive of the privileges and prerogatives of the crown. The privileges of 1784 (Mr. Pitt's bill) disclaimed this patronage, and went upon the supposition that the patronage of India might be more fairly and beneficially exercised by the East India Co. themselves. I do not now mean to argue, which of those opinions were right or wrong. I merely mean to state, that the opinion of the legislature in the year 1784, when they agreed to Mr. Pitt's bill, was decidedly for leaving the Company the patronage of India. The clause therefore in that act, which first gave his majesty the power of recalling a governor-general, can never fairly be construed as directly militating against the whole spirit of the act. The most decided sense of the country was then in favour of the spirit of that act, and with this generally prevailing sentiment the legislature concurred; it therefore never could have been the intention of the legislature, that a bill passed in this spirit should contain a clause which was to be at complete variance with the whole object of the bill, and should enable his majesty's ministers, by exercising at pleasure this power of recall, to gain the entire patronage of India. The meaning of the clause is obvious. It only was intended to give the crown the power of negativing any improper appointment, which partiality might ever induce the Court of Directors to make. The Court of Directors were also checked in that respect by the Court of Proprietors, and there was a most remarkable instance then recent, of the Court of Proprietors having refused to acquiesce in the recall of Mr. Hastings when the Court of Directors had proposed it. It therefore was necessary, that in cases of that nature the government should have the power of recall. I therefore think myself now warranted to appeal to the recollection of every noble lord who remembers the circumstances under which the act of 1784 was passed, whether I have not stated fairly the intentions of the legislature at the time of its passing. I know that as to the merits of the two different bills, there must be a great variety of opinions, and every person must be subject to some particular bias. The noble lord (Minto) may, probably, be more attached to the principles of the bill of 1783, or Mr. Fox's bill, as it is usually called. On the other hand, I may appeal to another noble lord (Grenville) whose opinion I may bring forward as a balance in point of authority, and whose bias I must suppose to be in favour of the bill of 1784, from the part he took upon that occasion. He must know the spirit in which that bill was passed, and whether it would not be contrary to the spirit and meaning of that bill, that any clause of it should be construed as giving the patronage of India to his majesty's ministers, whenever they should be pleased to insist upon this power of recalling, at their pleasure, those who had been appointed by the Company. It would be contrary to the spirit and to the obvious meaning of the law, if the power of recall should be exercised merely for the purpose of enforcing the appointment of the person whom his majesty's ministers wished to be the governor-general of India. The power that the crown possessed would be grossly abused, if it were applied to any other purpose than what was intended by the law, to the negativing of an appointment made in favour of an improper person. If this be the only fair, rational, and true construction of the act under which India has been governed for the last 22 years, then it is incumbent on his majesty's ministers to shew some cause, why they advised his majesty to recall the person whom they had originally recommended to be appointed as governor-general. For the whole period of 22 years, since this act was passed, there was no instance of his majesty's ministers having exercised this power, and they should be aware that the most pernicious consequences might result from an indiscreet exercise of it. The situation of India now was delicate in the extreme. The negociations which were pending with the native powers, and the retrenchments which were to be carried on, required a government armed with the usual powers and confidence. If then, at such a time, this power of recall was exercised altogether without reason, and apparently with no other view than patronage, it was enough to irritate the Court of Directors. If, then, the Court of Directors were irritated by such conduct (and it was known, that whim and ill-humour had often influence on the determination of public bodies); if they supposed that this power of recall was exercised capriciously and wantonly, they could find from the words of the law sufficient means of resisting any appointment that his majesty's ministers might wish to make. I have already stated to your lordships the situation in which India was placed at the death of marquis Cornwallis, and at the time sir G. Barlow succeeded to the government; and also that the first act of his majesty's ministers upon that occasion was to recommend to the Court of Directors the extending the power of sir G. Barlow. On this recommendation there was great joy in Leadenhall-street; for never was there an individual in the service of the Company, whose conduct had received more marked approbation than that of sir G. Barlow, nor did the records of the Company shew a greater number of testimonies of approbation of the conduct of any individual that ever was in their service. The former administration had concurred with the Company in their opinion of his merits; for when marquis Wellesley was about to depart from India in 1802 sir G. Barlow was the person whom they had named as his successor. When, however, lord Cornwallis was recommended to supersede sir G. Barlow, the Court of Directors gave no opposition, and he himself readily gave way to the appointment of the noble marquis. Sir G. Barlow received marquis Cornwallis with open arms, because he knew that his appointment was made merely on public grounds, and for the public good; but when it should appear that an appointment was made from other motives, it cannot be expected that it would be acquiesced in so cheerfully. Sir G. Barlow most readily joined in all the plans introduced by marquis Cornwallis both for securing the tranquillity of India, and for the retrenchments that were to be made in the expenditure. In speaking on that subject, I beg that I may not be considered as giving any opinion on the conduct of a noble marquis (Wellesley), which is now the subject of conversation. If, upon the appointment of sir G. Barlow, there was much joy and exultation, that joy was quite suppressed, when in ten short days after that appointment, government intimated their wish to have him recalled. If this were done capriciously, and without sufficient reason, ministers were much to blame; but if it were done for the purpose of seizing the patronage of India, it was worse—it was a direct violation of the spirit and the meaning of the act of parliament. I have heard it, however, surmised, that in the original recommendation of sir George Barlow, the government never deceived the court of Directors, but they told them at that time, that the appointment was merely temporary and liable to be changed. This appointment, however, which lasted but ten days, would not enable him to do any good, while the suddenness of his recall must be felt by him as a mortification and disgrace. It would have been a very different thing to have left him in a subordinate situation, from what it was to appoint him governor-general, and recall him after he had been only ten days appointed. It certainly appeared like some disgrace, or as if, in the course of ten days, ministers had found out something in his conduct that rendered him unworthy of their confidence. The reason would not be confined to the cabinets of Downing-street or of Leadenhall-street, but it would be reported through the metropolis, and the report would reach to India, that sir G. Barlow, in whom they had been accustomed to repose great confidence, was found unworthy to retain the government of India. I should therefore now wish, that the correspondence on the subject between the directors and the board of controul should be laid before the house. It cannot be said to be a secret: not only the 24 Directors, but their children, their wives, their daughters, and their servants, must all of them be acquainted with the nature of this correspondence. As I have no official document to go on, and am obliged to rest upon reports, I must state, that it is also reported that the principal reason for recalling sir G. Barlow is, that it is the system of the present administration that none but men of rank in this country should ever be appointed to the situation of governor-general in India. I do not know how this doctrine will be relished by the gentlemen in India, who have spent the greater part of their lives in the service of the Company in that country, but I think it never can be taken as a general rule of conduct. If the governor-general should die in India, it must necessarily follow, that he should be succeeded in the government by the senior of the supreme council. This person must of course exercise the office of governor-general until time should elaspe sufficient to transmit the news of such decease to this country, and until a successor should be actually appointed. It therefore appears, that on the death of a governor-general it happens of necessity that the senior of the supreme council will have that situation for a year. It will, however, be necessary, that the Company's servants in India may know to what extent his majesty's ministers think that confidence may be reposed in them. It would be right that they should know what situations they might aspire to, and what situations they should ever be debarred from. It should be told them at once, that the whole career that was open to them was this, that from writers they might get to be factors, and from that to be junior merchants, senior merchants, and collectors of the salt duties; and arrive to all the lucrative situations of the country; but that they must not, in any case, hope to attain to the honours of governor-general, which some, who passed their lives in the service of the Company, in the burning climate of India, might hope to aspire to. I myself, my lords, have often heard the private opinions of the directors of the East India Co. upon the subject of appointing none but men of great family and high rank to the government of India. They have always thought that a person of this description, who was really distinguished for talents and the qualities desired, would be of all men the most proper, as he would arrive at India free from those partialities in favour of particular servants of the Company, which might interfere with the right administration of the country. It would, however, appear very strange in the ears of lord Teignmouth, sir Charles Oakley, and many other servants of the Company, who had held the highest situations in India, to tell them, that, by the modern system, it was discovered that persons of their description ought not to have been placed in the highest situations, and that, if they had been in India in modern times, they could have no petentions to such distinction. This would be, indeed, strange music to their ears. Upon all these grounds I conceive I am warranted in stating that, prima facie, it is a most extraordinary thing that ministers should have conceived themselves warranted in exercising the power of recall, which a clause in the act of parliament vested in his majesty. I should wish to learn from the noble secretary (lord Grenville), whether the instrument, under the sign manual, for recalling sir G. Barlow, was ever sent to India? I apprehend, that, from the repeal of the commission, there is now no existing government in India; and I cannot conceive in what manner the Court of Directors are to proceed to fill up the vacancies in the supreme council in India. If the instrument of recall has remained for two months in the pocket of the noble secretary, how are the Court of Directors to make out their warrant? It must also be considered in what situation the temporary government that subsists in India is placed. Although the treaties may be concluded, the negociations and the consequences of them may not yet be at an end. There were probably yet remaining many things which were most important in the execution. By the treaties which lord Cornwallis was on the point of negotiating, the river Jummah was to be the western boundary of the British possessions in India. Lord Cornwallis had sent to general Lake instructions to fix that river as the boundary of that part of the conquered countries which the Company meant to retain. There was, however a most extensive district of the conquered countries respecting which the treaty, which was lately published, was entirely silent. Whatever might be the disposition of them, Holkar and Scindiah had no right to complain; but as marquis Cornwallis had renounced the occupation of them, it would be a matter of the most serious moment how they were to be disposed of. They must be reserved for some one of the native princes; but, until it was ascertained to which of these they were to be given, India could never be considered in a settled state of tranquillity. Under these circumstances I declare most solemnly, that if the person appointed to the government of India were my brother, or my nearest and dearest friend, I should deprecate his appointment at the present time. The Court of Directors did not insist upon the appointment of sir G. Barlow, in any other light than as a temporary measure, in consideration of the circumstances of the present time. If therefore the person who should be appointed would consent to delay for six months the gratification of his ambition, I make no doubt that he would meet with no opposition from the Court of Directors. If he should, however, go out now, and raise his rank upon the unmerited disgrace of sir G. Barlow, he must feel that he goes out with the disrespect and ill-will of the Court of Directors, and he must consider how he is likely to be received in India. He must consider what effect the doctrine will produce there, that none but men of rank and title can ever hope to attain the highest offices in India. I can venture to foretell that with the degradation of sir G. Barlow, a servant who has their hearts and their confidence, all the servants of the Company in India will feel themselves degraded. I repeat again, that if my brother or my nearest friend were going to India under these circumstances, I should endeavour to dissuade him. I should tell him, that even the support of the board of controul would not balance the disgust with which his appointment would be received by the Court of Directors, and the servants of the Company in general. I should therefore most sincerely recommend to whoever may be appointed, to defer for six months the gratification of what may be a very laudable ambition; at the expiration of that time I have very little doubt that he may go to India with the perfect acquiescence of the Court of Directors, and the good wish of their servants in India. I have nothing more to add at present, and shall conclude with moving, 1st, for Copies of all letters and dispatches from the governor-general of India to the Court of Directors, respecting the finances of the Company, and the retrenchments proposed to be made; and when that motion is disposed of, I shall move for Copies of the correspondence between the board of controul and the Court of Directors, their chairman, and deputy chairman, respecting the recall of sir G. Barlow from his situation as governor-general."—Upon the first resolution being put.

Lord *Grenville* rose and remarked, that in the whole course of the noble lord's speech, not a single word had been said which at all alluded to the resolution which was then proposed to the house. For the other resolution no ground had been stated but the suggestion of the person who brought forward the motion, that the affairs of India were in a deranged and delicate situation. If the affairs of India were in this unsettled state that been described, it would certainly not add much to the means of tranquillizing them, to bring forward discussions of this nature in parliament. As to the resolution that was then submitted to the house, not a single word had been said in support of it. He did not, however, mean to rest upon a captious objection, but would come at once to the consideration of the second resolution, respecting the recall of sir G. Barlow, which was, in fact, the point upon which the discussion must turn. Upon this subject the noble viscount had not, in his opinion, laid any plausible grounds for the production of the correspondence for which he moved. It was not enough to say that such correspondence must be known by this man's child, or that man's servant; the real question was, whether that correspondence was of a nature that was proper to lay before parliament. It was not until near the conclusion of the speech of the noble lord, that he heard him say something about restoring tranquillity in India, retrenching unnecessary expenditure, and savings in the finances; and therefore he should direct the principal part of his answer to what he conceived to be the most serious part of the speech, that which relates to the recall of sir G. Barlow. Without discussing the reasons which induced his majesty's ministers to recommend the recall of sir G. Barlow, he must state, that he was much surprized at the only remedy which the noble lord proposed for what he complained of, and which was merely that sir G. Barlow should be continued six months longer. What could be the reason for this recommendation? When in the course of the six months he should do what the noble lord said it was impossible for him to do; when he should have remained so much longer under those difficulties, which (as was stated) must completely weigh him down, then the noble lord himself would be ready to acquiesce in his recall. The noble lord had insinuated that there was some intemperance in the letters from his majesty's ministers upon this subject. This was a charge, however, which he must utterly deny. He did not know on what grounds the noble viscount could presume to impute, that the object of his majesty's ministers, in advising the recall of sir G. Barlow, was merely dictated by the wish to extend their patronage. If there was any fixed principle which his majesty's ministers felt should for ever govern their conduct with respect to India, it was this: that between his majesty's ministers and the court of directors there should be a spirit of mutual conciliation and co-operation, that each should endeavour to understand the other, and that they should act together for one common object, the good of the countries which were committed to their government. Nothing could so much tend to break this harmony, as to bring forward, for parliamentary discussion, the various correspondence which passed between them. The noble viscount had supposed a case of the court of directors and board of controul acting at cross purposes, and only impeding one another. This was certainly a possible case, but it was by no means a probable one. As for those mutual checks and controuls, the history and the analogy of the constitution of this country proved that they might subsist without at all impeding public business. The constitution of the country was altogether a system of checks and balances, and yet it was found that those mutual checks contributed materially to the benefit of the empire; and, from the same analogy, he would infer, that it might also be beneficial to the system of the government of India. This was, perhaps, the first time in the history of parliament, that ministers were called upon to assign a reason why they advised the recall of one individual, or the appointment of another. It was strictly parliamentary when the general conduct of ministers was such as parliament disapproved of, to address his majesty for their removal; but it was quite unusual to call upon ministers for their reasons for every separate appointment which they had advised. During the 22 years which had elapsed since the passing of the act, the noble lord certainly could adduce no precedent of a similar correspondence being laid before parliament. If the house would call to their recollection all that had passed during those 22 years, they might be surprized that the charge of grasping at Indian patronage should have come from that noble lord. For his own part, he always wished that those who were accused should be tried by the law itself, and not by any fanciful interpretations and constructions that could be put upon it by other people. In this instance he stood upon the law, and called upon their lordships to look at the law as it now stood. If the law in stating one thing meant another, the country would have a right to complain of that legislature that would enact such laws. Those whose business it was to carry the laws into execution might also complain of the legislature for leading them into error by fraudulent prevarication. The law however (as he contended), must be construed by the plain meaning, and the expressions that were found in it. The noble lord himself must admit, that the law gave a power of recall, and he could hardly deny that wherever there was a right there was also a duty. If at a future time ministers should be arraigned before that house for a neglect of their duty, it would be a very weak defence to say, that the reason they neglected their duty was because they had taken the noble lord's construction of a very plain law, and had misunderstood the obvious meaning of it. He had been appealed to personally, as to his recollection of the intention of the legislature in passing the act; he should therefore declare most solemnly, that it was as clearly in his recollection as if the transaction was but of yesterday, that it was certainly intended that his majesty's ministers should have the power of recall at their own discretion. He recollected even the arguments which were urged in the discussion of the bill of 1784, and he recollected that those who opposed it, took precisely the grounds that the noble lord now rested upon, and said, that the power of recall might virtually give ministers the patronage of India. It was answered then, as it might be answered now, that it never could be contended, that because the crown has the power of negativing an act of parliament, that therefore it could direct the legislature; and by a parity of reasoning, although it might with respect to India, have the power of negativing an appointment, it did not follow that the whole of the appointments must necessarily fall under the controul of his majesty's ministers. If the noble viscount could shew that this power had been exercised merely for the purpose of procuring the appointment of a person whom they wished to appoint, it would certainly be a violation of the law. The noble lord must, however, recollect, that from the passing of the act in 1784, to the year 1801, there had not been a single governor-general appointed either to Bengal or Madras, that had not been recommended by himself to the directors. If therefore the same system of recommendation should have been continued from the year 1801 to the present time, it would appear that the noble lord should be the last to shew any surprise upon the subject. The noble lord had undertaken to prophesy, that whatever might be the exalted character of the person whom his majesty's ministers should think proper to recommend, however disposed the directors might be to acquiesce in his choice, still the servants of the company would be so disgusted as to make his situation painful and disagreeable. His majesty's ministers had recommended two noblemen of the highest rank and talents for the government (lords Lauderdale and Minto). He hoped the circumstances of their rank and talents would not be urged as an objection to either of them; but when he heard the noble viscount talk of the prejudice of sending men of rank to India in the situation of governors-general, he could not forbear asking, if the affairs of India did not go on well when lords Cornwallis, Wellesley, Powis, sir A. Hamilton, and many other persons of consequence, none of whom were servants of the company, were employed in the government? He believed there had been many persons of distinguished merit in India, who had not been recommended by the noble viscount, and who could not claim the honour or the recommendation of being his personal relation. If the correspondence that was now moved for should be granted, it would destroy all the confidence and harmony which ought to subsist between the board of controul and the court of directors. The late administration had appointed sir G. Barlow as successor of marquis Wellesley, and almost immediately superseded him for marquis Cornwallis, who was a man of that high rank that the noble viscount now appeared to think ought not to be employed. Lord Cornwallis, however, although he possessed every other quality, wanted the essential qualities of youth and health. It was generally supposed in London that he never could bear the voyage to India, or that if he did arrive there, he would survive it but a very short time: although that was the prevailing opinion, yet the ministers at that time were so remiss upon the subject, that they made no provision for the event which had happened, and what might have been expected to happen. It was from this criminal neglect in the preceding administration that his majesty's present ministers were informed, only 24 hours after his-sing his majesty's hand on their appointment, that marquis Cornwallis was dead, and that by neglect of their predecessors, no governor general existed in India. It could not be expected of the present administration that in the first twenty-four hours, after they were in office, they could find a proper successor for lord Cornwallis, and obtain the assent of the court of directors. Neither could it be expected, that in the first twenty-four hours, they were to be perfectly acquainted with the talents of sir G. Barlow or his fitness for the situation of governor general. Their first idea was, to give him the full powers of governor general, in order to compleat the negotiations he had then in hand. They therefore recommended it to the court of directors to give him the necessary powers, but they never thought of this appointment as being any thing more than a mere temporary appointment. It appeared, however, that what the noble lord called ten days, or ten little days, was in fact a period of near three months. He certainly had no personal prejudice against sir G. Barlow: that honourable baronet had anxiously and zealously co-operated in the measures of lord Wellesley, whose government was, in his opinion the most splendid and glorious administration which India ever knew. He had such a high opinion of the splendid abilities, the unshaken integrity, and the ardour of mind in the public service which was always manifested by lord Wellesley, that it would be to him a great recommendation of sir G. Barlow to say, that he co-operated zealously in the measures and in the system of marquis Wellesley, whose conduct he so much admired. As his conduct was now under discussion, he did not wish to add more upon the subject. The court of directors had formed one opinion, he had formed another diametrically opposite. He should not dispute with them the exercise of their judgment, and he hoped no one would refuse him the exercise of his own: time would shew whose opinion on this subject was the justest. As to the production of the correspondence moved for, he trusted the house would see that it was highly improper. Although, to follow the analogy of the British constitution, the lords and the commons were a mutual check to each other, yet it was found that they always drew well for the public interest. He trusted that it would be the same way between the board of controul and the board of directors. If the private reasons and personal objections which made ministers refuse the appointment of any individual were to be made a matter of public discussion, no persons would be found to take the situation of ministers. There might be many reasons why, without any crime being imputable to an individual, ministers might suppose him unfit to be trusted with the interests of millions. If, however, in every individual case, ministers were obliged to tell each individual to his face the personal objections they had to him, or if (which, would come to the same thing) their correspondence upon this subject was to be laid before parliament, the situation of ministers would be intolerable to any one who possessed the common feelings of a man. On these grounds he must object to the production of the correspondence moved for.

Lord *Hawkesbury* said, that if any public inconvenience were stated as likely to result from the production of the correspondence moved for, that would be a sufficient reason for negativing the production. If, on the contrary, no public inconvenience were stated, and any advantage to the public were likely to result from the production, he did not think those motives of private feeling entitled to so much weight. He agreed that the person who brought forward any motion for papers, was obliged to make out a *prima facie* case, at least, to support his motion. Such a case appeared to him to have been made out in the present instance. There was upon the face of the transaction some ground of blame, unless ministers could shew that they had good reason for advising the recall of sir G. Barlow. As to the act of parliament, he did not see that there could be much difference of opinion. There was no doubt that the act gave ministers the power of recalling a governor-general, and the only question was, whether they had not made a wanton and capricious use of their power. He was perfectly ready to admit, that by the bill there was a discretionary power vested in the government. The question was not as to the right, but whether it has been soundly or unsoundly exercised. It would be proper to enquire a little into the state of India.

Upon the decease of marquis Cornwallis, the government devolved upon sir G. Barlow. He had frequent communications with that noble lord previous to his departure for India, and considering his advanced time of life, he never knew a man more likely to live, or against whose decease it was so little necessary to take more than ordinary precaution. Such was the opinion of the friends who had last seen him at Portsmouth. His astonishment was of course great when he heard of his decease, and considering all the circumstances of the case, it was his opinion, that no person could have been more proper to succeed him than sir G. Barlow. He would not, at the same time, say that it might not be right, in the first instance, to send out a person of rank in preference to a company's servant. Sir G. Barlow's being a company's servant was neither for nor against his appointment; but he would maintain, that if inflexible integrity, if the greatest capacity for and attention to business, if the utmost devotion to the interests of the company deserved that preference, no one could be better entitled to it than that gentleman; and, what perhaps would be of no little weight, he had the entire confidence of the noble person he succeeded. It was for these reasons that he thought it would be wiser in government to appoint sir G. Barlow, but still he would not blame them for exercising that right. What was the situation of sir G. Barlow? Engaged as he was in critical negotiations, invested with great authority, and afterwards recalled, what impressions might not the public receive from such an act? One of two things should have been done. Either sir G Barlow should not have been appointed, or he should have been continued. He did not suppose that an appointment likely to be attended with such important consequences had been made upon private grounds, but he wished that the noble baron had condescended to explain the public reasons for it. It had been said there had been no instance of such a motion as the present, but had there been an instance of such a proceeding as that which gave rise to it? His lordship concluded with expressing his opinion, that under all the circumstances of the case no person should have been appointed to supersede sir G. Barlow in the government of India.

Lord *Minto* admitted, that if the papers moved for were matters of course, no objection ought to be made to the production of them. But as that was not the case, and no distinct ground had been made out, their lordships, he was convinced, would not agree to the motion. The powers of the governor and council were in as full force at present as ever in India. The principle of the noble lords opposite that because a successor was to be appointed to sir G. Barlow, a cessation of government, and anarchy would ensue in India, went too far. It would equally apply to all changes of the government of India. No such effect could happen where there was no change of sovereign, but a transfer of power from one individual to another, both subject to the same sovereign, and governed by the same laws. A governor general may die or resign, without notice to his superiors, and yet no such consequences would be apprehended. The supposition was a fallacy. As to the warrant, it undoubtedly had not been sent out, yet he was ready to meet the responsibility for having detained it. The act gave a power to retain the warrant in such cases, till the most convenient time for sending it out, with a view to the public interests; as no ground whatever had been laid for the motion, he should oppose it.

Lord *Eldon* was of opinion, that the communication of the warrant of recal to the governor general was sufficient to supersede his powers, and looked upon that clause in the act which required the publication of the warrant in the Calcutta Gazette as unnecessary. He contended however, that, according to the true intent and construction of the act, the warrant ought not to have been detained in this country, after a convenient time for transmitting it to India, when executed by his majesty. He thought, therefore, that the appointment in this instance ought not to pass without inquiry.

The Earl of *Buckinghamshire* contended, that if ever the principle, that no servant of the company should be appointed governor general, had been acted upon, it was by the noble viscount himself (lord Melville). That noble lord might not have promulgated that doctrine; but all his recommendations, whilst he presided over the affairs of India, proved that to be his impression. In the appointment of Marquis Wellesley, the noble viscount had done well for the public service, whoever might be injured by it. The noble viscount would not in that instance suffer a servant of the company to hold the government even for a few months, but sent a commission to the commander in chief to take the office upon him till the arrival of marquis Wellesley. The same course had been pursued by sending a commission to general Harris to take provisionally the government of Madras, when he had been superseded. If the noble viscount had not promulgated this doctrine, these acts were strong indications of it. He should not have said a word on the subject, but that he wished the poison of the noble lord's speech to be accompanied with the antidote.

Lord *Melville*, in justification of his conduct in the several instances alluded to, stated the motives by which he had been actuated. He had never laid it down as a rule, that the servants of the company were not proper persons to be appointed to the government general. Neither had he asserted that they ought exclusively to be appointed to that high office. His conduct shewed that neither had been his rule of action. Whoever should be appointed, ought to be a person of character and of abilities to fill the important office. He had argued with a view to a rumour which had gone abroad that the objection to sir G. Barlow was, his having been a servant to the company. He should say, however, that the suspicions he had entertained on the subject had not been weakened by any thing he had heard in that debate. If the papers should be granted, and they should confirm those suspicions, he intended to found upon them an ulterior proceeding.

Lord *Ellenborough* could not sit silent when he heard an objection started which he did not expect to be repeated. The warrant could have no effect till communicated to the party; and he agreed with the learned lord (Eldon), that the clause for publication at Calcutta was nugatory. That the communication gave legal effect to the warrant, would appear in the instance of the judges in the event of the demise of the crown. He might on such an event be in the discharge of his duty in an extreme part of the country, and if his commission could be vacated without communication, any exercise of his power after such demise, in ordering a man convicted of a capital offence for execution, would be murder at common law. It was the duty of the persons who advised his majesty to issue the warrant, to communicate it to the court of directors in eight days, in order that they might fill up that appointment. But it was not their duty, nor had it ever been intended, that they should send out the warrant as rapidly as possible. The case of the appointment of a lord lieutenant of Ireland was an illustration of this principle. In the instance of the intended recal of one lord lieutenant, his successor was to be the bearer of the warrant, which he after kept with him many months in this country, until it suited his convenience to proceed to his government. If his noble friend had kept the warrant back longer than was necessary for the convenience of public business, he would allow it to be censurable, but he contended that the contrary was the case.

Lord *Redesdale* contended, that there was an essential difference between the warrant of recal of a lord lieutenant of Ireland, and of a governor general. The former was to have effect only upon the arrival of the new lord lieutenant in Ireland, whereas the latter was to have an immediate effect. It was an improvident discretion therefore, on the part of his majesty's ministers, to retain the warrant in trust, and he maintained that it had been kept only with a view to constrain the court of directors to choose another governor general and council.

The *Lord Chancellor* expressed his surprise at the violent strain that had been adopted. The former objection was, that an interregnum existed, the present objection lay against the means that had been resorted to to prevent that interregnum. The construction put upon the statute by the noble lords who supported the motion, instead of tending to the security of our distant government, seemed only to perplex mens' minds, and was founded on a quibble. The king had unquestionably the power of recalling a governor general; but the appointment was vested for good purposes, in the great corporation. The warrant of recal was to be communicated to the court of directors in eight days, and here was an interregnum without any objection being made to it. The directors had two months to appoint another, a space of interregnum to which no objection was made; and yet the government in that case must be contemplating the event of the appointment of a successor. It was most desirable that the governor going out should carry with him the order for the recal of the former one. He had attended to the noble viscount throughout, and thought that he nibbled at the prerogative given to his majesty by the act. In judging of the meaning of the act, it ought to be collected from its obvious import, and not by substituting legal conundrums and quibbles for the fair construction of the act. To understand the act, the noble and learned lord should consider the spirit of it; to look at the time when his majesty got the prerogative, and at the time when he had it not; to regard the resolution of the house of commons upon which it was founded. It was rather too late to read such lectures in that house. His majesty's advisers were undoubtedly responsible for the exercise of this prerogative as well as every other. But it did not follow, because they thought fit to advise his majesty to remove any officer, suppose to take the seals from him, that they ought to lay the grounds upon which they acted before that house, or that the house could call for them. Many things had been stated in the course of the night of a dangerous tendency. In drawing the character of sir G. Barlow, the noble lord had stated, that he yielded to marquis Cornwallis, but that he might not be so well disposed in the present instance. This went the length of establishing the principle, that the governors of distant provinces might raise a rebellion, if they should not approve of their successors. The distant possessions were the mortal part of every power; and in these times, when so many thrones, and states, and powers, had passed away, it was dangerous to countenance such doctrines.

Lord *Eldon* observed in reply, that there would have been no difficulty in framing the warrant so as to avoid the inconvenience of an interregnum. If an illegal assumption of power was to be denominated from the woolsack a conundrum or quibble, he should feel it incumbent on himself to bring that principle to some specific form before the house.—The question being put, the motions made by the noble viscount were rejected without a division.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 8.

[GRANTS TO THE ROYAL FAMILY.] Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the resolutions of the committee of supply, settling the augmentations to be made to the provisions for the different branches of the royal family, &c. On their being read a second time,

Mr. *Ridley Colborne* rose to make a few observations on the nature of the grants which the resolutions contained. He thought the house should pause before they voted away such large sums of the public money, at a period of such peculiar difficulty. Some of the royal dukes were already in possession of regiments, rangerships, and emoluments arising from various offices, and therefore there was the less occasion for this addition to their income. He did not allude to all the grants, some of them might be very proper, and that to her royal highness the duchess of Gloucester, he considered as too small; but he thought the emoluments which different branches of the royal family derived from offices which they held, should be taken into account.

Lord *H. Petty* said, that though he gave the hon. gent. full credit for his feelings of œconomy, yet he trusted, from what he had stated on a former night, that the house would not consider the present as a lavish expenditure of the public money, at a period which called for the strictest œconomy; and mentioned, with regard to two royal persons, that certain tables and other allowances had been lately suppressed, which had cost the public nearly as much as their additional allowances would do.

Mr. *Rose* expressed his full assent to the bill; and observed, that in respect to some of the princes, the discontinuance of their allowances under the civil list, would amount to more than the augmentation in their incomes. He considered the votes to be extremely moderate, when he called to mind that 50 years ago the allowance to the then duke of Gloucester was 15,000l. As to the offices which some of the princes might hold at the royal pleasure, they should not be taken into contemplation, when the question was respecting a permanent provision.—The report was then agreed to, and bills ordered to be brought in on the first four resolutions.

[AMERICAN INTERCOURSE BILL.] Lord Temple then moved the order of the day for the third reading of the American Intercourse bill.

Sir *Charles Price* said, that, though he did not expect to make much impression upon ministers, he yet thought it necessary to take this last opportunity of re-stating his objections to the bill. He regretted much the thin attendance in the house, when a subject of such great importance was discussed, and thought it unbecoming to push on the bill at so late a period of the session, and in so thin a house. From all his communications with West India merchants and planters, and those engaged in the trade with Canada, and also with the ship owners of this country, he thought the present bill hostile to the interests of our commerce. He had been informed by American merchants, that not less than one-third, and even one-half of the sailors navigating American ships, were British-born subjects. The present, therefore, was not the time to discourage our shipping and navigation interests, and to drive still more of our seamen into the American service. For some time after the first suspension of the navigation laws in 1793, the vessels and ship owners were fully employed as transports, so that sufficient encouragement was given to the navigation of the country; but since this resource had ceased, the shipping interest had declined; and he could state that, in 1802, there were not less than 100 of these ships with a broom at the mast-head, which fully shewed the distressed situation of the ship owners. On these, and various grounds, he moved, that, instead of the word "now," the words "this day three months" be inserted in the motion.

Mr. *Brodrick* seconded the amendment, and characterised the bill as unjust, unreasonable, and impolitic.

Mr. *S. Bourne* deprecated the passing of a bill which went to suspend the navigation laws of the country, in so thin a house, and at so late a period of the session. He then took a general view of the arguments for and against the bill; and contended that the discretionary power of suspending the navigation laws was best vested in the different West India governors, the meanest of whom had more local and immediate knowledge than ministers could possess, even with all that superior ability and information which they had ascribed to themselves. The bill, he observed, had now been two months before the house, and yet, during all that period, ministers had refused a delay of four days for receiving evidence in the committee, against the bill. Not even a road bill was denied an advantage of this nature; and yet it had been refused in the case of a bill affecting the most important interests of the country. It allowed the exportation of West India produce in American bottoms to all parts of the world, this country excepted, and thus effectually discouraged the navigation interests of this country. He contended that a right hon. sec. had been guilty of a gross violation of the law, in acting up to the provisions of the present bill, while it was not in existence, by suspending the operation of the navigation laws. He then took a view of its effects on the shipping interest, and on our North American colonies, which were nearly able to supply lumber and provisions to our West India islands. The ultimate tendency of the bill would be to place this country in a state of dependence on the states of America, with whom we were not, indeed, in a state of war, but who seemed to have forgot every feeling of amity towards this country. It was not, indeed, likely that we should ever quarrel with them, if those principles were acted upon which were supported in publications coming from the ministerial presses, and which went to allow them all those demands which they claimed.

Mr. *Mainwaring* declared that he considered the silence of the gentlemen opposite as an insult to the house. He was sorry he could not call it the first insult they had thus offered. He had come down to the house merely to give a silent vote against the measure, and should not have thus commented on the conduct of the men by whom it had been brought forward, had not their conduct forced from him the observation which he had just made. He then repeated the arguments that had been adduced against the bill, and hoped, for the sake of common decorum, that his majesty's ministers would not persevere in the line of conduct which they had that evening adopted.

Sir *W. Young* defended the letter which had been alluded to by an hon. gent. (Mr. S. Bourne); that letter contained an exception which rendered it very different from what it had been stated to be. The question before the house was very narrow, and by no means required the extensive discussion into which those who opposed it seemed inclined to enter. Confining himself to those points which were really connected with the subject, he contended that the shipping interest would by no means be injured in the way in which it seemed to be apprehended that it might. In time of war it was politic to suspend the navigation act to a certain degree. Such for instance was the permission to British merchant ships to be manned in a great proportion, by foreign seamen. The bill was merely for a limited time to give a power to the privy council, which in his opinion they ought to possess. He would advise the West India planters, not altogether to rely on the promises of those who professed that they should always be enabled to supply them. If they did, he feared famine would frequently be the consequence.

Sir *W. Curtis* objected to the principle of the bill, and that power should be vested in any one to suspend the Navigation Laws. He insisted that our own North American colonies, Canada, Halifax, New Brunswick, &c. were adequate to supply the West India islands, without depending on any speculations whatever. He should therefore vote in favour of his hon. colleague's amendment.

Lord *De Blaquiere* considered the present bill as affording but a slender proof of that extensive understanding, and those distinguished talents which ministers had been supposed to engross. He would ask gentlemen, and young gentlemen in particular, if this was a time to prostrate themselves to America, when that country had done every thing but spit in their faces. There appeared in ministers, a superabundance of ingenuity, but a great want of good sense. He considered the present bill as another display of their disposition to introduce wanton innovations into the established system of the country.

Lord *Temple* said, it was incorrectly stated that the supporters of this bill had prevented the petitioners from being heard by council: the opposition to this indulgence was given by the other side of the house. Neither was it just to assume, that because our commercial marine had been reduced, the trade of the country was diminished. The increase of a hostile navy necessarily involved the lessening of the former, but the augmentation of the commerce of the nation had kept pace with the wishes of every friend to the success of the British nation. It was confidently asserted, that our merchants could supply our West India colonies so completely, as to render all extraneous aid useless. He was sorry to observe, that the very first dispatches from sir Eyre Coote gave a very different representation of the circumstances of the islands. Under date of the 6th of March last, that officer wrote to extend the time of importation of articles of subsistence, particularly fish, until October. The truth was, that addresses were pouring in from every quarter, indicative of the existing necessity, and he trusted gentlemen would no longer deny what was so obvious and palpable.

Lord *Castlereagh* rose and spoke as follows:—Sir, I cannot permit this bill to be read a third time, without stating the strong objections I feel both to its principle and its provisions. In proportion as both have been discussed, my repugnance to both has increased. Indeed it is impossible to compare the futility of the professed object, with a view to which this bill is introduced, with the extent and nature of the powers it confers, without feeling an alarm, that it is really intended for other and more serious purposes than those which have been announced.—It is said, that nothing more is intended by its framers, than that which has hitherto been done in breach of law, and of the oaths under which his majesty's governors act, should hereafter be done regularly, and in conformity to law. But if nothing more was really meant, than that the British West India islands, in cases of an adequate necessity, should hereafter receive supplies of provisions and lumber from America, as they have heretofore done, even in American bottoms, why propose a law to enable the privy council to permit the importation into our colonies, not only of provisions and lumber from America, but of every description of produce, even manufactures, as the bill was first introduced, from every state in amity with the king? And further, why permit the unlimited export in return of all articles of colonial produce to any such states, thereby at once giving to the king's ministers a power not only to suspend the navigation laws, but to abrogate totally our colonial system?—When this measure was before under consideration, I endeavoured to expose the false pretences upon which it proceeded, and to point out its total inefficiency when viewed in its more limited character, namely, that of placing this qualified intercourse upon a more regular footing, to answer even the purposes for which it was professedly introduced. If it was really intended that the governors abroad, in opening the ports, should act not upon their own immediate judgment, as applied upon the spot to circumstances of local necessity, but upon instructions previously obtained from home, as those instructions must be in their nature of a general and permanent description, and not arising out of any temporary exigency, why have not ministers declared what their intended system in respect to the islands is to be, and applied to parliament for the powers absolutely requisite for carrying the same into effect, before they call upon us thus blindly to intrust the whole to their discretion? But if the only instructions that can, or at least ought to be given, are those of his majesty's late ministers, viz. directing the governors to enforce strictly the salutary regulations of the existing laws, except in cases of real emergency, how can it be pretended that his majesty in council can ever here judge either of the circumstances or the time when such a pressure exists in any of our West India islands, as to render a temporary relaxation necessary? This bill cannot then alter either the nature of the discretion, or the hands in which its exercise must practically rest. The West India governors must decide when the ports are to be opened, as they have always done, unless the king's ministers are prepared to say they shall be constantly open with or without necessity: and if not, the question then is, whether a discretion to open them when requisite, is most likely to be prudently exercised when it is used under the impression of subsequent controul, and indemnity: or under a previous authority given, enabling the governors lawfully to suspend the navigation laws at their will and pleasure, without being subsequently amenable to parliament, as well as the crown, for their conduct? The effect of such a bill can only be unconstitutionally to transfer from parliament, hereafter, to ministers, the power of granting indemnity, and watching over the conservation of this fundamental law.—But if this measure, in the limited sense I have hitherto considered it, is not sustainable, or the motive for its introduction intelligible, it assumes a much more serious shape, when viewed in its true and more enlarged sense, as manifesting, I fear, a general relaxation of opinion on the policy of our navigation system, and mixed with, perhaps, a disposition at the expence of that fundamental law, unwisely, to court and conciliate the government of America at the present moment.—I lament the absence of a rt. hon. secretary of state on this occasion, not only from the cause which has unfortunately occasioned it, but from the desire I feel to hear him redeem the pledge he gave on a former night, namely, that he should be prepared to prove, not only that the measure was pregnant with none of the bad consequences imputed to it, but that the powers proposed to be granted to the privy council were borne out by a variety of precedents, and particularly by the acts which were passed between the years 1783 and 1791, authorizing the king in council to regulate the commerce with America. A further sanction was quoted for the bill before us, by a learned member (Dr. Laurence) from the Dutch property acts, in the last war, and the bills enabling the privy council to regulate the trade with the Cape of Good Hope.—And first, as to the two acts of 1795, the object and the provisions of which were confined to protecting the property of the loyal subjects of the United Provinces, viz. allowing it to be imported into this country, on certain conditions. The principle of those acts was extended in 1796, to vessels belonging to any person in amity with his majesty; of which, however, the benefit was taken (as was foreseen) chiefly by ships from the states of America and the foreign West Indies.—A slight examination of the grounds on which these acts were passed, whether wisely or unwisely is not now the question, will shew that no considerable sacrifice was made thereby of our navigation system; and that the colonial system was not affected thereby. They were founded altogether on considerations of temporary commercial policy. The preamble of the act of 1796 declared, "that "under the special circumstances of the "commerce of Europe, and particularly "for that of the United Provinces, it will "be for the benefit of the commerce of "this kingdom to continue to allow for a "further time to be limited, such ships "and vessels described in the former act "as may not chuse to return to the ports "of the United Provinces; and also any "other ships and vessels belonging to persons of any country in amity with his "Majesty, which are in search of a place "of deposit, to land their goods under certain restrictions." This law was principally intended to permit a qualified intercourse, during war, with the enemy's colonies, which could only take place in neutral vessels. Assuming then the propriety, in the then state of Europe, of making this country an entrepot for the colonial produce of our enemies, it could be effected in no other manner. It was necessary to relax the letter of the navigation act to favour this intercourse, so far as it prohibits import, except in British vessels, or in those of the state from whence the goods came; but there was, in truth, then no substantial sacrifice of our shipping interest; it was rather a temporary sacrifice of our belligerent rights from motives of commercial convenience, and our colonial interests were at the same time protected by the foreign produce thus admitted being only permitted to be warehoused for exportation.—The case of the Cape of Good Hope is as little in point. It stands on a principle frequently acted upon, where there has been reason to presume, that a possession newly acquired might materially suffer, if our commercial system was at once applied to it in its utmost strictness; that of giving to the king in council a power for a time to regulate its trade. But the present case is not a discretion to adopt our system for a time to a new colony, but a power to subvert at once the whole system with respect to all our old and established colonies. It is said, but why do you suspect that such will be the effect of it? Is it possible to suppose that ministers will so use these powers? Or is there any reason to believe they will in fact authorize any greater infraction of the system than has latterly taken place? The answer to all this is, if so, why pass the bill? Is it not an insult to their understandings to suppose that they take all this trouble to accomplish what experience has shewn the necessity of the case in itself effects, without such interference? And why, if ministers really mean to do no more than what has hitherto been done, do they come to parliament to ask for powers to do that which never has been done, and which they declare they do not mean to attempt? And why is parliament to be called on to adopt this new and most unconstitutional system of legislation, of granting excessive powers to ministers, who either cannot or will not satisfactorily explain for what purposes they are wanted, or to what purposes they mean to apply them? Such was the case in the Chelsea bill, such is to be the case in the training and other bills to which we are called upon to give our assent. To such a course of proceeding I must, on every principle, object, and I certainly have seen nothing in the mode in which his majesty's present ministers conduct public business, which, either in point of efficiency or discretion, is calculated to command any very peculiar confidence.—The bills which passed immediately after the peace of 1783, and which were alluded to by the rt. hon. secretary of state, (Mr. Fox) afford as little countenance to the present measure. They took place immediately on the separation of the American colonies. It is not to be wondered at that in the moment of such a convulsion, and when the supreme power of regulating all commercial concerns rested on the separate legislatures of the respective American states, that parliament should, for a time, entrust the privy council, under circumstances so new and anomalous, with the regulation of our intercourse with America, and accordingly a bill was passed to this effect, but it was only an annual act, not for an indefinite period like the present, and it was discontinued with the necessity on which it was founded.—But even whilst these acts were in force, and whilst the power to regulate the trade was in the privy council, by proclamation, the intercourse between America and the West Indies was, as early as Dec. 1783, confined to British ships, and so it continued till 1788, when an act passed for the regulation of that intercourse.—It is material to compare the provisions of this act, viz. the 28 Geo. III. cap. 6, with the bill now proposed; the latter enables the privy council to open the colonial ports to importation of every description of produce without reserve, from all states in amity, to the prejudice of the supply from the mother country. The former permitted import from America alone, and that was confined to certain enumerated articles, the principal of which were lumber, live-stock, and grain.—The present bill permits an unrestrained export of colonial produce to neutral states; the former confined it to goods not then prohibited by law to be exported to America, and to certain specified articles in addition; but the intercourse was in all cases to be carried on by British subjects and in British ships.—So jealous was the legislature at that time of any infraction of our navigation system, that in making provision for admitting the like articles from the foreign islands in the West Indies, in cases of peculiar emergency and distress, the permission to import was strictly confined in like manner to British subjects and British ships, and the discretion to judge of the degree of emergency was specially vested in the governors, with the advice of their respective councils, and not in the privy council at home; and so also with respect to supplies from the United States to Nova Scotia.—This system was not established without full deliberation. In 1784 it was complained of by the colonies, and their petitions containing precisely the same allegations which are now brought forward by those who contend that our islands cannot otherwise be supplied, underwent a full examination before the committee of trade, as they did a second time in 1791, when they were dismissed upon reasons stated in two elaborate reports, as wholly unfounded.—But the fallacy of these remonstrances did not rest solely upon the reasoning, however conclusive, stated in those reports, it was satisfactorily established by an experience of not less than ten years, viz. between 1783 and 1793; during all which time the islands were never more abundantly and cheaply supplied; under which prudent system our navigation singularly flourished. The British vessels belonging to the islands alone had increased in 1791 to 935 ships, 110,900 tons, and 6567 seamen; the number has since materially declined, being reduced in 1804 to 167 ships, 19,535 tons, and 1860 men.—It probably will be said all this reasoning applies to a period of peace, and proves nothing as to the present question, viz. the practicability of securing an abundant supply for our islands under similar regulations in time of war. War certainly, if adequate convoys cannot be supplied, may afford to neutrals a greater comparative facility in carrying on this intercourse; but I am sure, in the present state of our naval superiority, it cannot be alleged that any difficulty can arise in giving complete protection to British ships passing between the islands and the continent. Whatever might have formerly been apprehended from the naval power of our enemies, it cannot now be beyond the reach of our navy to cover this important branch of British commerce against the depredations of privateers, there being rarely an instance of any of the enemy's regular ships of war venturing to shew themselves in those seas. It is only on an assumption that due protection cannot be afforded, or that if afforded, merchants cannot be found to carry on the intercourse in British ships, that any distinction in the argument can be maintained on the fact of war. That the former cannot now be an impediment the noble lord of the head of the navy will, I am sure, be the first to admit; and that there are persons of the utmost respectability ready to engage in this trade, if they are only assured of the protection of the existing laws, my right hon. friend (Mr. Rose), has from their own authority been enabled to assert, and was prepared to prove if all enquiry had not been refused. I am the more anxious to impress on the minds of the house, that in truth the question stands at this present moment, for the reasons above stated, on the same grounds practically as if we were at peace, and that unless they are prepared to go the monstrous length which the right hon. secretary (Mr. Fox), has done, namely to doubt whether the British colonies can be supplied even in time of peace, not only without a relaxation of the colonial but of the navigation systems: they would do well to take their stand here, and require his majesty's ministers and the planters, who may, from a confined view of their own separate interests, be disposed to press forward this measure, to make out, which they have on former occasions completely failed to do, an adequate case of necessity for such a breach of system, before the house will consent thus to lay the foundation of rendering our West India islands dependant in peace as well as in war, on America for their supplies, and before they will proceed thus permanently to divest the owners of British shipping of the rights long assured to them under the existing laws.—But it is said, can any one doubt of the necessity of continuing this intercourse at least in time of war, after the experience we have had of its being practised with little interruption, both throughout the last and present wars? With respect to the commercial and maritime principles acted upon in the course of the last war, however highly I respect the authority of those who then directed our councils, and however generally wise I believe them to have been, I certainly should deprecate their being considered of universal application, or such as ought to be acted upon in all cases. Our commercial as well as our political relations at that time underwent a great convulsion; the degree to which all the social relations of Europe were then shaken; the attempts that were made to protect the interests of those who were attached to the ancient governments both of France and Holland, notwithstanding the hostilities we were then carrying on against those states: the efforts made to introduce our manufactures both into the countries with which we were at war, and also into their colonies, and the object we had in such a contest to conciliate neutrals by every possible forbearance, and every sacrifice on our part; certainly at that period occasioned, and perhaps justified, great relaxation of system. It is not to be wondered at, if, upon perhaps a hasty and superficial view of the case, new indulgences should at that time, at the instance of the planters, be also granted to the colonies, namely, that of receiving for the first time supplies in American bottoms; but we have abundant grounds to warrant us in not considering the practices which prevailed in that war, as what even those who then advised them deemed such as ought to be rendered permanent. With respect to our colonies, the correspondence since Mr. Pitt's last return to power will prove, that his unremitting endeavours were directed to restrict the intercourse between America and the West India islands within the narrowest possible limits: he had succeeded in confining the supply to lumber, and corn provisions; and these only were permitted to be brought in under the authority of special proclamations to be issued from time to time, and to be in force only for a limited period; but he had determined steadily to resist in future any competition with the mother country, or her North American colonies, in either fish or salted provisions. He had also latterly turned his attention, after the decisive successes of our fleets had opened to us the prospect of being able fully to protect our commerce in all parts of the world, to an early recurrence to the principles of the 28th of the king, and would, I have no doubt, if his life had been spared, soon have confined whatever intercourse was permitted to take place, to British subjects and British ships as formerly; a regulation not more called for in deference to the shipping interest of Great Britain, than required to put an end to that system of smuggling into our colonies which now prevails to an enormous extent, particularly of East India goods, and which must continue to prevail so long as America ships are permitted to frequent our islands.—That the practice of the last war is not to be considered as conclusive in all cases may be further proved from the mortifications, which the orders in council of that period underwent at the commencement of the present war, relative to neutrals trading to the enemy's colonies. I am the more inclined to advert to this point from the conviction I feel, that the orders in question yet require to be very considerably further modified and restricted. The extent to which our belligerent rights are now systematically invaded, the facility afforded to the enemy by abusing our liberality towards neutral powers, to cover his own commerce, and to turn his whole maritime strength against us in war, and the cruel situation in which those employed in the naval service of the country are placed, when, by the artful and unprincipled practices of neutralizing merchants, they are not only deprived of almost all prospect of prize, but exposed to be ruined by litigation if they venture to detain the ships engaged in this illicit traffic, makes me peculiarly anxious to protest against any conclusive inference being drawn in favour of this or any other system, merely from its having generally prevailed throughout the period of the last war; and I urge this consideration with the more anxiety on the present occasion, from the extent to which it is understood America is disposed at this moment to push her claims on this score, in opposition to the undoubted maritime rights of this country. From the harsh and unconciliating manner in which she apparently has endeavoured to support those claims, and from the knowledge we have, that this vital question is on the point of being discussed by his majesty's ministers with the government of the United States, than which certainly a more important discussion never devolved upon any government, we are to hope they will conduct it with all the temper and friendship, which is due to a state with whose prosperity our true interests are so inseparable united; but with that resolution and inflexible firmness, with which it is their duty to defend rights, the maintenance of which is indispensable to our preservation as a maritime state, whilst America, in pressing their abandonment, can only plead a commercial interest of a very subordinate kind, unsupported by any colour of justice whatever.—If the necessity or expediency of this bill cannot then be made out when its application is reasoned on in its more limited sense, and if its enactment in the more enlarged meaning which the wording of the bill justifies us in applying to it, cannot be reconciled with any sound view which can be taken either of former regulations or our general interests, I wish to warn the house of the value and importance of those principles, which this measure in its most comprehensive character goes to shake. I am led the rather to do so, as I have understood that language has been held with respect to our navigation laws, by persons of great authority in another place, which fills me with considerable alarm. I have heard they have been spoken of as laws rather suited to the former situation, than to the present circumstances of this country, and I cannot but forebode from such sentiments, explained by such bills, and illustrated by such practical opinions as have been stated by a secretary of state in this house, that if there exists not in the present government a deliberate purpose to violate, there at least exists a great indifference to uphold the fundamental principles upon which those ancient laws were founded.—I know it has been the fashion in modern times to deny its restrictions upon commerce. The economists laugh at the notion of compelling your commerce to be carried in native shipping, if it can be carried by the shipping of other states on better terms. But those who have attentively studied the rise of this nation into greatness and security, will not hesitate to attribute it, under Providence, to its early and provident determination to carry forward its means of strength and power, with all those circumstances of wealth and splendour which must ever have the effect of exciting jealousy and creating enemies. It has been the policy of those laws to require our commerce and our marine to grow up together. This principle of wholesome restraint has caused them to rise and flourish together, and they have alternately, as cause and effect, perhaps, accelerated each other's progress. To say that no circumstances can ever justify a partial and temporary relaxation of those laws would be absurd; but in proportion as the growth of any marked disproportion between the trade and the shipping of the country must render an adherence to them difficult, and perhaps a recurrence to them impossible if once fallen into disuse, I do consider it of the first importance to watch with the utmost jealousy, and to mark with the strongest disapprobation, any thing which seems to bear so much the appearance of an unnecessary, precipitate, wanton, and apparently systematic infringement of those laws as the present measure does.—The house will recollect the efforts made by the French government at several periods of its history during the monarchy, to incorporate the principle of our navigation laws into their system. The ministers of France perceived to what cause the naval greatness of Britain was in fact assignable; they wished to imitate it, but happily they had postponed the attempt too long. Their commerce had long taken the start of their shipping: they could no longer make their trade the instrument of forcing forward their commercial marine without nearly extinguishing the trade itself: and they were obliged, after several fruitless efforts, wholly to abandon the attempt. This ought to make us cautious how we trifle with this important system, for purposes of small and speculative commerce. If, as there is but too much reason to apprehend, there is some tendency at present in the shipping of the country to advance less rapidly than our trade; let us avoid aggravating this evil. The necessity for relaxation of the law on the score of commercial convenience must, if this defect in our system continues, be increased, whilst the danger of yielding them will be augmented also. Our trade under a moderate restraint may, and will speedily, relieve itself by forcing capital into the means of its own accommodation; but if the want of shipping is once suffered to prevail beyond a certain extent, the demand can no longer without great national loss await the supply. The barrier will then be thrown down which now protects our commercial marine, and from that moment America and other countries that can build and equip cheaper than we do, will possess themselves largely of our carrying trade; ship-building in this country will cease to be a profitable application of capital; our seamen will decline in number; and many even of those we have will pass, particularly in war, into the service of America.—I know doubts have been entertained whether our shipping can be equal in time of war, when so large a proportion of our seamen are withdrawn from the merchants and employed in the king's service, to accommodate us in peace: the trade of the country, I am inclined to think, considering the proportion of landsmen in the navy, and the powers of re-production we possess, whilst the demand for seamen is kept up, that little difficulty will occur in this respect; but I am persuaded our means must always be abundant, for at least supplying our own colonial trade in all its branches, into which no foreign ships ought to be admitted, no more than into our coasting trade, or transport service. Whatever temporary deficiency there may exist of British shipping, it will adjust itself in the increased share of the carrying trade other nations will for the time enjoy in our intercourse with them respectively, as authorized by the navigation act itself. But so far from encouraging imaginary cases of exigency, we ought to recollect that some degree of pressure is the first and most active principle of encouragement to the augmentation of our ships and seamen, upon whose concurrent growth with our general trade must ultimately depend the station we are to occupy in the scale of nations.—I cannot omit also observing that the continuance of this system of taking our supplies from America without affording to the produce of our North American colonies the protection even of duties, must not only operate to repress their growth and improvement, but must rapidly tend to make our West India islands permanently dependant for these important articles on the government of the United States. In the absence of all discriminating duties, such as our commercial policy has always led to the adoption of at home, between British and foreign produce, the local situation of the United States must give the Americans great advantages in the market of the West Indies over our more northern fellow-subjects, and we accordingly find whilst the British American provinces were rapidly advancing to a state that would have enabled them to supply our islands with most of the articles of which they stand in need, yet, from want of due encouragement, the quantity actually imported from thence since 1792 has latterly diminished not less than two-thirds. Such is the extent and nature of the measure which we are now called upon to pass without inquiry, in this most exceptionable shape. It goes materially to affect the interests of the ship-owners throughout the empire, of the British continental colonists, of the fisheries of the empire—of Ireland, as largely dependant on the provision trade—of various classes of British manufacturers, and of the East India company, all of whom begin seriously to feel the destructive effects of the smuggling competition which grows out of this intercourse, as against them in the West India islands. Yet although the utmost alarm has been expressed by the parties interested, and they have come forward to the house with petitions desiring to be heard, and prepared to disprove the main facts upon which the expediency of the bill has been maintained, they have been refused, contrary to all precedent, even a committee above stairs; though my rt. hon. friend (Mr. Rose) pledged himself that four days would suffice for bringing forward all the material information, and that the progress of the bill need not be thereby delayed. The petitioners under these circumstances thought it in vain to appear by counsel at the bar, if they were denied the opportunity of previously establishing their case by evidence; and they have now to complain, in addition to the injurious effects of the measure itself upon their fortunes, of a very different reception from that which persons of their weight and respectability have ever been formerly accustomed to receive from this house. I have little further to add to what I have already stated. I cannot, however, conclude without saying, that any objections to the measure now under consideration are much increased, and indeed my apprehensions augmented, when I advert not only to the time, but to the circumstances under which it has been brought forward: the proposing to parliament so idle and so nugatory a measure as this indisputably is, if its proposers truly describe it at a moment when we have a point of such great importance to settle with America, does appear to me, to say the least of it, a great oversight. But I cannot forget that this bill, or one of similar import, first made its appearance in another house of parliament, immediately after the publication of an "Enquiry into the State of the Nation," a pamphlet which it is understood was circulated under the particular countenance and protection of the noble lord (lord Holland) who first brought in this bill. Much of the pamphlet in question is occupied in considering the pending question with America, and in councelling the unqualified surrender to that country of every thing she is supposed to have laid claim to. This, together with a most desponding estimate of the power and resources of the country, concluding with a pretty distinct intimation that our only chance of holding even a secondary place in the scale of Europe is our concluding an immediate peace with France on the best terms we can, are the only two practical conclusions to be found in a work of some talent, which is principally engrossed in a general misstatement of the measures, and consequently of the conduct of the former government. If such is to be taken as in any degree the standard of the noble lord's own opinions, and if it is in the spirit of such doctrine, that he was induced to offer this bill to parliament, those who differ with him in sentiment have ample grounds for apprehension at the present moment. The noble lord does not certainly hold a seat in his majesty's councils, but that is not sufficient to relieve my mind from the anxiety of observing a bill of this nature proceed from a person so high in confidence, entitled to great personal weight and respect, and whom we have reason to presume entertains sentiments of the description above stated. I wish, if ministers do not mean to use this bill for the unwise and mischievous purposes to which its powers may be applied, that they would, at least for the present, calm the public apprehensions, by relinquishing it and suffer matters to proceed as they have done for years, without any inconvenience or danger. It cannot be requisite to enable them to administer a limited and temporary aid to the islands. If it is meant to be pushed further, which the extent of its provisions justifies us in apprehending, it is a fraud on parliament thus covertly to effect it. Without a more visible necessity, so much power ought not to be surrendered to his majesty's ministers, nor so many great interests be alarmed with respect to their nearest concerns. I certainly cannot justify to myself (venerating as I have been taught to do, the navigation laws of the country) unnecessarily placing such vital interests at the mercy of any government whatever; and I least of all am disposed so to place them, at the present moment, after the sentiments that have been expressed, and the opinions it is to be presumed are entertained. I trust the house will retain those laws under its own immediate protection, as the source of our greatness, the surest preservation of our power, and the best bulwark of the British empire.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, the noble lord complained that ministers had not informed the house of the nature and object of this bill; but he had scarcely proceeded to a second sentence before he admitted that a right. hon. friend of his (Mr. Fox) had disclosed the grounds and principles of that measure. The truth was, that his right. hon friend had opened the subject so completely, as was often his practice, as to render little further explanation necessary. The bill proposed by Mr. Pitt in 1783, on the intercourse with America, was much more directly opposed to the navigation law than the present, so that if this be absurd, novel, and monstrous, it at least must be much less absurd, novel, and monstrous, than that which was supported by that rt. hon. gent

The fact was, that the ship-owners were not prejudiced but benefited by this act, as the power was transferred from a situation in which they had no interest, and where they could not be heard, to a place where they were not only heard with patience, but listened to with pleasure. If the bill had been precisely the reverse, the objection would not have been at all surprising; but in the present circumstances the opposition from that quarter was most unreasonable and extraordinary. Then it was said the power should not be entrusted to the privy council. What was there peculiar in this case? Could the privy council exercise no sound discretion upon it? Was not nearly the same sort of power given to this body under the 34th of the king; and was not precisely the same authoriy concededin the 35th of this reign? Whence then all this parade of innovation? On what did the naval superiority of the country essentially depend? On the prosperity of the West India islands. This plan was most conducive to their advantage, and therefore, must contribute to support that maritime strength, which could not be too highly estimated, and could not be too zealously maintained. Then it was objected that a secret would be discovered by America, that the existence of our colonies depended on her aid. It was no secret that the assistance of America was useful to our colonies after thirteen years experience afforded to that continent; and if promoting this intercourse could receive from America any conciliatory construction, this was not an objection, but a motive for the bill.

The *Master of the Rolls* rose and spoke as follows:—One of the observations of the noble lord (Petty) who spoke last, is the most extraordinary I ever knew to be used in a debate, namely, that what has passed, on former occasions, has rendered unnecessary all argument in support of this bill, and, as he thinks, has rendered unavailing all arguments against it. Objections have indeed, he says, been urged, which might have had some force, but a satisfactory explanation has been given to them, and these the noble lord has left untouched. In his very outset, the noble lord has left untouched one-half of the argument urged against him, by which he has left untouched one-half of his own bill. All the argument against one whole clause has entirely escaped the noble lord's observation, and he proceeded just as if the provisions of that clause where not in the bill at all. Sir, when I compare the very limited purpose which the bill professes on the face of its preamble, with the extensive powers which the bill creates, I am utterly at a loss to guess at the object of its framers. It would be an affront to their understanding to say they had no object, and yet to say that the granting such power to any government is proper, is what I am not prepared to do, and what I am sure the noble lord has not enabled me to do, and what, therefore, I cannot consent to do. Sir, the bill professes, in its preamble, to be intended, and states itself to be calculated, to meet a necessity of the most limited kind; and the noble lord has said that the only object of the bill, is to do that legally which has been for years found indispensably necessary to be done in violation of the law: such is stated both in the preamble of the bill, and by the noble lord's explanation of it; but what does the bill do? By a force and conciseness beyond all example, it strikes out of your statute books, or reduces to a dead letter, all the body of the laws of this realm made for the support of our navigation, the rule of our colonial system, and every thing that depends on both; this is said to be the effect of necessity. Is this a proved necessity or only an alleged necessity? when did this necessity grow up? what is the extent of it? It must have been of a very limited kind for these two months; for the secretary of state's letter is dated so far back as April last, by which it appears that he felt no other necessity than that the West India colonies should be supplied with lumber, and with a few but not with all, articles of provision; and that those who do supply the colonies with this lumber, and with these few articles of provision, shall be allowed to carry away with them rum and molasses; that is all the necessity which exists in the month of April; but in the month of May following, that is, in one month, it is discovered that there is a necessity for transferring from parliament all the controul it ever had over this important subject, and from the colonial government all the discretion it ever had, and of vesting in the hands of his majesty's ministers, an entire, absolute, and uncontroulable power to exercise their discretion over the whole body of the navigation laws of this realm, as far as those laws depend upon your colonial system. Now. will the noble lord tell me that he is arguing the merits of this bill whom he leaves entirely unanswered all that has been said on the other side with respect to this colonial system and the navigation laws? Why, sir, to say that these discussions are not relevant, which apply to the very subject of the bill itself, shews the truth of what has been said on the other side that the noble lord himself is not in the secret of the real meaning and true object of this bill; or, that it contains a meaning, and has an object, which the noble lord does not think fit to disclose to parliament, and here I take leave to ask when a measure is presented to parliament under a false character and description, is it not fair to infer, that under its true character and description it would not be endured? But it is said, in support of this bill, that the power which has hitherto been entrusted to the governors of the islands is now to be transferred to the privy council. Supposing it did no more than that, and that the power so to be transferred to the privy council was to be confined in its exercise to the objects specified in the secretary of state's letter, that is, that the whole power was to be confined to lumber, and the few articles to be imported into the colonies, and the rum and molasses to be carried out of them; then there would not be much objection to it; but that is nothing like the extent of the power to be given by this bill; for, by this bill, the power is without limit as it regards the regulation of the whole of your colonial system, and the whole of your navigation laws. And when did parliament ever give this power before? did it ever give it, or any thing like it, to the governors of the islands? I know it has from year to year passed acts of indemnity for what they did, and this is stated to be like the case of the king's prerogative to pardon a criminal. Certainly, the royal prerogative extends to the pardon of a criminal for an offence, and a valuable prerogative it is, when judiciously exercised; and I have no doubt, that these acts of indemnity, like the royal prerogative, have been a judicious exercise of discretion; but did we ever hear of any prerogative that empowered any body before hand to commit an offence? The power which parliament gave to the governors of the West Indies, parliament expected to be discreetly exercised, confined to cases of absolute necessity, and that they would allow of none of those importations into the colonies by strangers, except in cases of clear necessity. There is no instance of any bill of indemnity passing or of being asked for upon any other foundation. Parliament never meant to grant any indemnity on any other conditions, nor is it too much to assume that parliament never would have granted any indemnity on any other condition; for, in every act of indemnity that ever passed on this subject, it is stated, that, "it was necessary for the governors of the islands, to allow the importation of lumber and provisions; and that those who imported them should be allowed to take away certain articles of colonial produce in return for the same;" that is the limited description which you have given them, and the power is only given to the governors in a case of absolute necesssity; but here it is provided that you shall give the power to the privy council absolutely, and in the fisrt instance. Now I would say, before I gave it any where: before I would say where the power should lodge, I would enquire whether it be necessary to lodge it any where; and I would ask this house whether it be, a matter of course to give this power; I say, a matter of course, to give the privy council a power of suspending any law without laying the foundation of the necessity of it upon a previous inquiry into the matter. There may be a case of public notoriety on which parliament would act without a previous inquiry, but that is not this case; there may be such a case as that which occurred in 1784, in which a previous inquiry may be unnecessary by the notoriety of the necessity; but that is not like the present case. How do I know whether there has been lately, is now, or may hereafter be, at any time given, a competent supply for the British colonies by British ships, from G. Britain, or from the British colonies in North America by British ships? How do I know what the state of the trade at home is? How do I know what state the British colonies of North America are in? How do I know what the state of British tonnage is at this moment? How do I know what state it is likely to be in some given time hence? What do I know of the state in which British trade is without inquiry? Will the advocates for this bill say that inquiry is nothing, at a moment when it is most manifest, that without inquiry every thing else is worse than nothing? Will they give us a statement of facts of their own framing, and which ought to be made the subject of inquiry, when that statement is disputed? and yet they deny that enquiry to those who offer to prove the truth of a contrary statement, and that, at the very time, when they themselves are shewing the necessity of laying a ground for parliamentary investigation: Sir, I distrust extremely all general arguments in this case; and, indeed, almost all general arguments when they are made to apply to particular cases: nothing is more easy than to adapt a statement of facts of your own making to general principles, and to apply general arguments to that statement; and, therefore, I distrust all general arguments when applied to this case; and for this reason, because I remember that the very same arguments, and the very same answers were made, word for word, for this trade, as now contended for, in time of peace, that are now made in time of war. There is not one syllable said this day in time of war, that was not advanced in the year 1784, to shew that the opening of this trade was necessary; that is to say, that it is as necessary in time of peace as in war time; a proposition which ministers, whatever they may wish, have not yet thought fit to go the length of contending; but their arguments, and so must all general arguments, go that length. The very language of the hon. baronet is to be found in the answer which was made in the year 1784: the noble lord and the hon. baronet have said, they thought it extraordinary that British shipping could be capable of carrying on this traffic, under all the circumstances of this trade; so it was said in as many words in the year 1784, that the trade for the supply of your colonies cannot be carried on, by reason of the circuitous voyage which the British ships are obliged to take; and that you are at once obliged to come to the direct American trade in American ships. But my noble friend over the way, (lord Castlereagh) stated the ground of what was offered to be done in 1784, and of the non-application of it to this case; when the necessity of the measure then attempted appeared upon the very face of it; there was therefore, no necessity for enquiry into the particular facts on which the measure was founded; it grew out of the situation, the particular situation, in which things were placed by the American revolution; and this shows the impropriety of the application of the argument of the noble lord who spoke last; who referred, by way of justification of the present measure, which he proposes for the adoption of parliament, to another measure which had been proposed, indeed, and offered too: but which had been rejected by parliament; (alluding to the draft of a bill penned by Mr. Pitt, which had been referred to by lord H. Petty, and partly quoted by him;) and that measure was supported by much the same arguments as the present is attempted to be supported; I say attempted, because now the futility of the system is exposed. It was then said, "there is no danger from this; let America remain on the footing on which it stands; let its trade go on in its old channel; it will find its level, and can never hurt us." Why, sir, this was all very plausible general reasoning, but had no specific application to the plain matter of fact of the case; because, it was well known, that it would injure the trade of this country, and, with that sense of it in the opinion of those who were best qualified to form one, the proposed measure was a bad one, it was opposed by the general, and almost unanimous voice of the country; and for that very good reason, no attempt was made to carry it into execution. So far from it, that the very first measure which the privy council adopted, was a measure of restraint to prohibit it, and they then expressed their opinion, upon deliberation, to be, that this was a plan which it would be unwise to adopt, or rather that it was a measure in which it was wise to depart from its adoption; and it was held still further, that if any thing was brought from America to us, or taken from us to America, it should never be done but through the medium of British ships. So much for the similarity of circumstances in the two cases; in one of which there was much emergency, and in the other, none; in one of which all the circumstances were owing to a revolution in the affairs of a state; in the other, all the circumstances arise out of an established course of things; and gentlemen do not even contend there is any emergency in them; yet, even with all these arguments for the proposed measure in the former case it was rejected, and now, without any, it is proposed for our adoption. But gentlemen contend, it is needless to examine, or even to dispute, the necessity of this measure; because it is known, they contend it is known, they contend it exists beyond dispute; that the facts are so plain, it is idle to dispute their existence; and that nothing can be a remedy but the provisions of the present bill. Hence, they say, arises the necessity. The facts, however, on which this necessity is founded, they do not give us now, they either do, or they do not, know of the existence of this necessity. If they do know of the existence of this necessity, they can convey it to parliament: and if they can, they ought to convey it to parliament. It is their duty to convey it to parliament, to justify the adoption of a measure so repugnant to our established laws. If they have no knowledge of this necessity, we are legislating in the dark; because they ask us to do so, and that against every principle of policy by which this country has been guided, and by which it has hitherto so signally prospered. Now, sir, under these impressions, I could say, that instead of pursuing the system recommended by the noble lord, we ought to call on him, and those who, with him, are the friends of this bill, to point out to us the instances in which this house has sanctioned, or even countenanced a departure from the navigation laws. Sir, it has hitherto been the policy of this country to regard with jealousy every proposition to that effect, to require a reason for any measure that has that aspect; and to regard every measure with distrust, if it has that apparent tendency. But the friends of this bill take a course directly the contrary; they take up the navigation laws as a hostile system, and if they can find any measure in our legislative history, which they think has any tendency to oppose it, they consider it as a matter of useful discovery, and exult in it as a matter of triumph, as if an attack on the navigation laws was not only perfectly fair, but even laudable. They think they have made a valuable discovery, if they find out a precedent for an attack upon the navigation laws; and so far do they carry the spirit of hostility into action, that if they do but find an instance in our parliamentary history of a temporary infringement on the navigation laws, they insist upon it, as a proof of their right to pursue a measure for their permanent suspension, which is but another word for their total destruction. They find a case which has no resemblance in its circumstances to the present, but no matter how dissimilar, it is an instance in which the navigation laws have been interrupted in their course, and therefore they tell us, "we ought to be allowed to pursue it as a precedent, because the navigation laws are of a nature so odious, I suppose that it is our interest to have them entirely destroyed!" But it seems there is a great concern and compunction felt by the governors of the West India islands, on account of the violation of their oaths, in the instances wherein they are called upon to consent to the suspension of the navigation laws; that they are sworn to preserve all the laws of the realm inviolate; that a suspension of the laws is a violation of the laws; and that a violation of the laws is a violation of their oaths. Now, sir, this may be very laudable morality in the supporters of this bill; but I cannot help observing, that this tenderness for the consciences of the governors of the West India islands is a little whimsical, considering how they were treated on former occasions. When the colonial governors dispensed with the navigation laws, in cases of absolute necessity, and parliament never gave them an indemnity for any other, they were not told of this point of conscience, if the act is blameable. But how does the right hon. secretary of state treat them by the instructions contained in his letter? He tells the governors of the islands, it is not necessity which I regard; it is not your consciences I regard: I regard nothing but what appears to me to be convenient; and I will shew you, that what you thought was an excuse as a matter of necessity shall be continued as a matter of convenience; and you shall suspend the law, however your consciences may be affected by it, on account of the necessity of doing it, not only during war, in which it may possibly be thought necessary, but until 6 months shall have elapsed after I shall have directed notice to be given of the discontinuance of the practice. Now, what are the governors to do all this time, after the necessity, which alone is said to be the excuse, has ceased? They are to continue in the uniform practice of the violation of the law: and thus, according to the argument of gentlemen on the other side, violate their oaths in obedience to the order of the secretary of state. And the secretary of state, in the plenitude of his power, grants to the governors of the islands an indulgence to commit that very sin which the friends of this bill so much deplore; and not only does he grant this indulgence to commit sin, but he gives them an encouragement; nay, still more, he commands them to commit sin, and yet these are the gentlemen who now turn up their eyes to Heaven, and deprecate the evil of governors being placed under the former system, in a situation in which they were made so immorally to tamper with their oaths.—Now, with regard to the question, "how far it is necessary to lodge the power which this bill gives any where," (which is not proved,) I am of opinion, that, supposing it to be necessary to lodge it any where, it would be better to lodge it with the privy council than any where else. I have no difficulty in saying, that if it must be given to any body, I had much rather it were given to the privy council than to the governors of the West India islands; because I am of opinion, that the privy council could, and would exercise, such a power more discreetly than the governors of the islands could; or perhaps I should say, that the privy council would make a more discreet use of their power than any other body of men would, supposing them to be equal to others in information upon the facts on which their power was to operate. But I doubt the possibility of their being able to possess that knowledge which will be requisite for the due discharge of the functions with which this bill is to invest them; for the question is not a question of dry, abstract competency, in the privy council, to do justice to any trust that may be reposed in them: upon that none of us can entertain any doubt; but unless you place them in a situation in which their competency may come into action, that competency can be of no use to them, or to the public. I do not know whether they can do more than my lord Camden did, whose instructions to the governors of the islands have been so often alluded to in the discussions which have taken place on this subject; and here it is observable, that whatever power you may give to the privy council, whatever responsibility you may attach to the privy council; however you may take away the responsibility of the governors; however you may affect to take away their discretion; it is most manifest that they must act on their discretion, while they have any power to act at all; for this bill will not alter the necessity under which they are to act. They must, after all the instructions which you may give to them from hence, act according to their discretion upon the circumstances of the case, as circumstances may arise; and you must indemnify them too, just as you did before this bill was thought of; and for the same reason you always did it, because it is impossible to avoid it. This has been verified by the fact; for when power was in the hands of the privy council, to regulate the whole of the trade between America and the West India colonies; when it was infinitely important that the privy council should exercise their authority; and when they did exercise their authority, an act of parliament passed for the purpose; when the directions of the privy council were sent to the governors of the West Indies; when that power, so given to the privy council, and by them delegated, necessarily and unavoidably delegated to the governors of the West India islands; and that power, so delegated, was abused by some of those governors still the power was not taken away, but left with those same governors, even although it was abused by them—why? Because parliament knew it was impossible to take it away. But now, instead of allowing the governors to act upon their own conviction, you are going to order them what they are to do beforehand, when you may not possess the information requisite for the purpose; and when, after all your directions are given, they must, in many cases, at least, act upon their own discretion, even though it should be contrary to the orders of the privy council. I should say, that if this bill were passed, and the privy council were acting under its authority, there might be circumstances in which it was not less the duty of parliament to institute an enquiry on that account; because although the power may have been granted by the legislature, yet a question might arise upon the propriety of its continuance—and a question might arise, whether the discretion should be left with the privy council or with the governors?—Supposing that the legislature did not take pains to make a proper inquiry in the first instance, it does not follow they should not make it in the second. I have heard of such a thing as a possibility of the legislature having conducted itself improperly; but if, after having done so, we were to say, that the thing should never be altered, because of the reverence we all ought to have for the legislature, that would be equivalent to saying, that if the legislature has once conducted itself imprudently, it must conduct itself imprudently to the end of time. Now let us suppose, instead of this being a bill about to be passed into a law, it had been a law; that instead of our having to consider whether we shall make this law, we were considering a law already made; and the greatness of the shipping interest of this country were to come forward, and to complain to parliament of the destructive effect of the act of parliament, would you refuse to hear the complaint? would you think it a fair or even a sensible answer to say, "We have followed the practice prescribed by this act now for 13 years—you tell us that you are competent to the ample supply of the West India colonies—you tell us, that the great interest of the empire requires that you should have the exclusive right of furnishing these supplies; that the navigation requires it; that without it the country will decay in strength, and dwindle into weakness, and finally be ruined?" Would you, I say, think it a sensible answer to say, "Inasmuch as we have done this for 13 years, we will go on?" Do you conceive that these consecutive acts would be an excuse for their own continuance, and release you from the duty of entering into an inquiry on the subject when these matters are stated to you? Is it too much to say, that you ought to inquire whether, and to see whether, the public interest does, or does not, really demand a change of such a system? I apprehend, Sir, that in such a case, even if we had an act of parliament under which we had thus acted for 13 years, it would be the duty of parliament to institute the proposed inquiry; and if so, how much more is it the duty of this house, to institute an inquiry into the propriety of a mere practice, which is not a law, before you sanction the practice by law—and that is all which the shipping interest ask of you. They do not desire you to say, that this measure is not necessary, or that it ought not, under any circumstances, to be adopted; they only desire you not to adopt it without ascertaining that it is necessary. Upon this practice the noble lord's argument is, that parliament ought to declare, immediately, that the power cannot but be necessary in time of war. I am afraid it would turn out upon inquiry, to be necessary to do something of this description in time of war; but of this I am quite sure, parliament ought not to deliver that opinion, without hearing those who are of another. I am not calling on you to say, that this practice of 13 years, on which you rely so much, is not necessary to be continued; I am not saying that it is not absolutely necessary, that an intercourse should subsist between our West India colonies and America, and that that intercourse should take place through the medium of American shipping; but I am saying, that I do really think it is extremely important to ascertain, whether it is necessary or not; and supposing it was totally unnecessary, I have no more wish than the noble lord has, to say any thing that may savour of an illiberal spirit with regard to America. Far be it from me to say any thing by which any commercial jealousies should prevent you from enjoying those advantages which may arise from good amity with America, and that you should not relax, for your own convenience, your own laws. Let America profit as much as she may, by any system which we adopt, while that system is serviceable to ourselves; or, still more, let America profit as much as she may, by our adopting that which our own interest requires. But while I say this, I cannot shut my eyes to the principle on which America proceeds in a sort of discussion, by which she appears not to rely on the force of reason, neither does she refer to the last resort of nations to enforce their will—the thunder of cannon. But she says, "that she can make a commercial war upon you." It is one of the propositions which are most current in America "that, by shutting up her ports, and by denying her produce to our colonies in the West Indies, she can reduce G. Britain to her own terms." That is the favourite topic in America. Why then, I would say, that I would not put myself more in her power. I would not become more dependant on her than I could help. Now, every body must admit, that this bill, and especially the arguments by which it is supported, make us very dependant upon her; because they both proceed on the probability that we are in her power with respect to the very existence of our West India colonies; and if you proceed on a recognition of that principle, every day your inability will increase; because, in proportion as America gets hold of this trade, in the same proportion exactly your North American colonies are excluded from it, for it is quite impossible for your North American colonies to come in competition with America in trading to the West India colonies. You are informed, by papers on your table, that the ability of your North American colonies will decrease, day after day, and that of America will increase in exact proportion to it; and therefore you see, in this particular, as your power is decreasing in our North American colonies, your dependance on America is becoming greater. But satisfy yourselves first of the existence of the necessity; and do not let us, by argument and presumption, without proof, put ourselves under America, and at her mercy, and in the state in which we are to be told, as in the year 1784, that we could not do without America. It may be said, and we are to argue upon it, that this measure is not to touch any negotiation upon which public rumours are on foot, but we must act as if there had been no such thing; I say that if you go on with this trade, the British colonial system will come to an end altogether; you will be disabled from carrying it on, because in time the whole of the British shipping will have vanished; for in time of peace even, ships cannot be restored. In the first place, it will take a course of years to bring you into the situation in which you were; for that reason, you should enter into an enquiry, that you may ascertain what you now have left, and what you are in possession of: for, under this system, every hour your situation grows worse, and more and more difficult. This is not like the operation which the war has upon your seamen; for when the war terminates, by the provision of the navigation acts, you have your seamen again; provided you have your shipping, all is well, your trade will go on. For, under the navigation acts, you permit only a given proportion of foreign seamen to navigate your ships, even in time of war; and so when the war ceases, there your ships are, and you have your men to navigate them; you do not, in any case, even in time of war, permit your ships to be entirely manned by foreigners; you being by your navigation laws bound to continue and keep up the proportion of British seamen on board them. But what will you say to the operation of the system of this bill which tends to annihilate the British shipping? for, under this system, every ship that is used up is so much dead loss, which can never be repaired; as not another will be built to supply it. What motive can there be to do so when there is no employment for it? This is like living on your capital instead of subsisting upon the produce of it; for there can be no fresh produce to supply the deficiency as it arises; you render it impossible to renew your shipping. Nor is this all. Although this is enough to bring on your inevitable ruin, should the war continue, but it works more rapidly towards your destruction in another way; for not only does it prevent your seamen from being reared up, by taking away the source of their future employment; but it creates an immediate drain upon those you have already; because, by enlarging the scope of the American shipping trade, you enlarge her demand for seamen, and by this system America is already so over-grown in the shipping trade, that her own seamen, fast as she is rearing them, are by no means equal to her wants; and the natural effect of that is, that she will take away yours; and the truth of this the hon. baronet (sir W. Young) who spoke from under the gallery in support of this measure, admits he has told you, in as many words, that a great many British seamen are daily bought up by America in open markets, so that you are not to suppose that the evils of this system will cease with the war. Therefore, arguing this bill upon the supposition of the noble lord, that it only is to reserve to the privy council the power which has hitherto been given to the governors of the West India islands; I say, since the effects of it are such as I have stated, you ought not even to do that without enquiry. But when we come to look at the true description of this measure, it is utterly impossible that a British parliament can be any party to it in its present state. Can a British parliament be reconciled to this act, the result of which is to take away all the British shipping, and with it all the British seamen, for the one follows the other, and both are absolutely inevitable, supposing the war to be of long continuance? I should like to hear any man argue this point. I was very anxious to hear what the noble lord had to say upon this part of the subject; and, says the noble lord, the Americans are not blind enough not to know that your colonial system is an artificial system, an artificial and a constrained system. [No! no! no! from lord H. Petty.] I should be very happy to be satisfied that I have mistaken the meaning of the noble lord, but, I certainly did understand him to say, that the Americans well knew our colonial system to be an artificial and constrained system. It would be very gratifying, undoubtedly, to me to suppose, or rather to be satisfied, that the noble lord's meaning, as conveyed, or intended to be conveyed, by his words, did not give any degree of countenance to the provisions of this bill, as far as it has the effect of promoting that impression; and I should be glad the forms of debate could afford to me the satisfaction of hearing the noble lord, at once disavow that sentiment. But that, I must be content to wait for, in its turn, according to the rules which, for general convenience, are made to govern our debates. If the noble lord did mean that or any thing like it, then I say we must be content to surrender the whole of our navigation laws, and do a great deal more than this bill professes to do; for, after this bill passes, the West India colonies are no more ours than they are the colonies of North America. I will venture to say, not one half so much, except that of the burthen of them; all the profits of them will go to America, and the burthens and disadvantages of them will, alone, remain to us. For there are disadvantages, and very great disadvantages, in all cases to a mother country from her colonies, and those belong to ours in the West Indies. It is always a question of balance between the advantages and disadvantages of a colony, on which depends the policy whether you part from it or retain it; for we are obliged to defend it in time of war, and we are under the necessity of affording a great and expensive force for that purpose; nay, in some cases, we are obliged not only to carry on, but to commence war, on account of our colonies, and it is historically correct, that many of our wars have been on their account. Many of our wars, I say, are of that description, nor is this the only inconvenience we suffer on account of our colonies; for it has been a principle of our policy, to impose restraint on ourselves, for the purpose of giving our colonies an advantage in our markets over the produce of other countries; and we have often been obliged, indeed, we are in the daily habit of obliging, our own people to pay dearer for the articles of our colonies than we can buy them for of other countries. Why? because we have advantages from them which we cannot claim from those countries who are not dependant upon us; and the advantages, upon a view of all the circumstances, are greater than the disadvantages. But what does this bill do? It proposes to give up all the trade, and all the benefit of the colonies, to America, and that we shall keep the expences and the burthen of them. I will ask his majesty's ministers whether, after the passing of this bill, there will be any security that one ounce of colonial produce will ever again come into G. Britain? Suppose the Americans, who, by this bill, are empowered to carry your colonial produce where they please, should choose to carry your colonial produce to all the markets of Europe (for that, most undoubtedly, they may do, under the provisions of this bill,) not one hogshead of the sugar of your colonies would come into this country. You may thus lose, at once, all the advantages, while you retain all the inconveniencies of our colonial system. You are obliged to burthen your people with very heavy duties, for the purpose of supporting this colonial produce, and you are now giving up the advantages of that produce to America: you are now giving to America more than if you were about to enter into a treaty, to cede to her the whole of your colonies for ever; for, in that case, you would say to her, Since you must have the colonies to yourselves you must take the burthen of them as well as the advantages; but, instead of that, we give to America the choice, at least, of taking all the advantages, without their being liable to one of the burthens of the West India colonies.—But the hon. baronet (sir W. Young) was pleased to state, that it was wise to repeal your navigation laws in part, for the sake of restoring your commerce. I will not argue the general proposition of what is of a superior, or what of a subordinate or secondary nature; whether commerce is not essential to the support of the nation, and, consequently, to our naval strength;

and whether, without commerce, we could support the state, or could have a navy: these are general propositions, which, as I have said already, I have no inclination to dispute; for, I always distrust them in argument, because I am never sure that they apply to the case in discussion. The general proposition of the hon. baronet therefore, that the protection of trade is essential to the welfare of the empire, I do not dispute; but the question is this—is the bill now before us of that description which will tend to the protection of trade in the manner which the hon. baronet supposes? Of what use is it that we should hear stated and established these general propositions which are true in all cases, unless the measure now before us falls within their policy? I may, on the other hand, with as much truth say, and insist upon it, as a counter-proposition, that just in proportion as you surrender your navigation you surrender your commerce. But the question is, whether the case, as it arises out of this bill, comes under the one or the other of these propositions. I alledge it does: I do say that, by this bill, you lay the foundation of the ruin of your trade, by the surrender of your navigation: I do say that, by this bill, you surrender your navigation to a degree that is absolutely extravagant, besides being a total surrender of the power of parliament to revise what may be done under it, such as hitherto has been the habit from year to year. See what the necessity, which ministers contend to be the foundation of this bill, will lead them to, and does lead them to—that of surrendering the navigation of this country, so as to put the American shipping on a footing with the British? That would be a pretty strong thing for a British parliament to consent to; but this is much stronger, for here you relax your navigation law, in favour of American shipping, to a degree to which it never was relaxed in favour of British shipping. Sir, I do not know that the framers of this bill know it, but it most unquestionably is the fact, that the trade to be carried on with the colonies, in British shipping, is confined to certain specified articles; whereas, to the American shipping, it is unconfined and unlimited. For, when once the American ships are got into your colonies, they may take the produce of these colonies, whithersoever they please, all over the world, and they are not restricted so much even as the British shipping is. Good God! what a spectacle is this to exhibit to the world! am I in a British parliament beseeching and imploring it not to pass a bill which has for its object such enormous effects as that of taking off restrictions upon a trade to be carried on with British colonies by foreigners, which are continued with regard to British subjects? Why, sir, this willingness to erase out of the statute-book the very name of your navigation law, is a disposition, guiding the councils, and changing the ancient policy of G. Britain —it is a change, indeed, which the French statesman himself would enjoy. He could have wished no other, he had no other desire, as he has often expressed, although our commercial law affected France less than any other maritime power in Europe; for they never were our rivals in the carrying trade, and yet they called our navigation laws an odious hostile code, by which England made war on the industry of all nations — What a triumph to our enemies must it be, if the parliament of Great Britain agree to give up those laws which their enemies have so long regarded as their bane, while they are the foundation of our greatness! But then it may be said, that although the powers thus given by this bill are so enormous, still you will not impute to the privy council any intention to use such powers to the ruin of their country; and it is as well for the privy council to adopt measures for the general advantage of our trade and navigation as for parliament to do so; and it cannot be supposed that these powers will be used by the privy council, for any other purpose than that of the interest of their country, however enormous these powers may appear to you to be. Why, sir, if these are powers unfit to be used, as most certainly they are, they are unfit to be asked for; and if asked for, they are unfit to be granted. And certainly, in the very extensive scene in which power is here claimed, it is impossible it can be executed; and why should any set of men have a power by act of parliament to ruin their country? Is it to be considered as a ground on which concessions may be made by us? Is it because ministers must be supported? and that it is not to be supposed ministers would use the power in the latitude with which it is given, in order that parliament may shew there is no bound to the liberality of its concession? There certainly may be, in some cases, a great difficulty, in others an impossibility, to define precisely or exactly what is necessary to be given by way of discretionary power to ministers, or to express specifically what power should be withheld from them; and therefore a general and undefined power must be given, and we must trust to the discretion of ministers in the use of it: such was the case when the habeus corpus act was suspended. At the time when that measure took place the country was put to the disagreeable necessity of defending itself, in that mode, against a few conspirators, and put for that purpose the liberties of all the subjects of this realm under the care of the executive government of the country: you could not accomplish your object in any other way. For, although you had every reason to be assured that the conspirators were but few in number, yet you could not draw a distinction between them and the rest of the king's subjects, until after they were tried; and, therefore, from the necessity of the case, you were obliged to make the power general, leaving the exercise of it to his majesty's ministers, and they were to detain only those against whom there were founded suspicions. But this general power is never necessary to be given, when the thing to be done can be specified; so here, in the articles to be carried away by neutral ships from your colonies, what is to hinder you from specifying rum and molasses? particularly after what has been said by an hon. baronet, by which it appears that there has been a specification, and an enumeration of all the articles allowed to be taken away from the colonies in neutral ships: if so, specification and enumeration are possible; therefore, there can be no necessity for these unqualified and sweeping powers.—Sir, when I am called upon to agree to the giving of power to others, which power may be exercised discreetly, perhaps, but very differently from that which I expect at the time of granting it, a question necessarily arises in my mind, what is thought upon that subject by those who demand the power, and by whom it is to be exercised? How do I know what power ministers think necessary to exercise, except the power which they claim? Have I any other criterion to go by? And that is a power which no man will say can be tolerated, if exercised to its full extent. In the hands of one man, this power may be an absolute nullity; for he would use no part of it, and, therefore, it is useless to give it; in the hands of another it may be executed to a ruinous extent: and for that reason, dangerous to give it; and, therefore, under this artificial and constrained system, (for I cannot help retaining the use of these words) it is impossible to go on, and therefore much better to give it up. How do I know that the idea I have of the use to which any of the powers to be given by this bill, is that which they would wish to make of it? I own I do not know what they mean by this bill; and as I have said already, it would be an affront to them to suppose that they have no meaning, which is of itself a reason why I should not assent to this bill. Sir! I see no bounds, whatever, to the power which the privy council is to have to give an unlimited indulgence to American shipping: and I see nothing whatever, in this bill, which gives to the privy council any authority to make the slightest regulation with reference to British shipping: so that the indulgence is all to the American, and the rigour is all to the British shipping. [Here he read a clause in the bill to prove this observation.] Sir, is it not monstrous that such a provision should exist, in any shape whatever, in a British act of parliament? and yet, here it is; a power to grant, in favour of American shipping, that which cannot be granted to British shipping; is it possible that such power can be given by a British parliament? Sir, I really have no idea that ministers are aware of the meaning of it. —These sir, are the reasons I have to shew that this bill ought not to pass into a law. I have shewn the danger of assenting to any measure of this kind without inquiry; I have shewn that it is different from any measure that ever was yet adopted in parliament; I have shewn that no situation in which this country can be placed can ever require such powers to be given to any body of men in it; I have shewn the intolerable insult which it offers to the British shipping by placing it below that of a foreign state; I have shewn the ruin which will attend an attempt to put in force any thing like the extent of its provisions. Is it then, after all this, is it too much to ask of a British house of parliament, not to destroy the best interests of the British empire by destroying its navigation, and that without the regularity of an inquiry? If you thought the thing was of no worth, you ought to observe more decorum in the destruction of it. If gentlemen will contend it is improbable the privy council will exercise improperly the power to be given to them by this bill, I answer that the prospect is not flattering in that particular, by the disregard and contempt which you have shewn for the law already; when you yourselves will not venture to define the use which you intend to make of the power when you have obtained it, and when you shew that you regard your colonial system as an artificial and constrained system; so that, after this, there may be a total abandonment of the old system of the navigation laws. Sir, if ever there was a time in which it was the duty of parliament to guard against the introduction of these destructive principles, by which the navigation laws are threatened with annihilation, and more particularly against giving any persons in the state the power of producing that effect, the present moment is that very time; and I think that the necessity of caution is considerably increased by the very arguments which have been urged in support of this bill to-night. Good God! sir, what has been the ground on which this bill has been defended? Ministers are determined, it seems, to carry every thing by storm; for they do not reason on the wisdom or the policy of the bill, but they recommend it to this British house of parliament, by shewing that it is of the same kind as other acts of hostility which have, at different times, and under different circumstances been committed against the navigation laws of G. Britain; so that the recommendation to the bill is, its resemblance to those measures which are hostile to the navigation laws! I say, that if this bill should pass into a law, a foundation will have been laid, by which ministers may come to parliament with any claim which the intoxication of successful power may dictate or suggest. They may think it necessary to relinquish the whole system of your naval strength; there is nothing which may not be justified under this bill; and, if any body should attempt to resist the extravagance of the application, they have nothing to do but to hold up this bill and say, "see here, the powers which the legislature has confided in us; we must have this measure; it is essential to the system which parliament has delegated to us in its wisdom," to which, I know not what answer any one could make.—Sir, I had much more to add, but after having trespassed on the patience of the house so long, I must pass it over. I can only express a confident hope that parliament (a British parliament) will not hold out such a spectacle to the world as the recognition of such a principle as this bill contains, would be: which would be only doing that by a law of your own which your enemies, aiming at your destruction, have hitherto endeavoured in vain to accomplish; who have for upwards of a century, been endeavouring to impress upon the world a conviction that your navigation laws are at war with the rights, and hostile to the interests of other countries. I trust that you will not do for your enemies that which they have never been able to accomplish for themselves; I trust that you will not deliver up to ministers the whole foundation of your greatness; I trust you will not think that you will triumph by teaching foreign powers to say the policy of G. Britain is changed; they have given up the system of their navigation laws, by an act of parliament, into the hands of the ministers, who now see it will not do for them any longer to maintain that oppressive preponderance by which they were the masters of the ocean; they have given up that system, and gradually it will be suffered to die away, under the wisdom of a truly enlightened administration, who will not suffer that terror and death to the hopes of other nations at sea, the navigation law, to stand any longer in the way of those great, philosophically pacific arrangements which they have formed.—Sir, I trust that a British parliament will never enable the enemies of G. Britain to hold out such language to the world: I trust that a British parliament will not give up that guardian power it possesses over the interests of the British empire, by passing a bill which contains provisions that no man has yet been bold enough to say he would enforce to their full extent; I trust you will not give up that system by which you have grown up into your present power; a system on the preservation of which it is my entire conviction, that not only your prosperity, but your very existence entirely depends.

The *Attorney-General* replied to the right hon. and learned gent., in support of the bill, and contended, that it went merely to place under the controul of his majesty in council, and by law, a practice which, for thirteen years past, had been uniformly assumed by the governors of the West-India islands, without law, and upon the presumption of future indemnity. He contended, also, that it was the very selfsame principle of controul and discretionary power of dispensing with the rigour of the navigation laws with respect to America, and the East-India trade, which had existed in his majesty and the privy council, ever since the conclusion of the American war, and this, too, under bills successively brought in by a late right hon. gent., and supported by his supporters, without any of those apprehensions for the safety of the navigation laws, or the ruin of our commerce, our navy, and our national power, which seemed, that night, to excite so much clamour in the vigilant guardians of our prosperity and safety.

Mr. *Perceval* spoke in opposition to the bill, and contended, that neither the noble lord who introduced it, nor those who supported it, really understood it: for that it did not merely, as they had alledged, open to the Americans the advantages of our navigation laws, with respect to the furnishing our West-India islands with provisions and other produce and manufacture, but that it opened the same privilege to all neutral ships of all nations whatever.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* conceived, that it was totally unnecessary that his majesty's ministers should rise *seriatim* to answer arguments, which had been repeatedly advanced and overturned. If a bill of indemnity, however, had been spoken of, it was not the time to desire that yet: something must be done first, and when that time did arrive, he should hope that the house would indulge him so far as to say, that they did not see the necessity of it until earl Camden came forward to ask for his indemnity for having pursued a nearly similar line of conduct.

Mr. *Rose* again insisted that the present measure would be a gross infraction of the navigation laws.—The question was very generally called for and the house divided: For the third reading, 85; Against it, 30; Majority, 55.—Previous to the passing of the bill, Mr. Prinsep brought up his promised clauses, which, after some alteration, were adopted, and added, by way of rider to the bill; after which the bill was passed, and was ordered to the lords.—Adjourned at half past two on Wednesday morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 9.

[MINUTES.] The bills upon the table were forwarded in their respective stages. Amongst these, the Irish Imports and Exports bill, the Irish Spirits Warehousing bill, the Norwich Castle Ground bill, and Irish Poor bill, were severally read a third time, and passed, and messages ordered to acquaint the commons therewith.—On the motion of the earl of Lauderdale, certain extracts, relative to the course of proceeding in the court of session in Scotland; and an account of the expenses attending the same, from a given period of the year 1800, to the like period in 1804, were ordered to be laid before the house; also certain accounts from the commissioners of teens or tithes, respecting the augmentations made therein, &c. within the like period.—The West-India Intercourse bill, the Greenwich Pensioners', the Westminster Hall Avenues, and the Scots' Distillery bills, were brought up from the commons, and read a first time.—The Greenwich Hospital bill was, on the motion of lord Hood, ordered to be read a second time on Friday; and the West-India Intercourse bill, on the motion of lord Auckland, a second time on Monday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 9.

[MINUTES.] On the motion of sir A. Wellesley, the deputy clerk of the crown was ordered to attend the house forthwith. He brought in the return for the borough of Carlow, which was read; and by which it appeared, that lieutenant-colonel Arthur Symes had been returned for the borough of Carlow. The precedent of the borough of Newtown, in the county of Southampton, in which Ewan Law, esq. was, by mistake, returned for Evan Law, esq. having been read; the returning officer for Carlow (Mr. Turpin) was called in, who, on being questioned by the Speaker, declared, that, by mistake, the word Arthur had been inserted in the return instead of Michael. On the motion of sir A. Wellesley, the name of Arthur was ordered to be erased, and the name of Michael substituted.—On the motion of Mr. C. Wynne, a new writ was ordered to be issued for the borough of

Buckingham, in the room of the right hon. T. Grenville, who, since his election, had accepted the office of president of the board of controul, being one of the commissioners for the affairs of India, with a salary annexed.—On the motion of Mr. Vansittart, the Ordnance Lands bill was read a third time and passed. Colonel Wood, alluding to the above bill, complained that it had been carried through the house in so hurried and irregular a manner, that he was by no means aware it had arrived at its last stage. It involved in it considerations, which required the utmost deliberation, and the best advice. Mr. Vansittart supposed, that the hon. gent. meant to direct his observations against another bill that was in its progress through the house; this, however, Colonel Wood denied. The Speaker interposed, observing, that after a bill had passed, such a conversation was totally irregular; he added, that the bill in question had passed through all the proper stages, and that it had always had its place among the orders of the day.—Mr. Combe brought up a bill for repealing the London Additional Force act. Read a first, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday.—The Expiring Laws bill; the Land-Tax Commissioners Assessment bill; and the Bankrupt Laws bill, were read a third time and passed. —Mr. Vansittart brought up the following bills:—A bill for Reducing the Bounty on Refined Sugar; a bill for Allowing certain Goods to be Warehoused without Duty; a bill for permitting the Importation of French Wine from Ireland, in Bottles and Flasks; a bill for Granting an Additional Bounty on the Exportation of the Silk Manufactures of Great Britain; a bill for Allowing the Exportation of certain Articles from Gibraltar and Malta; a bill for Prosecuting Offences against the Stamp Laws; a bill for Regulating the Legal Quays of the Port of London; a bill for Enquiring into the State of Windsor Forest; a bill for Allowing the Importation of Masts, Yards, and Bowsprits from the British Colonies in North America; a bill for Repealing the Act of James II., for Preventing the Importation of Gunpowder, Arms, and Ammunition from Ireland; and also a bill for Allowing the Exportation of Raisins and Figs, Duty-free; all of which were read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The Clerks of Chancery bill, the Innkeepers' Rates bill, the Crown Lands Leasing bill, and the Irish Excise Countervailing Duty bill, were read a second time, and ordered to be committed to-morrow.—The Newfoundland Bounty bill, the Masters of Chancery bill, and the Accomptant General's bill, went through Committees; the reports of which were ordered to be received to-morrow.—Messengers from the lords announced their lordships' assent to the Irish Distillery bill, the Irish Imports and Exports bill, the Irish Poor bill, and the Assessed Taxes Allowance bill.—On the motion of lord Temple, it was ordered, that the house should, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee on that part of the act of the 2d of James I. which related to the penalties on the regrating and engrossing of bark. On the suggestion of Mr. Fellowes, the penalties on the forestalling of hides were ordered to be taken into consideration by the same committee. —The Malt Duty bill, and the Lottery bill, were read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Friday.—Mr. Hobhouse brought up the report of the committee on the Insolvent Debtors' bill. Sir W. Elford wishing to introduce a new clause, the bill was re-committed to a select committee.—Sir J. Newport brought up a bill for granting certain Drawbacks on Goods exported from Ireland. Read a first, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.—The house went into a committee on the Sugar Drawback act, in which, on the motion of Mr. Vansittart, it was resolved, that the same bounties should be granted on the exportation of sugar-candy, as were already granted on the exportation of fine sugar from Great Britain. The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.—On the motion of lord Temple, the house having gone into the further consideration of the report of the woollen manufactures of Great Britain, the resolutions were agreed to, after some observations from Mr. Pattison, which related merely to two numerical errors. Lord Temple called to the recollection of the house the anxiety which had been ever manifested by him, that some decision should be made upon the subject during the present session. The late period, however, at which the report of the committee had been made, seemed to make this (to the extent that could be wished) impracticable. In saying this, he begged not to be understood to impute any unnecessary delay to the committee, to whose abilities, energy, and activity, on the contrary, he bore the highest testimony. Although all could not be done that it was desirable to do, he trusted, that, before the house separated, they would, at least, consent to a bill to make some regulation in the contending interests on this subject; and, as early as possible in the next session, he trusted, that an ultimate arrangement would be agreed to. The noble lord then moved for, and obtained leave to bring in a bill, pursuant to the resolution of the said committee. — The house resolved into a committee upon the Nabob of Arcott's Debts bill.—Lord H. Petty proposed clauses to empower the commissioners, under this bill, to apprehend persons refusing to attend, and to commit persons refusing to answer questions; also to order the commissioners to make a report of their proceedings to parliament at least 21 days after the meeting of the sessions; and, from time to time afterwards; such reports to comprehend lists of the claims preferred, and of the decisions provisionally or absolutely made thereon, together with a statement of the grounds upon which such decisions were made. After some conversation between Mr. Perceval, Mr. Windham, lord H. Petty, Mr. Paull, Mr. Grant, and Mr. W. Keene, these amendments were agreed to. The house resumed, and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.—The secretary at war laid on the table the estimates for additional pay to the officers of the army, and gave notice of his intention to move resolutions, grounded upon those estimates, in the committee of supply, on Friday. The right hon. gent. thought it proper to inform the house, that it was not proposed to extend the increased pay to a certain rank of officers in the militia, who, for obvious reasons, stood in need of no such addition. It was, therefore, meant, as there was a clause n the militia act, extending the same pay to that body, as was received by the regular army, to prepare a short bill, which his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) would move for to-morrow; and the object of which would be to amend that clause, so as hat it should not interfere with the resolutions which he should have the honour of submitting to the committee on Friday. Mr. Windham gave notice of his intention o make, to-morrow, the motion referred to by his right hon. friend. Mr. Huskisson sked to what degree the proposed augmenation was to be carried, and to what class of officers extended? The secretary at war eplied, that the augmentation was to extend to all ranks in the regular army, but to one above subalterns in the militia. He felt that it would be inconvenient to go into each article of augmentation at present. The Speaker observed, that there being no question before the house, such a statement could not be regularly gone into, at least, without creating a debate.—Mr. Huskisson gave notice of his intention to move, on Friday, certain resolutions respecting the revenue and expenditure of the country. These resolutions, the hon. gent. added, would not be of the same nature with those which had been annually submitted to the house for some years back, but would relate rather to the mode of making up the public accounts.

[Calico Printers.] Mr. *P. Moore* rose, pursuant to notice, to call the attention of the house to this subject. The evidence to which his motion would refer, had now lain before the house for a considerable time, without any report being made upon it, and this could not be considered, by any means, fair towards any of the parties concerned, but particularly towards the petitioners, who had been for many years applying to parliament for redress. Their case was of such a nature as to call for a satisfactory decision, and he felt encouraged to persevere in his exertions to obtain it, from the result of the investigation respecting the woollen manufactures, which the house had heard to-day, and which he had never relaxed his endeavours to produce. While the parties, in that case, were left in suspense, the determination of their business being long postponed, great distress prevailed among them; and such must naturally be expected to arise among the parties in this instance also, if the house declined much longer to decide upon the object of their application. He did not mean to propose that the house should come to a final decision upon the subject, in the course of the present session, but merely to refer it to a committee, who would not, he ventured to state, require more than one hour's deliberation to determine upon it, in such a way as should satisfy the parties, and form the basis of a legislative arrangement, which he pledged himself to bring forward early in the next session.

Colonel *Stanley* was glad to understand that it was not the hon. gent.'s intention to propose any legislative provision in the course of the present session, as the attendance was so thin from the Northern part of the country, to which his business was so particularly interesting.—The mo tion was agreed to, and a committee appointed to sit to-morrow.

[ROYAL FAMILY ANNUITIES BILL.] Mr. Vansittart brought in the bill for granting additional annuities to the younger branches of the royal family.

Colonel *Wood* said, he took great shame to himself, that he had not, by attending his duty on a former evening, had an opportunity of stating his sentiments upon this subject when it was originally brought forward. That such a proposition should have been submitted to parliament, under the present circumstances of the country, and particularly by the noble lord, so distinguished for the profession of economy, was, to him, he confessed, no less a matter of regret, than of astonishment. The house, in general, indeed, must have been taken by surprise in this proceeding; for nothing had, he ventured to say, ever been brought before parliament in a similar manner. He begged the house to recollect, that the noble lord had, in the first instance, introduced this measure to the house, as a bill merely to rectify a mistake in a former act: but, immediately afterwards, comes a proposition, to make a considerable increase in the salaries allowed to the junior branches of the royal family, recommended by a message from his majesty. When the situation of the country was taken into view, when it was considered that the income tax was raised to 10 per cent., that several persons, of a certain rank in life, paid 17½ per cent., and that, indeed, most people paid no less, in public contributions, than 50 per cent. of their whole revenue, the country must be amazed to hear of this bill. For the illustrious personages, who were the objects of this bill, he professed the utmost respect; and he would be very ready to pay his own proportion of any contribution that might be necessary to the maintenance of their splendour and happiness. If the lords and commons were, alone, called upon for a contribution of this nature, he would most cheerfully assent to it; but, feeling for the people, who were already so borne down, he could not consent to increase their burthens, particularly upon such grounds as were stated by the noble mover of this bill. That noble lord dwelt upon the depreciation of money, and the enhancement of provisions, which so much affected other people, as a reason for this bill; but, he took no notice of this fact, that the royal persons, to whom this bill referred, were quite exempt from the taxes which so materially operated upon others; and that the amount of such exemption formed a considerable virtual addition to their salaries; and, also, that each of them possessed either a civil or military office, or both, yielding, in general, not less than four or five thousand pounds a year. If, therefore, the situation of these distinguished persons, were compared to that of the nobility of the country, who paid taxes, how much would the revenue of the former prove to be superior? and yet, to this revenue the noble lord proposed to add one-third; which, by the bye, upon further explanation, appeared to be one-half. The hon. officer expressed his regret, that the noble lord, to whom he alluded, should not have been present, to hear those observations which a sense of duty urged him to offer, and which he did not mean to address with any feeling of opposition to the right hon. secretary, to whom he did not mean to impute the slightest blame. For, that right hon. secretary was doing nothing more than his duty. But, upon the first occasion that should occur, in the presence of the noble lord, who moved this bill, he would enter further into the subject, and fully state his protest against such improvident waste of the public money.

Lord *Temple* had no doubt, that the hon. gent. acted from his conception of public duty; but, he could wish that, at least, the hon. gent. could have reconciled with that conception of duty, to postpone his observations until his noble friend, to whom they were more particularly addressed, should be present to hear them. Had the hon. gent. been in the house, to hear the arguments of his noble friend, on a former evening, most probably, the objections which he urged, on that evening, would never have been started. If, in addition, the hon. gent. had been aware of that which was mentioned only the preceding night, namely, that the establishments of tables, coals, candles, &c. heretofore allowed to the princes, was to be withdrawn, and which establishment was nearly equivalent to the proposed augmentation, the hon. member would have been, perhaps, still less disposed to resist this bill. The noble lord was persuaded, that every just, reflecting man must feel, that an adequate increase of allowance should be granted to the members of the royal family, at a time when the salaries of even the subordinate clerks in the public offices were generally augmented, in consequence of the depreciation of money, and the enhancement of provisions, which formed the grounds upon which this bill professed to rest.

Sir *W. Elford* said, he was one of those who felt the burthens of the times as strongly as any man; but, he was convinced, that it was his duty, as a public man, to provide the proper means for securing to the royal family that splendour which the present provision was, in his opinion, totally inadequate to maintain. These sentiments proceeded from a sense of public duty, and from that alone; for, he had not the honour of being known to one of the illustrious personages who were the objects of this measure.

Colonel *Wood* was proceeding to urge some fresh arguments against the bill, when he was prevented by the speaker, who observed that he must confine himself to explanation. On intimating, that the speaker did not deal with him as with others, the speaker appealed to the house, whether he deserved the reproach that the hon. gent. had cast upon him. [Loud cries of chair! chair!]—The bill was then ordered to be read a 2d time to-morrow.

[COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.] Lord *Henry Petty* moved, that the house should go into a committee of supply, and that there should be instructions to the committee, to make compensation to the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, and to make some allowance to the Commissioners of Military Enquiry; and that the Veterinary College petition, and Bell Rock report, should be referred to the committee. Ordered.—In the committee, lord Henry Petty stated, that the first resolution which he should have to propose was, one respecting an increased allowance to the princess Sophia of Gloucester, founded on the particular circumstances of her case. The other princesses had not lost their parents, and had the benefit of survivorships; which was not the case with her. Instead, therefore, of 4,000*l.* annually, which had been voted before, he would now move, that an allowance of 5,000*l.* a year, should be made to the princess Sophia of Gloucester, in lieu of 4,000*l.* which had been charged on the aggregate fund; and, also, an additional allowance of 2,000*l.* to commence from the death of her mother, the duchess of Gloucester. Agreed to.—The next resolution which he had to propose was, a compensation to the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, who had drawn near to the close of their labours. This, no doubt, would be granted, with pleasure, by every member of the house. He, therefore, moved, that the sum of 26,500*l.* should be granted to the Commissioners of Naval Enquiry, as a recompense for the diligence and ability with which they had discharged the trust reposed in them by parliament; and that this sum should be paid without any fee or deduction whatever. Ordered.—He next moved, that 10,500*l.* should be granted, on account, to the Commissioners of Military Enquiry; and that this should be paid without any fee or deduction.

Mr. *Paull* agreed most cordially in the grant that had been made to the Naval Commissioners; but, as to the present resolution, he thought that we ought to see a little more of the labours of the military commissioners, before such a sum was voted for them; as yet, they had done nothing to deserve it; but, he would not insist on the objection, if the noble lord was resolved to carry his motion.

Lord *Henry Petty* said, that the sum was different from that granted to the Naval Commissioners, and the sum was only granted on account. He agreed, that we had not equal experience of their services, nor could we as yet; but, as nobody could say that they had not done their duty satisfactorily, it was reasonable to grant this sum on account. Besides, the hon. gent. seemed to have forgot, that they had already presented a laborious report to the house, stating a particular abuse; and he was happy to have it to state to the house, and the public, that, in consequence of the discovery which they had made, and the steps taken upon it, government was in possession of security for the balance due to the public.

Mr. *Windham* said, that the principle upon which the hon. gentleman's argument seemed to proceed was, "no abuse, no pay." Were the commissioners to be paid, only in case they discovered abuses? It was rather to be wished, that they should have nothing to discover in this way.

Mr. *Huskisson* stated, that commissioners had applied to the late government, and that it had been deemed expedient to make them some allowance on account. In commissions of long continuance, this would be, in general, absolutely necessary.

Mr. *S. Lefevre* supported the resolution, from the knowledge that he himself had of some of the commissioners, and his observations of the diligence with which they did their duty. He suggested to the noble lord, whether some allowance should not be made to a meritorious set of commissioners, he meant those for investigating the claims on the New Forest?

Lord *Henry Petty* said, that this had not, as yet, particularly engaged the attention of government; but, that the suggestion would be attended to.

Mr. *Tyrwhitt Jones* considered this was rather an unprecedented mode of granting compensation. He thought that it ought not to be established as a precedent, that allowances should be given on account; otherwise, account would go on on account; and this was the mode in which the 450 millions of unaudited accounts had been raised.

Mr. *Paull* stated, that no compensation had been made, by the late government, to the commissioners of naval enquiry; and, he thought, no allowance ought to be made to the present commissioners, till their labours drew to a period.

Mr. *Windham* observed, that it might be a commission that could not go on without some allowance in the mean time; and if, in every case, we were to wait till the close of their labours, we could not know what bad effects this might have on such labours.

Mr. *Burton* observed that, after the two first years of the labours of that deserving set of commissioners, which had been appointed, some time ago, to investigate the public accounts, compensation had been annually allowed them, for the services of the preceding year. This was a precedent for money on account, though the other mode was the more common. The resolution was then agreed to.—Mr. Windham proposed, that 1,500*l.* should be granted to the Veterinary College. Ordered.—Sir John Sinclair stated, that the commissioners of the Northern light-houses had a fund of 30,000*l.* which they could not immediately use, but which they would pledge to the public, as security for the sum necessary to erect a light-house on the Bell Rock. He, therefore, moved, that 25,000*l.* be granted to these commissioners, for the above purpose, and on the above security. Ordered. Report the next day.—The house then went into a committee on the Bell Rock report; where the sum of 25,000*l.* was voted. Report the next day.

[VOLUNTEER OFFICERS' BILL.] Mr. Secretary Windham moved the order of the day, for the 2d reading of the Volunteer Officers' Rank bill. On the question being put, that the bill be now read a 2d time,

Mr. Alderman *Combe* wished to be informed, whether the operation of the bill was to extend to the present officers of Volunteer Corps, or to be confined to those who might, hereafter, be appointed?

Mr. Secretary *Windham* replied, that the provisions of the bill were to apply to all officers of Volunteers. The bill was to enact a regulation which, he was sure, no gentleman could entertain a doubt of the propriety of adopting, namely, that no yeomanry, or volunteer officer should command a field officer of the line. It had been, at first, his intention, to provide, by a legislative measure, that no volunteer officer should command a captain of volunteers, provided that captain was in the command of a corps; but, in consideration of some suggestions made on the subject, he was disposed to recede from that intention. It appeared to him a matter of such obvious necessity, to provide against the possibility of field officers of the line being commanded by volunteer officers, that, he was confident, no such officer would feel any objection to the measure.

Mr. Alderman *Combe* admitted, that it would be right to adopt such a provision, if the rank of volunteers was now, for the first time, to be adjusted; but, as they derived their rank from an act of parliament, he should feel it his duty to oppose this measure, which was to deprive them of it.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* observed, that this bill was intended, merely, to correct an unadvised grant of rank, contained in the act of the 44th of the king. The hon. gent. admitted, that it would have been right, in the first instance, to withhold this rank. What ought not to be granted at all, ought, certainly, not to be continued, when unadvisedly granted.

Mr. *Perceval* asked, whether it was intended to apply the same regulations to militia officers; or, whether they were to stand on the same footing with the regulars?

Mr. Secretary *Windham* replied, that this bill was not to apply to officers of militia, in the same manner as to volunteer officers. There were different descriptions, and different degrees of discipline; and the nearer any one approached to the perfection of the regulars, the less necessary it was to resort to such precautions as that contained in the bill.

Mr. *Perceval* then added, that there were many persons colonels, commanding regiments of volunteers, who had served in high rank in the regulars; and who were as well, if not better, qualified to take the command of officers of the line, than any militia colonels.

Mr. *Holt Lee* thought the effect of the measure would be, to produce a degradation of the commanding officers of volunteer corps, in the eyes of those they commanded. He wished to know, whether the operation of the bill was to have force only in the event of the volunteers being called out into actual service?

Mr. Secretary *Windham* replied, whenever the volunteers may be drawn out to act with the army; unless in that case, the provision of the bill would be a mockery. The bill was then read a 2d time.

[AUDITORS OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS BILL.] Lord Henry Petty moved the order of the day for the 2d reading of the Auditors' bill.

Mr. *Tyrwhitt Jones* had no expectation, that any thing he could say would induce the noble lord to abandon the bill; but could not omit that opportunity of entering his protest against the measure; which, according to the noble lord's own statement, was to allow a part of the 450 millions, which were unaccounted for, to pass as paid, and without any vouchers.

Mr. *Rose* said that, on a former discussion upon this subject, he had endeavoured to convince the noble lord opposite, that he was entirely mistaken in the statement which he had made, as to there being 450 millions of the public money actually unaccounted for; he wished to know, whether or not the noble lord, on more mature consideration, was now convinced, that the calculation, which he (Mr. Rose) had taken the liberty of making, was correct.

Lord *Henry Petty* intimated, that he was still disposed to adhere to his former opinion upon that subject.

Mr. *Rose* then rose again, and entered into a minute statement and calculation, in order to shew the impossibility of there being such an immense sum as 450 millions actually unaccounted for. He was still more fully convinced than ever, of his former statement having been just; and he now had occasion deeply to regret, that the noble lord seemed inclined to press forward this measure in the present session of parliament. He thought it would be far better, were the noble lord to content himself, in the mean time, with the appointment of some overseers, or inspectors, to ascertain whether or not the former commissioners were going on properly. It would cast no reflection upon these former commissioners, even although it were found proper that they should be instructed to pursue a different course. If the noble lord had waited a few months longer, he might, by further enquiries, and more minute investigation, have become of opinion, that the whole business might be sufficiently well carried on by the appointment, merely, of additional clerks, instead of new commissioners. He had, certainly, heard the noble lord with considerable surprise, when he stated in that house, that there were 450 millions unaccounted for; when, by the closest examination, he (Mr. R.) could give to the subject, he had ascertained, clearly, that there were only 21 millions actually to be audited by the commissioners, out of 217 millions, the exact amount of the whole unaudited accounts. The cause of the noble lord's mistatement arose from various circumstances. There were various representations in his (lord Petty's) mode of calculation; several desperate accounts were included, which ought to have been omitted; and there were, also, some irregularities in the manner of transacting some payments made by the bank. The paymaster-general's accounts had been retarded, merely from there not being a possibility of clearing them. There had been a practice grown up, since 1783, which empowered the pay-master-general to issue sums of money, merely on a letter from the secretary at war, and no regular vouchers had ever been obtained. On the very first day on which he came into the pay-office, he looked into these matters, and discovered great irregularities. He required of his colleagues, to produce regular warrants for all the sums that had been so issued; but, on the impossibility of doing so for such a length of time, he did not wish to throw impediments or obstacles in the way of their daily business. He, however, lost no time in making complete and new arrangements, so that the paymaster's accounts were no longer kept in arrear. The evil of these outstanding accounts would not be cured by this bill. The noble lord was perfectly mistaken, if he supposed that, by this new appointment of auditors, he could audit accounts which it had been, formerly, found impossible to examine, on account of the want of vouchers. On the whole, he could not help repeating, that an additional number of inspectors would be better adapted for keeping the present auditors going on with the business expeditiously, In other respects, he did not see much to object to the bill, as it bore such an affinity to the one formerly brought into parliament. He approved particularly of that part which respected the comptroller, and that was still the only part which was new. As to the other clause, which he himself had suggested, it was still unintelligible. What he wished was, that governors of provinces or settlements abroad, who receive and expend the public money, should be the accountants themselves. At the same time, he would not dispute, that there might be cases occurring, when the commissioners might have an option, whether to make these general officers their accountants, or those who were employed under them to expend the money. It should also be provided, that the commissioners of the treasury should not make any allowances, but under certain provisions. On the whole, this bill went to create great additional and unnecessary expenses upon the country, without any advantage whatever. If he could prevail upon the noble lord to defer this bill till next session, to give to the former commissioners a few additional inspectors, and, in the mean time, to examine the accounts more deliberately, before doing any thing, he should be perfectly satisfied, as he was fully convinced the noble lord would see the impropriety of the measures he was now so imprudently adopting.

Lord *Henry Petty* replied, that the measure under consideration had been adopted on the representations of those best qualified to judge of the propriety and expediency of it; representations which, he had reason to think, had been made to the late, as well as the present, treasury. He contended, and, when experience would afford a criterion of the fact, should contend, that this measure cotained provisions both new and efficient, both in the distinction of the boards, and the classification of the accounts into those in arrear there now under audit and the current accounts. The noble lord then referred to the authority of the auditors themselves; and read an extract from a letter, from them to the treasury in 1800, to shew, that the bank accounts were part of the public accounts that ought to be audited by a separate and independent board.

Mr. *Huskisson* allowed, that the delay of auditing public accounts was an encouragement to fraud, and went to prevent proper persons from wishing to become public accountants. He spoke in commendation of the system adopted by the late chancellor of the exchequer. He had the fullest confidence in the commissioners who composed the present board of audit, and the clerks annexed. He complained of the mode of swelling the sum now said to be unaccounted for, by including the same incidental sum several times in every accountant's hands through which they had to pass. It was only those accountants that had a discretionary power that ought to be checked. It was the intention of the late chancellor of the exchequer, to prevent any considerable discretionary expence in any department of the public service, without the previous sanction of the treasury, which was to undertake all the responsibility.—The bill then went through a committee.—The report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 10.

[Minutes.] The Irish Roads bill, the Irish Peerage bill, the Irish Revenue bill, the Land Tax Commissioners' Mistake bill, and the Postage bill, were read a 2d time, and committed for the next day.—The duke of Newcastle took the oaths and his seat.—On the 2d reading of a bill for allowing the conveyance of a certain quantity of Coals to London by the Paddington canal, the earl of Suffolk said a few words in favour of this mode of supplying the metropolis with coals, which, he thought, did not go far enough. If an unlimited supply by the Paddington canal were allowed, it would tend materially to decrease the price of coals in the London market. Lord Eldon observed, that there being no duty on the coals by the Paddington canal, and a very heavy duty on the Newcastle coals, if the former were allowed to be brought here without limitation, they would drive the latter out of the market, and thereby destroy the nursery of those seamen to whom we were indebted for so many victories. The bill was then read a 2d time, and committed for the next day.—In the case of "Lucina *v.* Crawford," lord Eldon, lord Ellenborough, and the lord Chancellor, concurred in the opinion, that a *venire facias de novo* ought to issue, in order that the cause might be again tried in the Court of King's Bench. The further consideration of the cause was postponed till the next day.—On the 2d reading of the Slave Ship Restriction bill, Mr. Plumer and Mr. Scarlet were heard in behalf of the island of Jamaica, and also of certain merchants and planters, who had petitioned against the bill. They objected to it, on the ground of its being an attempt to abolish the slave-trade by a side wind. They also urged several objections against the clauses of the bill; and submitted that, if it was determined to pass the bill, it would be more expedient, that it should continue for one than for two years. Mr. Plumer expressed a wish, to be allowed to call evidence in support of the allegations of the petitions. This was objected to by lord Grenville and the bishop of St. Asaph, and supported by the earl of Westmoreland. It was over-ruled by the house. Counsel having finally withdrawn, lord Grenville moved the second reading of the bill, which was accordingly done.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, July 10.

[MINUTES.] Mr. Johnson, from the office of the chief secretary for Ireland, was called in, and at the bar presented to the house, pursuant to their order, An account of the different sums of money that have been expended, or that are to be expended, on the port of Dublin, by the directors of inland navigation; stating the authority under which the said directors expended the said money;—together with a statement of the plans and reports that have been made, pursuant to their directions, for the improvement of the same. Ordered to lie upon the table, and to be printed for the members of the house.—Ordered, that the account of the manner in which the sum of 500,000*l*., granted in the last session of the Irish parliament to the directors of inland navigation in Ireland, has been disposed of; commencing with the establishment of the board, 12th August, 1800, and ending 28th May, 1806; and also, copies of the agreements entered into by the directors of inland navigation in Ireland with the different canal companies, to whom they have granted any part of the sum of 500,000*l*. granted in the last session of the Irish parliament to the said directors, to be printed for the members of the house.—Mr. Robert Mitford, from the commissioners of customs in Scotland, was called in, and at the bar presented to the house, a Return to an Order of the house, dated 12th May, 1806, requiring "An account of all sums recovered in Scotland, either in the court of exchequer, or in the courts of justices of the peace, from any person or persons convicted in any of the said courts, of offences against the acts of parliament, or any of them, relative to the customs, excise, or stamp duties; as also, of the amount of all sums received by compounding with persons charged with such offences; together with the names and additions of the persons from whom such sums have been recovered, with the date of recovering the same; and also, An account shewing what part of these sums so recovered have been accounted for in the exchequer, as his majesty's share of fines, forfeitures, and penalties, with the dates at which they were so accounted for; also shewing what part of the sums so recovered have been accounted for to the informer in whose name the said prosecutions proceeded, and what part of the said sums was applied in defraying the charges or expences of such prosecutions; from the year ending 5th July, 1782, to the present time;" with a duplicate.—Mr. Robert Mitford also presented to the house, pursuant to their orders, "An account of the average prices, ascertained quarterly, for regulating the importation of corn, grain, meal, and flour, into Scotland, for eleven years, to the 15th of February, 1805, and thence to the 15th of August, 1805; distinguishing each district, and whether any, and what, species was importable from Ireland, the American colonies, and foreign parts, respectively, during each quarter of a year, and under what duties respectively; and also, An account of the average prices, ascertained monthly, for regulating the exportation of corn, grain, meal, and flour, from Scotland, for eleven years, to the 15th of February, 1805, and thence to the 15th of August, 1805; distinguishing each district, and whether any and what species was exportable to Ireland, the American colonies, and foreign parts, respectively, during each month, and under what drawbacks or bounties respectively; with duplicates thereof." Ordered, that the said return and accounts do lie upon the table, and be printed for the members of the house.—Sir C. M. Pole presented to the house, a bill to amend and extend the benefits of an act, made in the 35th year of his present majesty, to enable petty officers, seamen, and marines, serving in his majesty's navy, to allot part of their wages, or pay, for the maintenance of their wives and families; and the same was received, and read the first time, and ordered to be read a second time to-morrow.

[OUDE SUPPLEMENTARY CHARGE—RAJAH OF SASNEE, &c.] The following is a copy of the Oude Supplementary Charge against the marquis Wellesley presented by Mr. Paull on the 7th instant, see p. 938; at which page it was inadvertently omitted.

"Article of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanours committed by Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley, in his transactions with respect to the Rajahs and Zemindars in the Doab; and particularly in his transactions with respect to the Rajah Bugwunt Sing, Zemindar of Sasnee and Bidjeghur, and the Rajah Kakoor Addkeerin, Zemindar of Cutchoura.

"That Richard Colley marquis Wellesley was constituted, appointed, and actually became a servant of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1797, and in the reign of his majesty the 37th: That the office which he was appointed to fill was that of governor-general of Bengal, and subsequently that of captain-general of all the king's and company's forces serving in the British territories in the East Indies: That he arrived, and took possession of the government committed to his charge, in May 1798; and that he continued to fill, and to exercise the powers of the said office and offices until August 1805, when he was therein superseded by Charles marquis Cornwallis.—That in the countries which the said marquis Wellesley had unlawfully, perfidiously, and tyrannically extorted from the Nabob Vizier of Oude, dwelt several tributary chieftains called Rajahs, greatly respected by the sovereigns, and highly revered by the people of Hindustan, being descended from the ancient Hindu rajahs, or princes, who had resided in that country before the mussulman conquest; having from time immemorial possessed strong forts and populous towns independent of government, and maintained, with undiminished influence and power, numerous vassals and adherents, whose personal bravery and attachment to their lord were unimpaired, and, though owing allegiance to the nabob vizier of Oude, possessing princely rights, and honours, and estates, which had descended to them unquestioned through a long line of venerable ancestry, and which their sovereign could neither alienate nor destroy.—That, on taking possession of the countries which he had so iniquitously extorted from the said nabob vizier, the said marquis Wellesley did determine upon the humiliation of the said rajahs, the ruin of their families, the destruction of their forts, and the seizure of their towns; a measure unjust and unwise in itself, and dangerous to the tranquillity of the country; a measure which, even in the proudest days of mussulman despotism, had never been attempted.—That, for a series of years, it had been the custom of the country for the said rajahs, in the quality of Zemindars, to rent of the nabob vizier himself, or of his great Aumils, the lands surrounding their hereditary estates, which were again let by them to the Ryots, or husbandmen, by whom they were cultivated; the rent required of the cultivator being always, according to the liberality or avarice of the zemindar, proportionate to that at which the lands were held of the aumil, or of the nabob viziers.—That, in furtherance of his determination respecting the said rajahs, the said marquis Wellesley, (he having also determined, contrary to every principle of equity and humanity which should have actuated a British governor, to impose new and heavy burthens upon the already overburthened people of the said extorted countries,) did, by the means of his brother, the hon. Henry Wellesley, whom he had illegally appointed lieutenant-governor of the said countries, and other unlawful agents, require of the said rajahs and zemindars an enormous increase of the rents which they had theretofore paid; an exaction calculated to produce great discontent among the said rajahs and zemindars, and, by the oppression which it would infallibly drive them to exercise towards the husbandmen, to reduce those useful and unfortunate men to the extreme of poverty, wretchedness, and want.—That, taking advantage of the reluctance which the said rajahs and zemindars naturally felt to accede to the said oppressive and tyrannical requisitions, and making their reluctance a pretext for the execution of his long-meditated views respecting the said rajahs and zemindars, the said marquis Wellesley did declare all those who did not submit to the said requisitions, to be in a state of disaffection or rebellion to the government; a government which was notoriously an usurpation, and to which the said rajahs and zemindars had never acknowledged any allegiance, and to which they owed no obedience.—That, true to the character of an usurper and a despot, disdaining to conciliate acquiescence where he had the power to compel submission, the said marquis Wellesley did, to the disgrace of the British arms, call in British troops to enforce his said unlawful, unjust, severe, and arbitrary demands upon the said rajahs and zemindars.—That the greater part of the said rajahs and zemindars, some intimidated by threats, and others overawed by the presence of the military; some yielding to numerous bodies of troops which surrounded their fields, and prepared to assail their mansions, and others actually attacked, conquered, and subdued; some conscious of the hopelessness of resistance; and some terrified by the awful example of others; were finally compelled to submit, in the most humiliating and abject manner, to all the said unlawful, unjust, severe, and arbitrary demands of the said marquis Wellesley.—That those of the said rajahs and zemindars who had the hardihood to resist the oppression of the said marquis Wellesley, were treated as rebels and enemies, expelled from their homes and driven from their country, their towns being plundered or burnt, their fortresses demolished or held by their enemies, and their estates confiscated for the use of their conquerors.—That thus, in violation of all law and justice and humanity, and to the disgrace of the British name in India, were the said rajahs and zemindars, the descendants of the most ancient, the most princely, and the most venerable families in Hindustan, degraded, oppressed, ruined, or destroyed by the said marquis Wellesley and his illegal agents.—That, among those of the said rajahs and zemindars who had the misfortune to incur the displeasure and the vengeance of the said marquis Wellesley was the rajah Bugwunt Sing, zemindar of Sasnee and Bidjeghur, a Hindu prince residing in the extremity of the Doab, on the north-western frontier of Oude, the head of a powerful tribe, surrounded by a numerous and warlike body of vassals and adherents, whom the personal bravery and private worth of their chief had strongly attached to his fortunes; beloved by the whole country, on account of the equity and the liberality of his character; possessing an extensive district, several considerable towns, and two strong forts, from which he took his title; and able to bring 20,000 men to the field.—That the said rajah Bugwunt Sing had for a long time farmed the jumma (or land revenue) and the sayer (or duties) of the surrounding districts, under Almas Ali Khan, one of the great aumils of the nabob vizier, for regular terms of 3 years, conformably with the practice which prevailed throughout that part of the said nabob vizier's territories.—That the said marquis Wellesley, in pursuance of his before-mentioned unjust determination respecting the said rajahs and zemindars, and in pursuance of his before-mentioned unjust determination to increase the burthens of the people of the said extorted countries, did, by means of his before-mentioned unlawful agents, require of the said rajah Bugwunt Sing an enormous increase of the rents which he had before paid, did positively insist upon the separation of the jumma and the sayer, and did declare that he would grant no engagement to the said rajah, either for the jumma or the sayer, for more than one year.—That the said rajah Bugwunt Sing, naturally averse to a measure so injurious to his own interests, did, in the most respectful and conciliating manner, state his objections to the 2 last-mentioned conditions of the said proposals.—That the collector of the district, who was employed as the agent of communication between rajah Bugwunt Sing and the before-mentioned hon. H. Wellesley, whom his brother, the said marquis Wellesley, had illegally appointed lieutenant-governor of the said extorted countries, did at the same time write to the said hon. Henry Wellesley, telling him, that, "after the difficulty he had "experienced in endeavouring to carry his or"ders into execution (generally), that he did "not expect to be able to induce the zemin"dar of Sasnee and Bidjeghur to engage for "the sayer separately for one year, without "having recourse to very serious measures "against him; but that he hoped that he "would be induced to engage for it, were "the period extended to 3 years."—That the said hon. H. Wellesley, without making any attempt to gain the acquiescence of the said rajah, either by negociation, conciliation, or persuasion, without attending to the suggestions of the said collector for effecting an amicable settlement, and without any further correspondence or communication with the said rajah or the said collector, did immediately request the commander-in-chief of the army, who was then stationed in the said extorted countries, to send, without any delay, a sufficient force to punish the "contumacy" of the said rajah.—That the said commander-in-chief did accordingly dispatch a large body of troops under the command of a lieut.-colonel, which, on the 12th of Dec. 1802, took a position before the fort of Sasnee, where the said rajah then was, and made formidable preparations for attacking and reducing it: And thus commenced an unjust and cruel war against the said rajah.—That the attack was continued with various success until Jan. 7, 1803; when a detachment of the assailants, after setting fire to the town, and thus wantonly extending their vengeance to the quiet and harmless villagers, fell upon a party of the said rajah's troops, and slew great numbers of them; and thus began the lawless and barbarous slaughter of the said rajah's brave and faithful adherents.—That the warfare was thus carried on until Jan. 15, when an unsuccessful attempt was made to carry the fort by assault; and this failure having been attended with some loss, and having brought great discredit on the British arms, the commander-in-chief, on 31st Jan., appeared in person before Sasnee, at the head of a powerful reinforcement.—That more vigorous preparations were accordingly made, the most effectual means taken to prevent the escape of the said rajah, and the admission of succours; and, on 8th Feb., another attack was made upon the town, and another dreadful slaughter of the said rajah's brave and faithful followers ensued.—That, on the night of Feb. 12, the said rajah, discouraged by the loss of so many of his troops, alarmed by the magnitude and extent of the preparations which were making for his destruction, unable to oppose any further effectual resistance without exposing himself and his people to the risk of being wholly destroyed, and justly averse to falling into the hands of his avaricious, tyrannical, rapacious, and blood-thirsty enemies, taking advantage of the uncommon darkness of the night, and followed by many of his adherents, fled from the fort of Sasnee, and, thus banished from the country of his forefathers, took refuge in the country of the Mahrattas.—That others of his adherents, having attempted to take shelter in his fort of Bidjeghur, were, to a man, most barbarously cut to pieces by the British troops who surrounded it.—That, on 13th Feb., the said commander-in-chief, not satisfied with the devastation and carnage which had already been made, posted the army under his command before Bidjeghur, stationed them in such a manner as to prevent the garrison from escaping and from receiving any succours, and, after having summoned the Killedar, rajah Ram Chobbie, to deliver up the fort, upon the promise of sparing the lives of the garrison, and, after having refused to grant the said Killedar a few days to obtain the consent of his master, the said rajah Bugwunt Sing made preparations for storming the fort.—That, on the night of Feb. 27, the said Killedar, incapable of holding out against the attacks of the assailants, and unwilling to give up those who had been entrusted to his care to the merciless enemies of his chief, availing himself of the uncommon darkness of the night, and of a heavy rain, led the garrison out of the fort, and, after being attacked and having many of his followers killed, and great numbers taken prisoners, with much difficulty succeeded in making his escape with the rest.—That, the expulsion of the said rajah Bugwunt Sing and his adherents being accomplished, his forts were taken possession of by those who had accomplished it, and all his estates and property of every kind were confiscated for the use of the aforesaid usurped government.—That thus was the said rajah Bugwunt Sing, zemindar of Sasnee and Bidjeghur, a Hindu prince of great worth and courage, the descendant of one of the oldest and most respected families in Hindustan, solely from an unwillingness to consent to the oppressive and unjust demands of those who had extorted the territories, and usurped the government of his sovereign, treated as a rebel and an outlaw, attacked in his own mansions by a powerful military force, driven in exile, as a criminal and fugitive, from the countries where his forefathers had from time immemorial lived in greatness and splendour; his brave and faithful adherents driven from their families and their homes, dispersed among strangers and enemies, or most wantonly and most barbarously slaughtered; his towns laid waste, his forts seized, and all his possessions for ever wrested from him, and confiscated for the benefit of his avaricious, his unprincipled, and relentless destroyers.—That another of the unfortunate victims to the rapacity, cruelty, and tyranny of the said marquis Wellesley, and his unlawful agents, was the rajah Kakoor Addkeerin, zemindar of Cutchoura, a Hindu prince of venerable ancestry, of great bravery, of large possessions, the chief of a powerful and numerous body of vassals and adherents, and, for many years, a renter of very considerable districts in the Doab, under Almas Ali Khan, the great aumil of the nabob vizier of Oude.—That, conformably with the before-mentioned determination which the said marquis Wellesley had long formed respecting the humiliation of the rajahs and zemindars, and in pursuance of the before-mentioned determination which he had also formed of imposing new burthens upon the people of the extorted countries, an enormous increase of rent was imposed upon the said rajah, and very degrading concessions were exacted from him; which, after some respectful hesitation on his part, and some imperious menace on the part of the agents of the said marquis, were agreed to: the said rajah, intimidated by these threats, "having consented to acquiesce in any terms which might be proposed."—That an arrangement was accordingly made, and a settlement agreed to; and the said rajah was about to give up his guns and ammunition, and evacuate his fort of Cutchoura, conformably to the humiliating and oppressive terms which he had been compelled to accept, when, some misunderstanding taking place in consequence of the insolence and indignity which were offered to the said rajah, by the person who came to enforce the fulfilment of the said stipulations, and in consequence of a gross outrage committed on some of the said rajah's people by some of the Company's troopers, the soldiers of the said rajah, justly indignant at such conduct, were unwilling to give up the fort under such disgrace, and prepared to resist.—That the commander-in-chief, with the army under his command, fresh from the slaughter of the hundreds who had fallen by their hands at Sasnee and Bidjeghur, immediately took up a position before Cutchoura, a strong and well-garrisoned fort, where the said rajah and all his family were, and made preparations for an assault.—That the said rajah, anxious to soften the displeasure and avert the enmity of his assailants, and solicitous to prove his adherence to his agreements, and his submission to their will, on the 7th of March wrote the following respectful letter to the said commander-in-chief: "In consequence of a message received from Mr. Russell, I waited upon him at Mecitchy, and accompanied him thence to Aksooly, and accepted the terms of settlement which were proposed to me for the districts of Dihooliser and Cutchoura; and obtained leave to proceed to Cutchoura, for the purpose of sending out the guns and ammunition. I admitted the company of Sepoys, which came along with me into the fort, intending early in the morning to go to Mr. Russell with all the guns, &c. Mr. Russell came to the fort very early in the morning, and, in terms of anger and reproach, ordered me to evacuate and deliver up the fort, desiring me to go immediately, and take my people with me, and treated me with great disrespect. Perceiving this, my soldiers conceived it improper to quit the fort under such circumstances of disgrace, and prepared to resist. Just then the Sepoys went away. Soon afterwards the Dewan Sooka Loll and the Mulavi arrived from Aksooly, and having restored peace to my mind, they departed. A short time had elapsed, when 4 or 5 troopers galloped after 2 or 3 of my people, whom they wounded with their swords; and thus began hostilities. My people seeing no alternative, fired 2 or 3 matchlocks. My evil destiny has created this misunderstanding. I never meant to wage war, nor do I now. You are master and ruler of the country; if, out of your great bounty, you will cast a favourable eye on me, and allow me to reside in this place, it will be an act of mercy and great kindness. I am ready to pay the stipulated revenue, to be perfectly obedient, and never to shelter myself behind any excuse; and whatever you shall order respecting me, shall be fulfilled."—That to this letter, explaining so minutely and so faithfully the causes of the misunderstanding that had taken place, and testifying so fully the great regret which that circumstance had produced, expressing, in such mild and submissive terms, the willingness of the said rajah to do whatever might be required of him by those whose displeasure he so sincerely deprecated, and whose favour he so earnestly courted, and, from its unaffected and ingenuous simplicity, so well calculated to excite, not merely the clemency, but the compassion, and the good-will of the humane, the generous, and the just, the said commander-in-chief, on the same day, returned the following harsh, severe, and haughty answer: "After having so wantonly broken your faith in refusing to evacuate and deliver up the fort of Cutchoura, agreeably to the terms of your agreement with Mr. Russell, and treated the troops who went with you to receive possession of the place with harshness and contempt, turning them out of the fort, and thereby proclaiming war; the only terms which can now be granted are, that you shall deliver up the fort, the garrison, your children, and yourself, to the commander-in-chief, to be disposed of as he shall judge proper. No promise of future favour to you or your people is to be understood to be granted. If these terms are accepted, they must be fulfilled by sun-rise to-morrow morning, and the garrison are to leave their arms in the fort, and march out unarmed."—That these terms, so degrading, so insulting, and so barbarous, so unworthy of a British general to demand, and of a Hindu prince to receive, not being complied with, the said commander-in-chief, on the following day, proceeded to attack the said rajah's fort.—That the said rajah, having withstood these attacks for several days, and being at last convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, awed by the terrible example of the rajah Bugwunt Sing, seeing no safety but in flight, justly averse to the ignominious surrender of himself, his children, and his people, to his cruel, rapacious, and implacable enemies, and driven to despair by the unrelenting severity of his assailants, did, on the night of March 12, with his whole family and several thousands of his faithful followers, (as it is thus described in a letter from the said commander-in-chief to the said marquis Wellesley,) "rush out of the fort, with an "intention of forcing their way through the "chain of posts by which they were sur-"rounded; when they were immediately at-"tacked by the advanced parties, and pur-"sued for 4 miles with great slaughter: "Hunserage Sing, the second son of the ra-"jah, the rajah's Dewan, and 4 of his prin-"cipal commanders, being among the killed; "and the number of private men who fell "being very great."—That the family and followers of the said rajah being thus inhumanely massacred, and himself driven from his home and his country with the rest, his forts were taken possession of by the conquerors, and all his estates and property of every kind confiscated.—That thus was the said rajah Kakoor Addkeerin, zemindar of Cutchoura, a descendant of the ancient princes of Hindustan, after being insulted with the most humiliating and barbarous proposals, attacked by a powerful army in his own fortress, driven from the country where his ancestors had for many generations lived in princely grandeur, to wander as an outcast among strangers; his son, his dewan, his commanders, and great numbers of his vassals, most wantonly and most inhumanely massacred, and the rest dispersed or taken captive; his villages laid waste, his fields ravaged, his forts seized, and all his possessions for ever wrested from him, and confiscated for the use of his avaricious, his unprincipled, and his relentless destroyers.—That all these acts and proceedings, so disgraceful to the British name, so openly in violation of all law, so repugnant to justice, and so shocking to humanity, were committed towards persons over whom the said marquis Wellesley had no just or legal controul, from whom he had no right to exact allegiance, and who owed no obedience to his commands, but who were, in law and in fact, the subjects of the nabob vizier of Oude; the said marquis having most iniquitously extorted the countries in which these deeds were acted, from that unfortunate and despoiled prince, and exercising in it, in the name of the East-India Company, an unlawful, despotic, and usurped authority.—That, the said acts and proceedings having been committed either by the said marquis Wellesley himself, or by persons whom he had illegally appointed, and for whose conduct he was responsible, or by persons who acted under his orders, and for whose actions he was accountable; and the said marquis having been regularly and duly informed of the said acts and proceedings while they were in the course of commission, and not only having never discountenanced, prohibited, or censured them, but, on the contrary, having formally approved them, and publicly thanked those by whom they were committed; the said marquis is justly chargeable with all the said acts and proceedings.—That, in all and singular of the above recited acts and proceedings, the said Richard Colley marquis Wellesley has been wholly unmindful of the solemn engagements of duty to the East-India Company, to his sovereign, and to his country, by him entered into; has daringly contemned the parliament, the king and the laws, and dishonoured the British nation and name; and has therein been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanours."

[MILITIA OFFICERS' BILL.] Mr. Secretary *Windham* said, that the estimates, relating to the pay of Militia Officers, went to extend the same additional allowance to subalterns in the militia, as to those in the regulars. But it was not proposed to extend this allowance to the field-officers of the militia: the reason of which was, that, from the constitution of the militia service, they were necessarily men of considerable property, besides what arose from their pay. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill, to amend the acts of the 42d of the king, as far as related to the pay of militia officers.

Sir *W. Elford* expressed his astonishment, that so great a state-question, as whether the captains in the militia should be on a different footing from those of the regulars, should be brought forward at such a late period of the session, when most of the militia officers had retired from the house to their military avocations. It was a measure founded on this most unwarrantable principle, that, because men filling official situations had private property, they should therefore forego their official salary. But he had not heard that it was ever proposed, that the duke of Bedford, for instance, should relinquish his official salary as lord lieutenant of Ireland, because he possessed a large private fortune. Many of the field-officers of the militia were possessed of very moderate fortunes. He had belonged to that body for 20 years, and he had found his pay fully exhausted by his contribution to the mess, and by his house-rent alone when on service: an extension of the additional pay to those would, therefore, prove acceptable. Every private gentleman who entered the militia as an officer, gave up his time to the service, and was, in a great degree, incapacitated from attending to his private affairs. He therefore deprecated the measure as unconstitutional, and not founded on any analogy with what took place as to individuals in other official situations.

Colonel *Wood* observed, that field-officers in the militia must possess a certain degree of property in the country, and therefore there was not the same reason for making an addition to their pay, as for increasing that of field-officers in the regulars, who were in general very differently situated.

Mr. *Perceval* contended, that the principle of the measure went to shew, that officers of the militia should have no pay at all.—Leave was then given to bring in the bill, which was accordingly brought up by the secretary at war, who moved that it be read a first time.

Sir *W. Elford* protested against the principle of the bill, which would give a death-blow to the militia.

The *Secretary at War* said, that the notice which he had given was, that an increase of pay should be given only to officers of a particular rank, and in certain cases, as it was expressed in the bill. This was not exactly a measure for a general increase of pay, therefore the hon. baronet might as well complain that it was not extended to colonels.

Mr. *Perceval* said, that, from what he now understood the bill to be, it gave much greater powers to ministers than what were necessary for the object which they had in view. The law at present was, that the militia, as to pay, should be exactly on the same footing with the infantry in the regulars. But now it appeared that, in certain cases, an increase was to be allowed to the one and not to the other. But the particular object was to give the increase of pay to the militia subalterns, and to withhold it from the other officers. There was no such particular distinction, however, in the bill. Besides, the principle would certainly go this length, that no pay should be allowed to the superior militia officers at all, and the measure could not be defended on any other ground. This might be a good principle, but it certainly was one which deserved some consideration before it was established; and therefore to propose it at this late period of the session, was not very fitting.

Mr. *Windham* stated, that this would not affect the officers now serving in the militia, as they were not put upon a worse footing than when they entered, and this went only so far as to say, that they had no claim to a participation in the proposed increase.—But the learned gentleman objected to the principle. The principle, however, was not what he had stated it to be. It was not that the militia officers ought to have no pay at all, but upon the plain and obvious one, that different kinds of service ought to be differently rewarded. The pay, it was true, had been the same hitherto; but was that a reason why it should not be varied if there should appear good cause for it? A certain proportion had been established between the pay of officers of different ranks: but that, too, might be varied, if there was reason for it. As to the militia officers above a certain rank, they must have private fortunes: and could it be contended, that, because you gave an increase of pay to officers in the army, whose services must be acknowledged to be of a superior nature, who might have no private fortune, and might be obliged to depend solely on their pay for the establishment of their future lives, you ought, therefore, to allow the same increase to persons in circumstances altogether different? The thing was preposterous on the face of it. He then adverted to the additional expence which an allowance of additional pay to the superior militia officers, would occasion, and contended that this ought to be avoided, since there was no necessity for it.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that a badge of inferiority would thus be fixed upon the militia officers, much more hurtful to their feelings than the want of the pay, and they would consider this as a precursor of some future measure still further to degrade them. The right hon. secretary himself had recognised the principle of an equal pay, by giving it to the subalterns. The militia captains might be equally in want of the pay, because the qualification required was only 200*l.* a year. The saving altogether would not be more than 17,000*l.* But, suppose the increase of pay should be allowed to the captains, the savings then would be quite trifling. The sum for the increase of pay to the regular field-officers was only 16,000*l.* The militia were in numbers about one-third of the regulars, and the saving would only be the third of

16,000*l.* He called upon the noble lord opposite (Temple) to support the cause of the militia on the present occasion, as he had done at former periods.

Mr. *Alexander* stated the influence which their situation gave to militia colonels, who possessed advantages which could not be possessed by the regular colonels.

Lord *Castlereagh* observed, that if the hon. gent. had looked at the estimate, he would have found that the additional pay did not extend to the colonels in either case.

Lord *Temple* pressed his wish that his hon. friend would reconsider his measure. Upon the principle which he had stated, different parts of the army itself might have different claims. As to the colonels of militia, they had no claim whatever. The field-officers had not much; but as to the captains, he must really insist upon the pay being extended to them, because if officers could not be found with the proper qualifications, power had lately been given to accept of them without, and many had been therefore admitted without the qualification.

Lord *De Blaquiere* hoped that there could be no difference of opinion as to the necessity of extending the additional allowance to the captains of militia. But he thought the distinction extremely invidious, even as applied to the field-officers. He was surprised that this period of the session should be chosen for the introduction of such a measure, when the militia officers had left their duty in this house, to go and discharge more pressing duties, and he hoped, therefore, that it would be reconsidered.

Colonel *Craufurd* could not see why the measure should be objected to, except it was with a view to render his right hon. friend unpopular with the militia and volunteers; a purpose in which the hon. gent. on the other side had laboured with great perseverance, but he believed with little success. The cavalry were excluded from this increase of pay, and so were the guards, upon the principle that they could go on very well without any addition, while, in the cases where it was allowed, there was a necessity for it. It was to prevent meritorious officers from being put in prison, or being forced to quit the service, from the absolute inability of existing upon their pay. If there was no complaint on account of the cavalry and the guards, where was the ground for complaint in the case of the militia?

General *Tarleton* knew, from his own observation, that the militia were brought to a very high state of discipline, and this was owing to the officers. They were fit to combat with any regular troops against any enemy whatever; and when there was so much merit on the part of the officers, it was hard to make this invidious distinction.—The bill was then ordered to be read a second time the next day.—Sir C. Pole, pursuant to notice, moved for leave to bring in a bill to extend the advantages of the 35th of the king to the petty officers, seamen, and marines, in the navy, by enabling them to allot part of their wages to the support of their wives and families. Leave given. The bill was then brought up, read a first, and ordered to be read a second time the next day.—The nabob of Arcot's Debts bill was reported, and ordered to be read a third time the next day.

[VOLUNTEER OFFICERS' RANK BILL.] On the motion of Mr. Windham, the house resolved itself into a committee on the Volunteer Officers' Rank bill.

Mr. Alderman *Combe*, following up the principle, for which he had formerly contended, that rank should not be taken from those who already enjoyed it, moved that the words "shall have been" should be left out, for the purpose of inserting the words "shall hereafter be." The effect of this would be, that the provisions of the bill would extend only to those who might hereafter become colonels of volunteer corps.

Mr. *H. Addington* said, that he had no unpleasant feelings whatever at the idea of being commanded, in case of his corps being called out for service, by any regular field-officer. On the contrary, he was glad that he was relieved from the responsibility that might attach to him, in case it should have been his fortune to have commanded a field-officer of the regulars. This was the feeling of every volunteer colonel with whom he had conversed on the subject.

Mr. *S. Bourne* said, that it was a very different thing to consider whether this rank ought to have been given originally, and to take it away when given. This was not a new thing. It existed when the right hon. gentleman was secretary at war. The highest rank at present was lieutenant-colonel; but then there were full colonels of volunteers, with the rank of regular colonels in the army. But suppose there should be a regular major in a volunteer corps, it might turn out, that, in case of actual service, the major might command his own colonel. Old officers in the volunteers might, also, be commanded by inferior officers in the army.

Lord *Temple* explained, that there was no danger of a major commanding his own colonel, as his rank was like brevet rank in the army, and not in the particular regiment.

General *Tarleton* contended, that no evil whatever could result, from allowing the volunteer officers to retain their rank. The guards enjoyed a different rank from the other parts of the army; yet, though they had served in America, in Flanders, and in other places, no inconvenience had been felt—they had been brigaded by themselves. The militia, the volunteers, and the army, might go on in the same manner without jealousy. He would mix them all without any apprehension. He would have no apprehension that the volunteers would turn their backs, but they might be too rash. How was this to be corrected? By discipline. The country would have to regret the retarding of the discipline of the volunteers by the measures of the right hon. gent. If they had been permitted to have gone on, they would have been fit for any duty.

Sir *C. Price* said, that, in every step taken with regard to the volunteers, something was done to degrade them. He adverted to the manner in which the volunteers had at first come forward, and thought that they deserved to be complimented instead of being degraded.

Lord *De Blaquiere* approved of the bill, and thought that serious mischief would arise in the moment of service, unless its provisions were adopted. It would not then be proper that the volunteers should be commanded by those who had never seen service. An hon. general had talked of the guards, but they had commanded up to their rank in the army, and no inconvenience arose from this circumstance.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* could not imagine it to be seriously meant, that officers ranking as colonels of volunteers could take any offence at being, in case of actual service, obliged to act under the command of officers in the line of inferior rank. Field-officers of volunteers might be very respectable men, and very worthy characters, but then they were not military men in the technical sense of the word; and, of course, could not be competent to take a superior command of troops in actual service, over the heads of men, who had devoted their whole lives to the military profession, and were radically and experimentally instructed in the profession of arms. Would any gentleman, who happened to be on board a man of war, or who held an employment of high rank in the civil department of the navy, take offence because he was not thought competent to take the command of a ship or squadron, in preference to a sailor regularly bred to the profession? Would any gentleman of the highest academic attainments, and political experience, take offence at being thought incompetent to assume the post of a law officer of the crown? In a word, could any man, not bred to a particular profession, feel himself offended at being thought less competent to take a lead in that profession, than a man who had been regularly bred to it? And yet this was the kind of circumstance, at which, in every other case, it would be absurd and ridiculous to conceive offence, which was now termed an insult to the officers of volunteers, without considering that such an arrangement as that contended for, in case of actual danger, might be attended with the very worst consequences, even under the command of the most valiant field-officer of volunteers, that that branch of the service could possibly afford. Courage and zeal formed only one part of the qualification for command; experience and technical knowledge were, to the full, as necessary. The worthy alderman was ready to admit it was very right that the principle should be adopted with volunteer field-officers to be hereafter appointed; but that the alteration might not take place in respect to those already appointed. Why then, if it was right it should never be done hereafter, surely it would have been equally right if the thing had never been done. In admitting the former principle, gentlemen acknowledged the latter; and, therefore, it was better, even late, to correct an error, which was admitted to be one, before any mischief accrued from it. An hon. and learned gent. (Mr. Perceval) had assumed a good deal of merriment upon a former occasion, on the circumstance of his (Mr. Windham's) having procured himself a colonel's command of volunteers in a corps without any other officers; but this, like many other of that gentleman's merry or serious arguments, was founded in gross misconception. It was true, he had been appointed to the office of a volunteer colonel in some corps in his neighbourhood, but it was an appointment not of his choice or seeking; besides, he never knew that the corps alluded to, the Felbrig volunteers, had not the same proportion of subaltern officers, as other corps of the like description.

Mr. *Perceval* had only argued from the fact, as it appeared by the papers on the table; and if there was a mistake, it was owing to his friends in office. The corps, however, was as good a corps as one without officers could be expected to be. He believed it had not even a constable, but it appeared that at the time the right hon. gent. knew so little about his own corps, that it was not till now he was enabled to correct the mistake. But the right hon. gent. did not adopt his own principle to its full extent, otherwise it would apply to the militia. He ought rather to have recalled the commissions of the volunteer colonels. He was now reducing them to the very thing which he had described them to be. They were now really "the painted cherries." Nothing could lower the officers more, in the eyes of the country, than allowing them the title of colonels, without the effective rank.

Mr. *Long* said, that if the right hon. gent. favoured the volunteers, they were very ungrateful, for they did not give him credit for it. He asked, whether there were any regulations for doing away the allowances of pay and clothing, as it was understood to be the intention to suffer the volunteers to moulder away?

General *Tarleton* thought that if the volunteer officers had eagerly put themselves forward, there might be some ground for the measure; but a lieutenant Bayley, who had served at the Havannah with great applause, and who now commanded a corps of 4000 volunteers, had modestly stood aside when they were inspected. Of this corps, captain Gore, whose services in America would be well remembered, was the major; and yet these men were to be degraded.

Mr. *C. Wynne* admitted that these were officers of experience, but they were particular exceptions. It would be unpleasant in time of service for inexperienced volunteer officers to command regular field-officers, and this feeling had been expressed by the colonel of the light-horse volunteers, in whose favour an exception might be made, if in any case.

Mr. *Ryder* wished, that the right hon. gent. had condescended to answer his hon. friend's question as to the pay and clothing, as it might be necessary to have a clear understanding on this point, with a view to the subject which was to come on the next day.

Mr. *Windham* said, that there was no occasion for his answering what he had stated over and over again, especially as the question was asked with a view to the motion of the next day, the nature of which had not been communicated to him, nor to the house. This might be a stratagem of war against his majesty's ministers, but it was not very candid to the house.

Mr. *Long* considered it hard that he should suffer for the fault of another.

Mr. *Windham* said, that he certainly had no inclination to answer, merely on account of the motion for the next day; but he had before distinctly stated, that the pay and clothing was not to be allowed such volunteers as should enter in future.—The amendment was then negatived.

[INDIA BUDGET.] On the motion of lord Morpeth, it was ordered, that the several Accounts and Papers, which have been presented to the house in this session of parliament, relating to the Revenues of the East-India Company, be referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house. The house having accordingly resolved itself into the said committee, Mr. Hobhouse in the chair,

Lord *Morpeth* rose, in consequence of the notice he had given, to submit to the consideration of the house, a statement of the financial affairs of the East-India company, a subject at all times of high importance to this country, but never more so at any period than at the present moment. In all the wide-extended affairs of government, there was not one which more peculiarly called for the vigilant superintendance and scrutiny of parliament, than the system of finance, upon which so materially depended the permanent prosperity of any government; and, though the statement he should this day have the honour to submit to the committee, would not be of a nature so very flattering as had been made of late years, by some of his predecessors in the department he had the honour to fill; yet having devoted the short period, since he had filled his present situation, in endeavouring, with the utmost assiduity, to make himself acquainted with the real state of the company's affairs, both at home and in India, with respect to their debts, their revenues, and commerce, as well as the various charges upon their government and trade in all its departments, he should lay before the committee the most clear and candid statement he was enabled to make; leaving it for the committee to decide upon the tenour of that statement, and the motions he should have the honour of founding thereon. He felt it unnecessary to trespass longer upon the attention of the committee, and should now proceed to his proposed detail, referring to the documents on the table, in support of the several points of his statement. The noble lord then proceeded to a detail of the several items to which he alluded; of which items the following is a comprehensive and accurate view:

BENGAL.

	£.
REVENUES, No. 1.—Excluding the Revenues of the Ceded Provinces in Oude on account of their intermixture with the Arrears of Subsidy in some of the years, and the variation in the mode of statement in the last year, and, taking the Company's fixed ancient Revenues alone, the average in the three years in this statement amounts to	6,166,581
Which exceeds the average on the three years one year back	337,692
No. 3. Estimated for 1803-4	8,064,981
Actual Amount	8,060,993
Less than Estimate	3,988
CHARGES, No. 3.—Estimated for 1803-4	5,066,940
Actual Amount	5,434,291
More than Estimate	367,351
Add deficiency of Revenue to excess of Charge, the Net Revenue is less than estimated, by	371,339
And the Net Revenue for 1803-4 is	2,626.702

ESTIMATES for 1804-5.

	£.
REVENUES, No. 1	8,167,792
CHARGES, No. 2	5,956,208
Net Revenue	2,211,584
REVENUES estimated more than actual, 1803-4	106,799
CHARGES estimated more than ditto	521,917
Net Revenue, estimated for 1804-5, less than preceding year	415,118

MADRAS.

	£.
REVENUES—Excluding the Revenues of Arcot and of the Provinces ceded by the Nizam on account of the early years, being in part Subsidy and in part Revenue Collections, the average receipts on the years 1801-2 to 1803-4, as by No. 4, is	2,965,199
Being less than the average of the three years 1800-1 to 1802-3, in the sum of	49,102
REVENUES, No. 6.—Estimated for 1803-4	4,888,895
Actual amount	4,653,401
Less than Estimate	235,494
CHARGES, No. 6.—Estimated for 1803-4	5,018,157
Actual amount	6,136,845
More than Estimate	1,118,688
Add deficiency of Revenue to excess of Charge, the Net Charge is more than estimated, by	1.354,182
And the Net Charge for 1803-4 is	1.483,444

ESTIMATES, 1804-5.

	£.
REVENUES, No. 4.	4,659,326
CHARGES, No. 5.	5,420,029
Net Charge	760,703
REVENUES estimated more than actual of 1803-4	5,925
CHARGES estimated less than ditto	716,816
Net Charge estimated for 1804-5 less than preceding year	722,741

BOMBAY.

	£.
REVENUES, No. 7.—An adjustment of these Revenues, as of those of the other Presidencies, should have been made on account of the addition to the two last years, by Treaty and Conquest: As the amount is not specified, the average must be stated on the gross receipts on the years 1801-2 to 1803-4, it amounted to	408,062
Which exceeds the average 1800-1 to 1802-3, excluding a small receipt from the Ceded Countries	99,020
REVENUES, No. 9.—Estimated for 1803-4	518,575
Actual Amount	558,650
More than Estimate	40,075
CHARGES, No. 9.—Estimated for 1803-4	1,478,881
Actual Amount	1,642,978
More than Estimate	164,097
Deduct Excess of Revenue from Excess of Charge, the Net Charge is more than estimated, by	124,022
And the Net Charge of the year 1803-4 is	1,084,328

ESTIMATES, 1804-5.

	£.
REVENUES, No. 7	731,391
CHARGES, No. 8	1,873,933
Net Charge	1,142,542
Revenues estimated more than actual, 1803-4	172,741
Charges estimated more than ditto	230,955
Net Charge estimated for 1804-5, more than preceding year	58,214

BENCOOLEN and other SETTLEMENTS.

	£.
No. 10, A.—Revenues of Fort Marlbro' in the year 1802-3	13,985
Charges of ditto	122,132
Net Charge	108,147
SUPPLIES from BENGAL to FORT MARLBRO'. PENANG, &c. estimated for 1803-4	212,628
No. 18.—Actual Amount	304,056
More than estimated	91,428
No. 11.—Supplies estimated for 1804-5	287,680

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Year 1803-4 collectively.

REVENUES—Bengal by No.	3	8,060,993
Madras	6	4,653,401
Bombay	9	558,650
Total Revenues		13,273,044

		£
Charges—Bengal, by No. 3	5,434,291	
Madras, 6	6,136,845	
Bombay, 9	1,642,978	
Total Charges		13,214,114
Net Revenue of the three Presidencies		58,930
Deducted from Supplies to Bencoolen, &c. by No. 18 - - -		304,056
Leaves a Net Charge of		245,126
Add Interest, &c. paid on the Debts at Bengal, by No. 18	957,727	
Madras, 19	334,179	
Bombay, 20	*242,852	
Total Interest		1,534,758
The Total amounting to		1,779,884

is the Sum in which the Charges and Interest exceeded the Produce of the Territorial Revenues.

From which deduct the Amount of the Sales of Imports, by No. 15 -		655,481
The Remainder		1,124,403

Shews the Amount in which, in the year 1803-4, the Resources from Revenue and Sales of Imports were insufficient to defray the Charges, and the Interest on the Debts

Amount advanced for the purchase of Investments, Payment of Commercial Charges and in aid of China—		
At Bengal, by No. 18	1,380,855	
Madras, 19	706,771	
Bombay, 20	193,844	
Fort Marlbro' 22	39,014	
Total Advances for Investments		2,320,484
Cargoes consigned to Europe, in 1803-4, with Charges by No. 22 - -		1,674,645

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Estimates for the Year 1804-5, collectively.

Revenues—Bengal, by No. 1	8,167,792	
Madras, 4	4,659,326	
Bombay, 7	731,391	
Total Revenues ———		13,558,509
Charges—Bengal, by No. 2	5,956,208	
Madras, 5	5,420,029	
Bombay, 8	1,873,933	
Total Charges ———		13,250,170
Net Revenue of the three Presidencies		308,339
Deduct Supplies to Bencoolen, &c., by No. 11 - - - -		287,680
Remainder		20,659
Deducted from Interest on Debts, by No. 16 - - - -		†1,754,843
The Sum then remaining		1,734,184

is the Amount in which the Charges and Interest are estimated to exceed the Revenues.

Deduct Amount estimated to be received on the Sales of Imports, by No. 15 - - -		602,993
The Remainder		1,131,191

is the Amount in which the Charges of Government and Interest on the Debts are estimated to exceed the Resources expected to be derived from the territorial Revenues, and from the Sales of Imports, in the year 1804-5.

DEBTS IN INDIA.

		£.
Amount stated, to April 1803	21,881,571	
Deduct in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund -	2,012,348	
Net Amount of Debts, on the 30th April, 1803 -		19,869,223
Amount on 30th April, 1804, by No. 16. of present Account - - -	25,336,263	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above - - -	2,800,056	
Net Amount of Debts on 30th April, 1804 -		22,536,207
Increase - - -		2,666,984

Debts bearing Interest.

Amount in April 1803 -	18,712,933	
Deduct in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund - -	1,686,917	
Net Amount of Debts bearing Interest on 30th April, 1803 - - -		17,026,016
Amount on 30th April, 1804, by No. 16 - -	21,276,466	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above - - -	2,244,532	
Net Amount of Debts, bearing Interest on 30th April 1804 - - -		19,031,934
Increase of Debt bearing Interest - -		2,005,918
Amount of Interest payable on Debt owing in April 1803 - - -	1,574,011	
Deduct Interest on Securities in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund - - -	126,360	
Net Amount of Interest payable on Debt owing 30th April, 1803 - -		1,447,651
Amount payable on Debt, in April 1804, by No. 16 -	1,754,843	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above - - -	166,454	
Net Amount of Interest, payable on Debt, owing 30th April, 1804 -		1,588,389
Increase of Interest payable		140,738

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of Cash, Goods, Stores, &c. in April 1803	14,630,971	
Deduct Balance and Securities in hands of Commissioners of the Sinking Fund	2,012,348	
Net Amount of Assets on the 30th April, 1803 -		12,618,623

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* This Sum includes 140,436*l.* paid the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund for Interest on the Securities in their Hands.

† Includes 166,454*l.* payable to the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund.

		£.
Consisting as above, on 30th April 1804, by No. 21	17,252,399	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above	2,800,056	
Net Amount of Assets, on 30th April, 1804		14,452,343
Increase of Assets		1,833,720
Deducting Increase of Assets from Increase of Debts, the State of the Company's Affairs, in this view, is worse in April 1804, than in April 1803, in the Sum of		833,264

HOME ACCOUNTS.

No. 25—Aggregate Amount of Sales in 1804-5		8,044,392
Less than the Year preceding	380,876	
The Sales of the Company's Goods were less by	609,991	
The Sales of Private-Trade Goods were more by	229,115	
Making the Net difference, as above	380,876	
The Sales of the Company's Goods were estimated at		6,868,700
The actual Amount was		5,267,578
Being less than estimated		1,601,122
The Receipts on the Sales of the Company's Goods were estimated at		6,598,496
They actually amounted to		5,730,133
Being less than estimated		868,363
The Charges and Profit on Private Trade were estimated to amount to		150,000
The actual Amount was		90,536
Being less than estimated		59,464

GENERAL RESULT.

From the disappointment in the Produce of the Sales, with a large Payment in Bonds by the Purchasers, and from a greater Expenditure on Account of India and China than first intended, the Deficit would have appeared in the Cash Balance of this Year to a considerable Amount; but the Sum borrowed from Government, a Loan from the Bank, and an Issue of Company's Bonds, have so operated, that the Balance of Cash estimated to remain in favour of the Company on the 1st of March, 1805, to the Amount of	157,634
was found, by the actual Accounts of the Year to be	12,020
which was less than estimated, by the Sum of	145,614

HOME ACCOUNTS.

ESTIMATE, 1805—6.

No. 23—Sale of the Company's Goods estimated to amount to	6,301,414

GENERAL RESULT.

	£.
Notwithstanding the Receipts from the Sales are estimated much higher than the Actual of the last Year, and the Expectation is stated of a Payment by Government of a Million, the various Demands upon the Treasury are so great for Freight and Demorage, the Repayment to Government of 500,000*l.* borrowed in the last Year, and on other Accounts, that the Balance on the 1st March, 1806, is estimated to be against the Company in the Sum of	62,836

DEBTS AT HOME.

On the 1st March, 1804	4,788,865
No. 23, on the 1st March, 1805	6,012,196
Increase	1,223,331

ASSETS AT HOME.

On the 1st March, 1804	19,168,736
No. 23, on the 1st March, 1805	20,412,659
Increase	1,273,923
Deducting the Increase of Debt from the Increase of Assets, the Home Concern exhibits, in this view, an Improvement in the Year amounting to	50,592

CHINA and ST. HELENA.

Balance at China, on 31st January, 1803, against		260,000	
Balance at China, on 29th January, 1804, in favour, No. 24		182,390	
Increase at China		443,290	
Balance at St. Helena on 30th Sept. 1802, in favour	105,194		
Balance at St Helena on 30th Sept. 1803, in favour, No. 24	105,382		
Increase at St. Helena		188	
Total Increase at China and St. Helena			443,478

GENERAL COMPARISON of DEBTS and ASSETS.

Increase of Debts in India			2,666,984
Increase of Debts at Home			1,223,331
Total Increase of Debts			3,890,315
Increase of Assets in India		1,833,720	
Increase of Assets at Home		1,273,923	
		3,107,643	
Add—Net Increase of Balance at China and St. Helena		443,478	
Total Increase of Assets			3,551,121
Deducted from the Increase of Debt, will shew a Deterioration to have taken place on the whole Concern in this view, during the Years 1803-4 Abroad, and 1804-5 at Home, to the Amount of			339,194
Add—Amount received in India, and included in the Quick Stock there, dated April 30, 1804, which formed part of the Cargoes afloat Outwards, in the Assets at Home		583,299	
Goods in the Export Warehouses in India on the 30th April, 1804, arrived in England, and included in Assets at Home		43,619	
			626,918

	£.
The Amount of the Deterioration will then be - - -	966,112

The Assets at Home exhibited an Increase in Value during the Year, in the Sum of 442,192*l.* from the Insertion of the Amount of the Claims of the Company on the Public, it having been calculated before it was under the Consideration of Parliament. As this Branch of the Concern is under Examination, upon Principles recommended by a Committee of the House of Commons, which will lessen its Amount, a further considerable Adjustment will hereafter be requisite.

ABSTRACT of ADDITIONAL ACCOUNTS.—BUDGET, 1805.—General View of Estimates, 1805-6.

Revenues of Bengal	3,763,220		
Madras	4,774,296		
Bombay	742,017		
Total Revenues		14,279,533	
Charges of Bengal	7,415,370		
Madras	5,650,182		
Bombay	1,580,292		
Total Charges		14,645,844	
Net Charge of the three Presidencies			366,311
Add—Supplies to Bencoolen, Prince of Wales' Island, &c. - -			266,800
Total Surplus Charge			633,111
Add further—Interest on the Debts - -		1,823,040	
Interest payable to Commissioners of Sinking Fund, on Securities redeemed - -		195,788	
Total Interest			2,018,828
Total Excess of Charge beyond the Produce of the Revenues, as estimated for the Year 1805-6 - exclusive of Commercial Charges not added to the Invoices, amounting to 199,806*l.*			2,651,939

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount of Debt, 30th April, 1804, by No. 16 -	25,336,263	
Deduct in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund - -	2,800,056	
Net Amount of Debts on 30th April, 1804		22,536,207
Amount as to Bengal, January 1805, and Madras and Bombay, 30th April, 1805 - - -	28,197,499	
Deduct, Sinking Fund, as above - - -	3,151,065	
Net Amount of Debts in 1805 -		25,946,436
Increase		2,510,227

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

	£.	£.
Amount in April 1804, by No. 16 - - -	21,276,466	
Deduct, in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund - -	2,245,532	
Net Amount of Debts bearing Interest on 30th April, 1804 -		19,051,934
Amount on 30th April, 1805, generally - -	24,221,706	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above - - -	2,616,739	
Net Amount of Debts bearing Interest on 30th April, 1805 -		21,604,967
Increase		2,573,033
Amount of Interest payable on the Debt owing on 30th April, 1804, by No. 16 -	1,754,843	
Deduct Interest on Securities in the hands of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund - -	166,454	
Net Amount of Interest payable on Debt owing on 30th April, 1804		1,588,389
Amount payable on Debt in April 1805 - -	2,017,358	
Deduct Sinking Fund, as above - - -	195,788	
Net Amount of Interest payable on Debt owing on 30th April, 1805 - -		1,821,576
Increase of Interest payable		233,181

His lordship, on the whole, did not think he went too far, when he said, that, in his opinion, the deficiency or excess of charge could not be taken at less than 3 millions. The debts, bearing interest in India, he was aware, there might be danger of having called in, though the directors had the power of protracting the payment for some time. Should this be the case, some extraordinary means might be necessary to be resorted to; but of this there was no immediate appearance. It might be expected that he should be able to give some account of the measures proposed to be adopted for reducing the expenditure in India. It was well known, that government had lately been pretty much employed in devising measures of reform in the public expenditure, but it was deemed more expedient to wait till it was seen how far any schemes of the kind were practicable, before they should be gone into as to India. It would be the duty of the commissioners, for Indian affairs, to call the attention of parliament to this subject, at as early a period as possible. It was not his intention to trouble the committee on the subject of the treaties with Scindea or Holkar, nor did he think himself even call-d on to give any opinion on that subject. le knew it was the opinion of others, that hese treaties were honourable to the Brit-ish character, and calculated to preserve acific dispositions in India. On the whole, hough he admitted that the financial department in India did not wear the most cheerful aspect, and although he would be the last person in the world to raise sanguine hopes, which were not likely to be realised, still he thought it would be wrong to give any sanction to unmanly despondency. Our resources in the East were great, and, by proper management and economy, might still be brought to answer our highest expectations. He did not speak of that economy which would teach us to withhold a reward from merit, or to retrench in the becoming grandeur of the executive government—economy which only tended to defeat the objects which it had in view—but that economy, which would teach us to act on principles of moderation, justice, and equity. His lordship concluded by moving his first resolution, shewing the revenues of the provinces in Oude in 1803-4. On the question being put,

Mr. *Johnstone* expressed the high satisfaction which he felt at the fair and candid manner, in which the noble lord had made his statement. He heartily concurred with the noble lord in the importance of the subject, of which, notwithstanding the house had uniformly treated it with so much indifference, the attendance that night furnished an additional proof. He could not, however, help thinking that the noble lord was himself somewhat to blame, in having so long delayed bringing forward the subject, the papers necessary to make the statements having been in this country for nearly twelve months; and it having been promised, in the month of February last, that the attention of the house should be speedily called to them. In looking at the accounts, which were as full and distinct as could well be expected, he could not help remarking, that though the period to which they applied was a period of war, a great part of the increase was for civil charges. He thought, without withholding any due reward from meritorious services to the company, the expences in the civil establishment might be greatly reduced. He hoped, with the noble lord, that we should always observe moderation and good faith in our conduct with the neighbouring states; but what concern that could have in diminishing our expences, he could not conceive. The noble lord had guarded the house against any apprehension they might otherwise have entertained, that the splendour of the executive government in India should be diminished. What did this mean? He could understand such an observation, if applied to the monarchies of Europe; but he contended that all our acquirements, all our wealth, and all our character in India, were obtained, without the least idea of maintaining any of the splendour alluded to by the noble lord. He considered, and he believed that it was generally considered, that the conduct of sir George Barlow, in the conclusion of the treaties, and in the economical regulations, which he had instituted, was highly meritorious; and it surely would have been becoming in his majesty's ministers to have allowed him to carry into effect the arrangements which he had commenced. He detailed the circumstances attending the original appointment of sir G. Barlow to the governor-generalship of India, with his subsequent recall; and contended, that the act on which his majesty's ministers had proceeded, was intended to apply only to extreme cases, of which this was not one. For 22 years, it had never been deemed adviseable to exercise the prerogative which the act established. The first appointment of sir G. Barlow, on the part of his majesty's ministers, was a deliberate action. Refusing him whom the first minister of the crown (Mr. Fox) had formerly described as the man best calculated to be entrusted with the government of India, (Mr Francis,) they appointed sir G. Barlow. Notwithstanding that his measures even anticipated the hopes and expectations of his employers, he was, in twelve days afterwards, superseded without the shadow of a cause. He had heard it stated, that this removal took place because sir G. Barlow was a servant of the company. However he might feel the propriety of placing a man of rank and consequence at the head of the government in India, in preference to one who might be better acquainted with the details of business; yet he thought that this principle might be pushed too far. If ever there was a case in which it ought to have been departed from, it was that on which he was speaking. He had also been told, that sir G. Barlow was recalled, because he did not possess the personal confidence of ministers. Two noble lords, however, under whose administration the British interests in India had flourished, in the highest degree; he meant, lord Macartney, and lord Cornwallis; did not, he believed, enjoy much of the personal confidence of the administrations, which existed in England during the period of their government. Another whimsical reason for this recall, which, when he coupled it with some other extraordinary statements on different subjects, almost made him conclude, that the brain of the right hon. gent., who had used it, was full of paradoxes: Sir G. Barlow was a most zealous supporter of the government in India, which that right hon. gent. approved; but he thought fit to remove him, lest the court of directors, who disapproved of that government, might, on that account, hereafter dislike sir G. Barlow, although they had hitherto approved of all his acts. The statement of the accounts, by the noble lord, presented a gloomy picture: he hoped, that by care and attention, on the part of our government, it might yet assume a more lively aspect.

Lord *Henry Petty* replied to the observations of the hon. gent., who had not, he presumed to say, read the act of 1784 with attention, or he would have seen that the interpretation which he and others attempted to put upon it was unfounded. For, in the same clause in which the power of recalling a governor was vested in the directors, it was also vested in his majesty and council; but this seemed to have been overlooked by the hon. member, who condemned the exercise of a power which was necessary to maintain the pre-eminence of the present state. That hon. member would have a dependent state governed without being subject to controul, and yet his brain was unwilling to admit paradoxes. It was asserted by the hon. member, that this power of recall was quite new and extraordinary; and that it never had been exercised before, since 1784; but it seemed to be forgotten, that the same power had been before exercised by the directors. Yet it excited no complaint. But when his majesty ventured to use his undoubted prerogative, some gentlemen appeared to be anxious to raise a clamour against it, and, truly, because ministers thought proper to appoint a man of their own choice. But was any thing more natural than that the administration of the sovereign's government should choose a governor for any of the dependencies in whom they could confide? Were they not, by the statute of 1784, armed with that power? and did not their duty call upon them for the exercise of it? They were as responsible for the government of India, as for that of Ireland; and it would be as just to interfere with their appointment of a viceroy for the one as with that of a governor for the other. The governor, whose appointment had just taken place for India, would, he was persuaded, afford general satisfaction; and this persuasion rested upon the belief that that noble lord would carry out with him to India, those principles of moderation, economy, and a strict adherence to treaties, which the house had heard so distinctly laid down by his noble friend who opened the debate, and which formed the firmest basis of every good government. Under the administration of such principles, the noble lord, no doubt, however lamentable the deficiency at present might be; however much the hopes of the country, excited by the promises of the noble lord on the opposite bench (Castlereagh), had been disappointed; might still be able to restore the resources of India, and place its affairs on a regular, solid, and durable footing.

Lord *Castlereagh* maintained, that the tendency of the revenues of India was to augment in the manner and proportion which he had described to the house, and that his predictions were falsified by events upon which it was impossible for any man to calculate, namely, by wars which he had not in his contemplation when he made the statement, to which the noble lord on the treasury bench referred. The noble lord vindicated the grounds upon which the late war in India was commenced, the manner in which it was conducted by marquis Wellesley, and also the terms upon which it was concluded by sir G. Barlow. The removal of this deserving individual from the government of India, the noble lord condemned in the most unqualified terms. That sir G. Barlow's character was the subject of universal praise, was quite notorious, but he could adduce a testimony to his merits, of the very highest order; for he could state that it was the express wish of lord Cornwallis, before he went to India, that when he should have completed the object of his mission, sir G. Barlow should be appointed to succeed him in the government. What could be the object of ministers in discharging sir G. Barlow, so soon after his appointment, he felt it impossible, upon any rational ground, to estimate. As to the debt of the India company in India, his wish was, that it should travel home, and he was sure that their circumstances and credit here would be quite sufficient soon to discharge it.

Mr. *Francis*, after paying some compliments to the noble lord (Morpeth), for the fairness and perspicuity with which he had stated the result of the several accounts now before the house, addressed himself to the chairman, to the following effect:—That he had intended to confine himself to a few observations on the accounts, to which the noble lord had referred; but that, many extraneous topics having been introduced into the debate, particularly by the noble lord who spoke last (lord Castlereagh), he found himself obliged to take notice of some of those topics. A great deal has been said, without any direct relation to the India budget, on the impropriety of the revocation of sir G. Barlow. In the measure itself I have no concern, and, as I do not know the reasons on which it was adopted, I shall neither censure nor defend it. But I am sure that the arguments which I have heard this night against it, are not all conclusive. Nothing can be more clear and explicit than the power vested in his majesty by the act of 1793, to revoke any appointment of a governor-general made by the court of directors. The act was proposed and introduced by lord Melville. The power gives the right, and the exercise of the right is trusted to the discretion of the king's ministers. Undoubtedly, it is not to be exercised capriciously, or upon ordinary occasions. It is reserved for particular cases and circumstances, on the exigency of which the crown, by the advice of a responsible council, is to judge. Does the noble lord mean to contend that parliament has given a power, which it was intended should never be exercised? But against whom or what can it be resorted to at any time? The answer is, against an act of the court of directors. It can apply to nothing else. At the same time, I am ready to admit, that a wanton or interested application of the power, though according to law, would be just as abusive and criminal as an assumption of it against law. When you admit the trust, you must prove the abuse of it. The services of sir G. Barlow are extolled, and the confidence which the court of directors repose in his attachment to the true interests of the India company, is particularly insisted on. They consider him as a servant of their own in contradistinction to persons recommended by government. This is a new language, sir, considering the quarter it comes from. I have heard him spoken of in very different terms, by persons very high in the direction of the company's affairs; and even with expressions of indignation, at the uniform support he gave to every measure of lord Wellesley, without exception; and particularly for never attempting to check him in the exercise of independent authority, not warranted by law. Look at their own dispatches on this subject, published by themselves. Sir G. Barlow is not mentioned by name, but he is charged by direct implication. They say, "he is certainly guilty of a dereliction of his duty, and must inevitably incur the displeasure of the court of directors." In another dispatch, they say that, "by suffering measures not regularly and legally instituted, to be carried into execution, he became partner in the illegality." They say that the council (that is, sir G. Barlow) "had no right to abandon their part of the government." On the justice of these censures I offer no opinion. The court of directors were his judges, and they have pronounced upon his conduct. But it seems, the readiness with which he adopted the pacific system of lord Cornwallis, and the expedition with which he has concluded a pacification with Holkar and Scindia, is a great merit, and intitles him to be continued in the government.—Holkar, very lately, was considered as a mere robber, and to be treated accordingly. He is now reinstated in his former territories, and Scindia has obtained possession of the country of our ally the rajah of Gohud, and of the royal fortress of Gwalior; without any right that I know of, to either of them. He might perhaps have claimed Gwalior under sir Arthur Wellesley's treaty of December 1803. But, if his claim was good then, why was he kept out of the Fort till now? I would have preserved the peace with these people; but, having twice made the war, I should have thought it the best policy not to have brought the Mahrattas back into Indostan, much less to have given them such a strong hold as Gwalior, in the centre of that country. A concession of that kind gives you no security for the continuance of peace; especially if it was made hastily and without sufficient deliberation. I do not mean to say that the terms of these treaties may not be justified by necessity; that is, by the state of the finances of the Bengal government.—If so, it is to be lamented that sir G. Barlow's situation did not allow him time and means to measure his steps with less precipitation. The Mahratta chiefs have very good intelligence, and know as well as we do, whether our concessions to them are voluntary or not. As to confidence in our justice or good faith, it is in vain to talk of it. My noble friend, who is now appointed to the government of Bengal, will, I am sure, do every thing that can be done, consistently with prudence and safety, to satisfy the princes of India, and to establish the peace of that country on a solid foundation. I confide in his principles, and I think that every thing may be trusted to his sound discretion.—I come now, sir, to the accounts on the table, which properly belong to, and constitute the business of the day. The first thing to be observed, is that the statements from India come no lower than to the 30th of April, 1804; consequently leave us very much in the dark about the actual state of the finances there. We might, and ought to have had them to April 1805, at least. The Indian debt, as it stood above two years ago, was 25 millions sterling; and I think it may fairly be reckoned at 30 millions, more or less, at the present moment. The noble lord on the other side (lord Castlereagh) says he shall be happy to hear that this debt, or the greater part of it, is on its travels to England. In that hope, I believe, his lordship is very likely to be gratified. Above 17 millions and a half are payable in England, at the option of the holders of the securities.—How this demand, when it arrives, is to be received and provided for, is a question, which I am not able to resolve, and therefore I shall leave it to his lordship to settle it, as well as he can, with the court of directors. The company's situation offers no probability of their being able to meet such a demand, otherwise than by loans in England, or by extending their capital to an equal amount. Now, by an estimate of profit and loss on their sales here, for the year ending in March 1805, I see that their payments exceed their receipts by the sum of 418,540*l*. Here, then, is a deficiency to be made good, upon their actual domestic charges, and it be an annual deficiency. Enlarging their capital, without a proportionate extension of trade, is only running into a debt, which does not furnish the means even of paying its own interest. I have so often objected in vain to the form and construction of the account of their stock per computation, that I shall not trouble the house with any farther remarks on that subject. In my mind, they only deceive themselves, when they make out an apparent balance in their favour, by totally omitting their capital on one side, and by taking credit on the other for unproductive articles, which, I could easily shew, amount to some millions.—The evidence on the table, though it falls short by two years of the actual state of the company's affairs, is sufficient to shew whether I have been right or wrong in the opinions which I have maintained on this subject, for many years past. The last Indian injustice that can be done me now, would be to confound the prediction with the cause, and to charge me with the event, because I foretold it. On this night, my noble friend has stated the whole case fairly. He has told us the truth, and I have done nothing but tread in his steps, and follow his example.

Sir *Arthur Wellesley* rose and said—Before I proceed, sir, to consider the financial state of India, which is more properly the subject for discussion this night, I shall advert to the political subjects which have been referred to by other gentlemen. The hon. gent. opposite (Mr. Francis) has asked, what right Scindeah had to the fortress of Gwalior, and the territory of Gohud, which have been ceded to him by the late treaty concluded by sir G. Barlow? The hon. gent. must recollect that, subsequently to the treaty of peace concluded by Mr. Hastings with Mahdajee Scindeah (the predecessor of Dowlut Rao Scindeah), that chieftain attacked the Rajah of Gohud, and deprived him of all his territories. The family of Scindeah had remained in possession of those territories, and of the fortress of Gwalior, from that time, until the war which commenced in 1803; when the fort of Gwalior was taken, and the country of Gohud fell into the possession of one of the detachments under the orders of the commander-in-chief, lord Lake.—Under the 9th article of the treaty of peace which I was the instrument of concluding with Doulut Rao Scindeah, at the end of the year 1803, the territory of Gohud and the fortress of Gwalior, were to remain in the possession, and at the disposal of the British government. This will be obvious to any man who reads that article, or the conferences in the negociations of the treaty, which are published; and indeed the operation of the 9th article upon this territory was acknowledged by Scindeah's ministers. The governor-general, lord Wellesley, however, having adverted to the situation in which Scindeah was placed by the treaty of peace in relation to other powers in India, and particularly in relation to his rival Holkar, had deemed it proper to take into consideration the expediency of restoring to Scindeah the territory of Gohud and the fort of Gwalior. I was of opinion, that Gohud and Gwalior ought to be restored to that chief; and I believe that the instructions to the resident with Scindeah upon this subject have been laid before this house. The reason for which the cession was not made until the conclusion of the late treaty by sir G. Barlow, is referable to the state of Scindeah's councils from the middle of the year 1804, until a late period in 1805. The cession was a matter of favour from the British government to Scindeah, and was to be so considered. The committee will observe, that it is so considered by sir G. Barlow. But Scindeah's councils were so badly composed, and their conduct was so suspicious, from the period before mentioned, that no concession could be made to Scindeah, without incurring the risk of having it attributed to motives, which never ought to influence the conduct of the British government in India. For this reason the cession was not made by lord Wellesley. The hon. gent. seems to think the fortress of Gwalior important, as a defence of the company's territories in that quarter. The fortress of Gwalior would defend and cover nothing, excepting itself: the company's territories are not to be defended by fortresses, but by armies in the field. Fortresses are useful as points of support, and as magazines to these armies; and in this point of view Gwalior would be useful, if the object of the company was, or was likely to be, the invasion of Scindeah's territories in Malwah. But it is of no use with a view to the defence of the company's territories, unless garrisoned by a large body of troops, which body of troops would be more profitably employed in the field.—Upon the whole, the committee will observe, that I consider sir G. Barlow's treaty with Scindeah to have been consistent with the spirit of that which I was the instrument of concluding at the close of the year 1803; and that the late gov.-gen. lord Wellesley, intended to have carried into execution that part of its stipulation which refers to Gwalior and Gohud.—Upon a former night I explained to the house, that I did not consider it to be a treaty of peace, as, in point of fact, we had never been at war with Scindeah since 1803. It is a treaty to amend and explain some articles of the former treaty of peace; and I conceive, that every article of it deserves approbation.—In respect to the treaty with Holkar, I do not conceive that there can be any objection to it. The hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) has asked, whether sir G. Barlow was not obliged to conclude that treaty by the financial distresses of the government. Approving, generally, of the treaty, and not knowing the instructions from home under which sir G. Barlow acted, I do not conceive it necessary to look for the cause of his concluding that treaty, in any necessity arising from the state of the finances. The hon. gent. knows well, that when war has been carried on for 3 years in India, it is not very easy to procure money on loan; and I certainly do not mean to extenuate the financial difficulties and distresses which existed in the year 1805, as represented by the noble lord (Morpeth), and by the papers on the table. These difficulties certainly existed; but in possession of such a revenue as is enjoyed by the British government in India, at the present moment, and in command of such large resources, I do not conceive that any temporary embarrassment, or difficulties of a pecuniary nature, could exist to such a degree, as to induce sir G. Barlow to conclude a treaty of which he himself did not approve, and of which he should not think that his superiors in England would approve.—I have already said, that I was not disposed to dispute the financial statements made by the noble lord (Morpeth), as exhibited in the papers upon the table; but it must be recollected, that these statements refer to a period of most extensive warfare, which was carried on in all parts of India at the same time, and for which the preparations and exertions made were on a scale superior to any ever made upon any former occasion. There was not an officer in command of any detachment, who could prove, to the satisfaction of government, that any addition to the means already in his power would increase his capability of performing service, who did not immediately receive orders to make the increase which he required: and it will be found, that the service performed was proportionate to the expense incurred. With this recollection in our minds, it will not appear that a surplus charge, amounting, upon an average, to about two millions sterling, is very large for such a period, and for such exertions.—The subjects which require explanation in the state of the Finances of India, are—the Deficiency of the Revenues, in comparison with the Charges (including the Interest of the Debts)—and the great magnitude of the debts. My wish is, to shew, 1st, the real situation in which the Finances of India will be in time of peace; 2d, the real state of the Indian Debt in April 1805, (at the close of lord Wellesley's government,) and in April 1806; and, 3dly, to compare the debt with the assets, and shew in what manner it has been incurred.—It appears by the account No. 2, presented on the 3d of June, 1806, page 94, that the revenues of India, for the year 1805-6, were estimated at 14,279,533*l.*; the charges at 14,645,844*l.* the interest of the debt at 1,823,040*l.*; the commercial charges, not added to the invoices, at 199,806*l.*; the supplies to Prince of Wales's Island, Bencoolen, and St. Helena, 266,800*l.*; making a total of charge of 169,354,900*l.*; and leaving a deficiency to be provided for by loan, of 2,655,957*l.* It must be observed, however, of this estimate; 1st, that the revenues are not stated to be so high as they really are; and 2dly, that the charges are for a period of war, in which it must be acknowledged, that they would be higher than in a period of peace. If this be the fact, it cannot be supposed to be a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, that the charges of a great empire, such as the British empire in India undoubtedly is, should exceed the revenues and resources by 2,700,000*l.* sterling in one year, in a period of very extensive warfare. This will be observed more forcibly, if the financial state of Great Britain, or of any other country in Europe, is adverted to.—But the duration of war ought not to be calculated upon; intelligence of peace has already been received, and the finances in India must be viewed in reference to the state of affairs which must exist in consequence of the restoration of tranquillity.—In endeavouring to form an opinion of the financial state of India, in a period of peace, it is necessary to ascertain what will be the revenues in peace, and what the charges. In the year 1802-3, the company were in possession of all the territories which they possess at present, excepting the territories acquired by the treaties with the Guickwar, and by the treaties of Bassein, and of peace concluded with the Mahrattas, in Dec. 1803. The produce of that year will form the fairest datum from which an estimate may be formed of the probable future resource. An average of any number of years cannot be taken; because, in 1801, the provinces in Oude were not in the company's possession; because, in 1803-4, there existed a drought in all parts of India, which affected particularly the produce and revenues of the ceded provinces in Oude, and in some degree those of the provinces ceded by the Nizam on the Toombudra and Kistna rivers, and those in the Carnatic;—and because, in 1804-5, the revenues of the ceded provinces in Oude must have been affected by the incursion of Holkar's armies.—The amount of the revenues in 1802-3 will afford an estimate of what they will be in future in time of peace; although there is reason to believe, that they will considerably exceed that amount.—The Revenues in India in the year 1802-3, as appears by the accounts before parliament, were 13,464,537*l.* To this sum, in forming an estimate of the future probable resource of the government in India, must be added the new subsidies, and the revenues of the British territories gained by the company since the year 1802-3, of which I will read an estimate:

Estimate of the late Acquisitions in India, from Conquest and Subsidy, taking the Revenues at the lowest possible scale.

REVENUE.	Gross Revenue.	Net Revenue.	In Sonat Rupees.
IN THE DÓAB.			
Etawa - - - - -	13,91,818		
Furruckabad - - - - -	6,30,084		
Seharunpore - - - - -	3,42,351		
Ditto under Moradabad - - - -	2,99,015		
Ditto under the resident at Delhi - - -	5,50,273		
	35,13,541		
Deduct Tasseeldary, and other allowances, pensions, mofussil charges,—and balances irrecoverable, estimated altogether at 20 per cent. - - - - -	7,02,708	28,10,833	
Sumroo Begum's Jagheer - - - -		10,00,000	

WEST OF THE JUMNA.			
Agra, exclusive of the Pergunnahs, Dholepore, &c. at first reserved to Scindeah, and now ceded to the company	10,64,255		
Districts settled by the resident at Delhi	4,25,594		
Syer of Delhi, &c.	1,83,689		
Districts unsettled, suppose	4,25,000		
	20,98,538		
Deduct 20 per cent. as above	4,19,707		
		16,78,831	
In Hindustan rupees of sorts		54,89,664	52,70,076
CUTTACK	13,51,405		
Deduct 20 per cent. as above	2,70,281		
Arcot rupees		10,80,124	10,37,879
BROACH	10,00,000		
Deduct 20 per cent. as above	2,00000		
Estimated equal to Sonat rupees		8,00,000	8,00,000
Total of Revenue of rupees of sorts		73,70,788	
Ditto in Sonat rupees			71,07,955
Sicca rupees			66,81,478
Or, pounds sterling			835,184

SUBSIDIES.		Gross Revenue.	Net Revenue.	In Sonat Rupees.
FROM THE GUICKWAR.				
Free gift			2,00,300	
Subsidy			6,97,275	
Syer Revenue in the Attaweesy		60,000		
———— in Guzerat		66,000	1,26,009	
FROM THE PEISHWAH.				
Bundlecund Gross Revenue		15,72,974		
Deduct 20 per cent. as above	3,14,595			
Stipend to Shumsheer Bahadur	4,00,000	7,14,595		
In rupees of sorts		8,58,379		
In Sonat rupees			8,24,047	
Subsidy in the Attaveesy		6,50,300		
Ditto in Guzerat		1,72,300		
Syer Revenue in the Attaveesy		1,10,000		
Ditto Guzerat		8,000		
In rupees supposed equal to Sonats			9,40,000	17,64,047
ADDITIONAL SUBSIDY.				
From the Rajah of Travencore				3,48,000
Total Subsidies Sonat rupees				31,35,322
Or Sicca Rupees				29,47,203
Or, Pounds Sterling				368,400
Total Revenues Pounds Sterling				1,203,584

ABSTRACT.

ACQUISITIONS.	Sonat Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.	Pounds Sterling.	Total £. Sterl.
In Revenue	71,07,955	66,81,478	835,184	1,203 584
In Subsidies	31,35,322	29,47,293	368,400	

This will make the future revenue of British India amount to 14,668,119*l.*—In the commencement of the year 1802-3, a revision was made of all the establishments under the governments of India, with reference to a state of peace. It does not appear, however, that the establishments of European troops in particular, were reduced to a lower scale than that on which they ought to be left at all times, and on which they exist at present. Neither does it appear to be necessary to increase the number of European troops, beyond the number which were in India in the year 1802-3, in consequence of the additional territory acquired since that year. The native military establishments were fixed upon a scale, in the year 1802-3, calculated for the existence of peace in India; and the continuance of the war in Europe, under the circumstances in which the enemy stands in respect to his marine, does not appear to render necessary any addition to these establishments. The actual charges of the year 1802-3, were higher than the amount at which they were estimated and fixed, with a view to peace.—In Oct. 1802, Holkar gained the victory at Poonah over the troops of the Peishwah and Scindeah, in consequence of which the government of Fort St. George immediately thought it necessary to assemble the troops acting under that presidency, which afterwards marched to Poonah early in 1803.—The army at Bombay was likewise placed on the war establishment; part of it in the field; and both armies were considerably augmented.—My noble friend (lord Castlereagh) has calculated the extraordinary expenses, in the last six months of 1802-3, at 500,000*l.* above the charges of the peace establishment; and in forming an estimate of the future charges of India, in a period of peace, upon the actual charges of the year 1802-3, it is proper to strike off 500,000*l.* of that amount. With this sum subtracted from them, the actual charges of the year 1802-3, together with those rendered necessary on account of the treaties of peace and subsidy, and by the acquisitions gained since that period, may be deemed fair data on which an estimate may be formed of the probable future charges of British India in time of peace.

The actual Civil Charges in 1802-3 were - - - - - -	£4,599,372
The actual Military Charges were	6,360,614
From which subtract - - -	500,000
Remains - - - - - -	5,860,614
Supplies for Bencoolen, &c. - -	*196,848
Making a total of charge in 1802-3	£10,656,834

To this must be added the additional civil charges to be incurred in consequence of the late acquisitions, of which I shall also read an estimate.

Estimate of the Annual Increased Civil and Military Charges incurred in India since the Year 1802-3.

PENSIONS AND JAGHEERS.

	Rups. of Sorts.	Son. Rups.
Scindeah and his family	8,00,000	
Royal family at Delhi, including the expence of irregular corps	17,00,000	
Begum Sumroo - - -	10,00,000	
Total in Rupees of Sorts	34,00,000 or	32,64,000

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS.

Salary and establishments of seven judges and magistrates	3,92,000	
Ditto of six collectors	2,23,200	
Residency at Delhi -	1,44,000	
Civil charges at Bombay	40,800	
		8,00,000
Total of civil charges, &c. in St. Rs.	- - -	40,64,000
Ditto in Sicca Rupees - - - -		38,20,160
Total of Ditto in Pounds Sterling -	- - -	£477,520

MILITARY CHARGES.

In Bengal.

Two regiments of native cavalry, at 20,000 rupees per month	40,000	
Seven ditto of native infantry, at 30,000 each per month	210,000	
Horse artillery - -	2,000	
Extra cattle to the increase	10,000	
Off-reckonings -	17,000	
Wear and tear of two regiments of cavalry	5,000	
Military stores, contingencies, buildings, &c. not fixed in the amount	25,000	
Per month	3,09,000	
Per month	-	37,08,000

Fort St. George.

One regiment of native cavalry, including off-reckonings -	22,100	
Four regiments of native infantry, at 29,000 each.	116,000	
Off-reckonings -	6,400	
Military stores, and other charges -	15,000	
Wear and tear of horses for one regiment	2,500	
Per month	1,62,000	
Per ann.	- -	19,44,000

Bombay.

One regiment of infantry	29,000	
Off-reckonings, &c.	1,600	
Per month	30,600	
Per ann.	- -	3,67,200
Total increase of the military charges in Sonant Rupees -	- -	60,19,200
Ditto in Sicca Rupees -	- -	56,40,000
Ditto in Pounds Sterling - -		£ 705,000

ABSTRACT.

Sonant Rupees.	Sicca Rupees.	Pounds Sterl.	Total £. Sterl.
Civil Charges, Pensions, &c.			
40,64,000	38,20,160	477,520	1,182,520
Military Ditto.			
60,19,200	56,40,000	705,000	

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* These charges are greater by 19,662*l.* than those stated by lord Castlereagh, in his speech of the 19th of July, 1804; (see vol. 2. p. 1151.)

the increase of the military establishments required in India, and which I have now estimated beyond those of 1802-3, are two regiments of native cavalry, and seven regiments of native infantry, in Bengal; one regiment of native cavalry, and four regiments of native infantry on the establishment of fort St. George; and one regiment of native infantry on the establishment of Bombay.—In the general distribution of the armies in India, which was made subsequently to the treaties of peace, concluded at the end of the year 1803, it was settled, that the army of Bengal should supply the troops required for the subsidiary force to serve with Scindeah (being six battalions), and the subsidiary force to serve with the ranah of Gohud, (being three battalions), as well as troops for the company's territories under the presidency of Bengal, including the acquisitions in Bundlecund, those made from Scindeah in the Doab and in Hindustan, and the province of Cuttack.—By the same distribution the government of fort St. George was to supply, as it had formerly done, the troops to serve with the Nizam; and all those required for the southern parts of the Peninsula, including the garrisons and provinces on the coast of Malabar (with the exception of Goa), and one regiment of cavalry for the Peishwah;—and the government of Bombay was to supply six battalions for the subsidiary force to serve with the Peishwah, three battalions to serve with Guickwar, a garrison for Bombay, a garrison for Goa, and troops to occupy the territories ceded by the Peishwah and the Guickwar in Guzerat, and in the neighbourhood of Surat.—The establishments in the year 1802-3 having been formed on the lowest scale, compatible with the tranquillity and security, and with a view to external peace, it stands to reason, that they could not supply the additional troops required from them, without some additions. The establishment of Bengal required an addition of six battalions to serve with Scindeah, and three to serve with the ranah of Gohud.—The smallest number that could be required for the protection to be given to the cities of Delhi and Agra, to the person of the king, and to the territories in the Doab, in Hindustan, and in Cuttack, is two regiments of native cavalry, and five battalions of native infantry; which numbers complete the augmentation (viz. fourteen battalions) made to the Bengal army since 1802-3.—By the late arrangements made in India with Scindeah, it appears that the subsidiary troops for that chieftain, and for the ranah of Gohud, will not be required for those services; and if it had been intended to make a more favourable statement of the finances in India, than their situation warrants, it would have been possible to strike off from the estimate of increased military charges, (amounting, as I have already shewn, to upwards of 60 lacks of Rupees,) the expence of four regiments of native infantry, at least: but it is apprehended, that the service of a portion of these troops will be required in Bundlecund for some time; and, at all events, that the number of two regiments of native cavalry, and five battalions of native infantry, is scarcely sufficient to perform the additional services which will be required from the Bengal army, in consequence of the additions made to the territories under the Bengal government, by the treaties of peace concluded at the end of the year 1803.—In consequence of the distribution made in the year 1804, the duties of the provinces, on the coast of Malabar, which, in 1802-3, had been performed by the army of Bombay, fell to the lot of the army of Fort St. George. These duties had always required eight battalions; and, when, in consequence of the distribution which I have noticed, it had become necessary to remove the Bombay troops from those provinces to the northward, an augmentation of the army of the Fort St. George, to the amount of four regiments, became necessary. The regiment of cavalry to be supplied to the peishwah, also required that a regiment should be added to the establishment of Fort St. George. The duties which fell upon the Bombay army by the distribution of 1804, required for the subsidiary force with the peishwah six battalions, for the subsidiary force with the guickwar three battalions, and garrisons for Bombay, Goa, Broach, Surat, and troops to occupy the territories of Guzerat and in the neighbourhood of Surat, ceded by the peishwah, and the guickwar, and conquered from Scindeah; the detailed number for each of which services, it is not necessary to mention. It will be observed from this statement, that the additional services required from the armies of Fort St. George and Bombay, in the year 1804, and at the present moment, beyond those required in the year 1802-3, exclusive of the garrison for Goa, are one regiment of cavalry, and six battalions for the peishwah, three battalions for the gwickwar, and troops for the conquered and ceded territories in Guzerat. Accordingly, the addition made to the military establishments, the expences of which are included in the estimate of 60 lacks, are one regiment of cavalry and four regiments of native infantry for Fort St. George, and one regiment for Bombay; making, in the whole, ten battalions. No reductions of these establishments can, in my judgment, be made with safety. The total of charges, therefore, for a future peace establishment, including the charges of 1802-3, and adding the civil and military charges occasioned by treaties of subsidy, and by the consequences of the Mahratta war, will stand thus:

Charges of 1802-3 - -	£. 10,656,834
Additional civil charges, rendered necessary by treaties of subsidy, peace, &c. - - - -	477,520
Additional military charges - -	705,000
Total future charges - - -	11,839,054
The revenues, as before stated, will be	14,668,119
Leaving a surplus revenue of -	£. 2,828,765

From this sum must be deducted the interest of the debt, as stated in the account, No. 2, page 93, 1,823,040 l.; to which sum must be added the interest on the sum to be borrowed to supply the deficiency in the year 1805-6, viz. 2,655,957 l., being at ten per cent. 265,595 l.; making the total interest of the debt, in 1806, 2,088,635 l.; and the actual surplus, after providing for every demand, will be 740,130 l. In calculating this surplus, no credit is taken for any augmentation of revenue beyond 1802-3; although it is certain, that some branches, such as salt and opium, must be, and have been already augmented; the revenues of the provinces gained by the peace, will also produce more than they have been estimated at. The actual Debt in India, in April 1805, was, according to account, No. 1. p. 90, 28,197,498 l., including arrears of establishments, debts not bearing interest, and demands upon the company of every description. To this debt must be added the deficiency of resource, as stated in page 93, for the year 1805-6, being 2,655,957 l.; and the total gross debt, on the 30th of April, 1806, will be 30,873,455 l. From this sum ought to be subtracted 3,151,064 l., (being the amount in possession of the commissioners for the redemption of the debt, on the 30th of April, 1805,) and the balance will give 27,722,391 l., for the net debt of India, on the 30th of April, 1806; of which sum, the amount bearing interest, appears to be 24,250,824 l.—When this debt, however large, is compared with the assets in India, and with the value of the forts, houses, warehouses, &c. in India, (valued in No. 23, p. 78, at 9,994,208 l., all necessary for carrying on government, which have cost money, and would cost money to the company's successors, whoever they might be, supposing the transfer of the territory ever to take place,) and when to these sums are added the amount of the company's claims upon government for money expended in India, on account of the public, it may fairly be stated, that the actual value of the property of the East-India company in India, exceeds the amount of their debts.—I am aware of an error in this statement, as in this view of the debts and assets, the amount in the possession of the commissioners of the sinking fund ought to be subtracted from the amount of the quick stock, on the 30th of April, 1804. But there is an error also in the assets. The quick stock is estimated only to April 1804, and is stated, in p. 72, to amount to 17,252,399 l. But in the calculation of these assets, there is an omission of 12,48,600 pagodas in the cash at Fort St. George. It appears by the paper, No. 19, p. 63, that the balance remaining in the different departments at Fort St. George, on the 30th of April, 1804, was 57,19,605 pagodas; whereas credit is given in the account of the assets to the same period, for only 44,71,005 pagodas. The difference between these sums ought to be credited to the assets in April 1804, viz. 12,48,600, or 500,000 l.—The additional sum in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund, on the 30th April, 1805, ought likewise to be added to the assets calculated to that period. The sum stated, in p. 48, to be in the hands of the commissioners for the reduction of the debt on the 30th of April, 1804, is

	Ct. Rs. 2,80,00,563
On the 30th of April, 1805, it is - -	Ct. Rs. 3,15,10,648
Difference to be added to the assets calculated up to April 1805 - -	35,10,085

In estimating the assets to April 1806, it is proper to add to them the sum which will be in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund in April 1806, viz.

Interest upon the sum of 3,15,10648 current rupees, for one year, from April 1805, to April 1806, at 8 per cent., is about - -	25,00,000

To the assets then, as they stood in April 1804. viz.	£. 17,252,399
Must be added the sum at Madras omitted	500,000
The additional sum stated to be in the hands of the commissioners of the sinking fund, in April 1805	351,008
The interest upon 31,510,648, Rs. or £. 3,151,064, for one year to April 1806	250,000
And the total of the assets, in April 1806, will be	£. 18,353,407

This view of the Debt and assets of different descriptions, however, is taken only as a general one, and not by any means to be relied upon. Measures undoubtedly ought to be taken to reduce the amount of the debt; but if, from circumstances, those means should be impracticable, this general statement will serve to shew, that in case of the transfer of the territory, upon the conclusion of the charter, there is value in India to the amount of the debt. But it may be contended, that this statement is no justification of the amount of the debt, which, from 1793, when it was 7,362,190 *l.*, has increased to be, in April 1806, 27,722,391 *l.*; of which sum, 16,669,745 *l.* have been incurred since 1798, under the administration of the late gov.-gen. marquis Wellesley. In order to understand the mode in which this debt has been incurred, it is necessary to advert to the state of the company's affairs, in the year 1798.

The revenues at that time were	£. 8,059,880
The charges, including supplies to Bencoolen, &c.	765,654
The interest of the Debt was	603,926
Leaving a deficiency of resource or a surplus net charge, of	194,700
The Debt in 1798 was	11,032,645
The assets in India were	9,922,903

This state of the resources in India had been occasioned by a laudable desire to increase the investment as much as was possible, which will be seen by a review of what had passed between the years 1793 and 1798.

In April 1793, the revenues of India were	£. 8,294,399
The charges, including Bencoolen, &c. were	6,155,968
The interest of the Debt was	526,205
The Debt was	7,362,190
The assets were	8,834,538
The surplus revenue, after providing for all charges, exclusive of receipts for sales, &c. was	1,612,226

In the course of the five years between 1793 and 1798, the following events occurred to increase the charges in India: there was war in Europe; an expedition was fitted out against Mauritius; and another against Manilla; Pondicherry and Cochin were taken; and maritime expeditions were sent against Ceylon, Malacca, and the eastern islands. It was necessary to keep up large establishments in the conquests made; and salaries were paid to the civil and military servants of our enemies who became our prisoners. During the same period of time, the company's military establishments in India were new-modelled, and this occasioned an increase of expense. The civil and judicial establishments in Bengal were fixed on the just scale on which they exist at this day; which at that time occasioned an increase of annual expense to a very considerable amount. Accordingly it appears, that the actual charges of the civil and military establishments in 1798, exceeded the actual charges of the civil and military establishment in the year 1793, in the amount of 1,372,209 *l.*, and the supplies to Bencoolen, &c. of 1798, exceeded those of 1793 in the amount of 102,477 *l.* But the efficient cause of the state in which the finances were found, in the year 1798, was the continuance to send home investment at the high rate at which it had been fixed in the year 1793, notwithstanding that the charges of India had necessarily increased, and the revenues had decreased to the amount of 234,519 *l.* By reference to the accounts, it will be found, that in the five years between 1793 and 1798, the cost and charges of investments sent home to

Europe, was	£. 9,892,794
Supplies to China	339,444
Amount advanced in India to the king's and company's ships during the same period, was	551,952
Making a total disbursed on account of London, of	10,784,190
The amount of supplies received from Europe, in the same period, for bills drawn, stores, merchandize, export sales, and bullion, was	3,744,425
Leaving a balance of against London.	7,039,765

It appears, by what is above stated, that the charges in India, between 1793 and 1798, had increased considerably; but there was, upon the 5 years, a surplus of receipt of revenue, beyond the charges, amounting to 4,181,559*l.*; which, being deducted from the balance before stated against London, leaves the sum of 2,858,206*l.*, which must have been borrowed in India, at high interest, for the purchase of investment.—It will be found, that the debt incurred in the 5

years, from 1793 to 1798, was	£3,665,455
The increase of the assets in those 5 years was - - - - - - - -	1,088,365
Those in 1793 being - - - - - -	8,834,538
Those in 1798 being - - - - - -	9,922,903
And the actual increase of the debt, in comparison with the assets, was -	£2,557,090

In a minute which lord Wellesley recorded in June 1798, he reviewed the state of the Finances in India; and pointed out the real cause of the increase of Debt in the following words: "From that paper it appears, that, allowing for a supply in the course of the year 1798-9, to Fort St. George, of 75,00,000 sicca rupees, or 937,500*l.*, and to Bombay, of 25,00,000, or 312,500*l.*, the deficiency for which provision must be made, in order to meet the expected demands at the three presidencies respectively, will be, in Bengal, 1,28,68,360; Madras, 43,45,351; Bombay, 41,67,611. The total deficiency, therefore, at the three presidencies, together, will amount to sicca rupees, 2,13,81,321, or 2,672,655*l.* The immediate causes of the estimated deficiency, will appear obvious from the annexed accounts. By account No. 27, the sums appropriated, in India, to the purposes of investments and commercial charges, in the years 1796-7 and 1797-8, amounted to 4,96,15,165 current rupees; having been, in 1796-7, 2,30,70,125, and, in 1797-8, 2,65,45,040; and exceeding the amount of bills drawn upon the Court of Directors from India, within the same period, by the sum of 3,83,39,263 current rupees; the bills drawn on the Court of Directors having been, in 1796-7, 79,88,699, and, in 1797-8, 32,87,203; and by account No. 3, it appears, that the proposed investment, for 1798, from all our India possessions, including the supply promised to Canton, amounts to 2,40,88,000 current rupees.—But the accounts Nos. 4, 5, and 6, shew, that the total sum applicable to the purchase of investment from the revenues in India, and produce of sales of imports from Europe, was, in 1796-7, 81,43,858; in 1797-8, 96,41,550, and is estimated to be, in 1798-9, 78,20,133. This annual demand, for the purpose of investment, upon a scale so far exceeding the annual means of the three presidencies, is the principal cause of the present deficiency.—The comparative view which I have taken of our expences and receipts, in examining the causes of our actual distress, sufficiently proves, that many of those causes are of an absolute permanent nature, and that most of them must be expected to continue for a considerable time; that the investment, at once the most powerful cause of our temporary distress, the main spring of the industry and opulence of the people committed to our charge, and the active principle of the commercial interests of the Company, is more likely to be increased than to be diminished in any future year; and, consequently, that the embarrassments of our finances must be progressive, if some means be not devised for aiding the resources of this presidency, which must now be considered as the general treasury and bank of our Indian empire, furnishing supplies for the services of all our other possessions in India, as well as a large and increasing proportion of the capital employed in the trade to Europe and to China.—The mode of supplying this assistance, which I would recommend, has already been suggested by the accountant-general, and seems to unite several advantages with relation to the interests both of India and Great Britain: it is comprised in the following propositions.—That it be respectfully recommended to the hon. the Court of Directors, to take the earliest occasion of sending out supplies to India to the amount of 85 lacs of rupees, or 1,062,500*l.* in addition to their usual consignments, by an increase of their annual export of British manufactures and produce to Bengal and Bombay, to the full extent of the indents from Bengal and Bombay respectively; and by an annual supply of silver bullion to Bengal, to the amount of 50 lacs, or 625,000*l.* The supply of bullion to be provided in part, by a proportinate reduction in their usual consignment to China.—The increase of the export of British manufacture and produce to Bengal and Bombay will, probably, afford considerable relief to the finances of this government; as, by reference to the account of sales of imports from England, it appears, that the average profit upon the imports from England sold in Bengal, in 1796-7, has been above twenty per cent., and at Bombay thirty-five per cent., and that the demand is increasing. This measure would, at the same time, obviously become highly beneficial to the interests of Great Britain.—The export of silver to Bengal would be more advantageous to the Company than the payment of bills, at the present high rate of exchange; a rate which will probably continue for a considerable period of time. Such a stock of silver would be a relief both to public and private credit, and would invigorate all the financial operations of this government. From this resource, supplies might easily be furnished to Canton, through the medium of the trade in opium.—If the sale of British manufactures in Bengal, and at Bombay, should equal the general expectation, an additional supply of near a crose of rupees, 1,250,000*l*., would accrue to this presidency, from the combined result of the two proposed measures. This supply would be nearly equal to the probable amount of the permanent deficiency of our resources.—Nothing would be more just, than to appropriate a proportion of the profits arising from the sale amount of the investment in Europe, to the augmentation of the Funds necessary for the purchase of investment in India. Unless some such plan be adopted, or some other means devised of furnishing aid to the resources of Bengal from England, it is evident, that a reduction, in the amount of the Indian investment, will soon become inevitable; for it cannot be denied, that a very large proportion of the capital, which has passed into Europe, through the medium of Indian commerce, for these last two years, and is about to pass in the present year, has been, and must be, created by loans of money raised in India under every circumstance of disadvantage. The increase of the investment, therefore, during the period described, must be viewed as representing, not the surplus revenue, but the increased debt of India. The circulating capital of India, which is known to be very inconsiderable, in proportion to the productive and commercial powers of the country, cannot supply so large a drain for any long period of time, even in the event of peace; but if the war in Europe should continue, the difficulty of raising money for the public service, by loans to be negotiated in India, must become nearly insurmountable."—At that early period of time, the governor-general earnestly urged the company to provide for the provision of investment, by increasing the amount of the supplies sent from Europe. They were still continued, however, upon a scale much too low for the amount of the investment, notwithstanding the efforts which were undoubtedly made by the noble lord who, at that time, presided at the board of controul, and by my noble friend (lord Castlereagh), and by the Court of Directors, to send out larger sums.—By a reference to the papers before this house, it will be found, that the total amount of the sums laid out in investment, from April 1798, to April 1804, was - - - - - - - £9,619,348

Supplies to China	1,761,263
Of advances to the King's and to the Company's chartered ships, in the same period	448,931
Making a total advanced in India, up to 1804	11,829,542
In making up the account of the sums advanced in India, on account of the home concern, the following must be added:—Advances for Ceylon	1,182,472
Making a total advanced, for the home concern, up to April 1804	£13,012,014

The total actual amount of the supplies received in India by the sale of goods, in bullion and stores, and for bills drawn on the directors, in the same period, appears to be 9,864,086*l*. The balance is 3,147,725*l*. for which London is indebted to India. It may be said, that the Company had a right to expect aid from the territorial resources of India; that the revenues have increased since April 1798; and that the financial distresses which existed at that period, were very soon removed.—The events which have occurred since April 1798, must be recollected. The first of these, in point of time, was the war against Tippoo Sultaun; at the same time that a large army was put into the field on the frontiers of Oude, to oppose Zemaun Shah. The army of Fort St. George did not return to its quarters till the month of Dec. 1799; and, in the month of May 1800, the army of Fort St. George was assembled again, and put down the rebellion of Doondeah Waug. Before this service was completed, an expedition was fitted out against Egypt; and, in a very few months after the troops had returned from Egypt, the armies of Fort St. George and Bombay were assembled and increased, in consequence of the disturbance in the Mahratta empire.—Besides all this, the pay of the king's and company's troops, serving under Fort St. George, was increased; and the civil and judicial establishments, under that government, were placed on a more just scale than they had been before.—During these great and extensive military operations, a variety of others were necessarily carried on in different parts of the peninsula, each of which had a tendency to increase the military charges.—According to this statement, it appears, that a very considerable proportion of the debt in India had been incurred at different times, by the purchase of investment. If the account between the revenues of India and the Company had been kept in the form of a merchant's account, or in the manner in which the East-India Company keep their account against the public, the interest upon each sum borrowed for the commerce of the company, would have been carried to account against them from the moment at which such sum was borrowed.—In this view of the case, the interest, at 10 per cent., upon 2,858,206*l.*, being the amount laid out in India beyond supplies from England, and surplus revenue previous to 1798, would be, annually - - - - - - - - - - £285,820

And, for eight years, to 1806 - - -	2,126,560
The interest upon the sums borrowed, since 1798, each for their respective number of years, to 1806 - - - -	633,005
Making a total of - - - - - -	£2,759,565

It is evident that all these sums have been charges upon the revenues, and of course have contributed to swell the amount of the existing debt.—There is also in the amount of the debts incurred during lord Wellesley's government, as before stated, a sum of 1,200,000 *l.* on the revenues of the Carnatic, with interest; which debt was incurred in a former period, previously to lord Wellesley's arrival. The mode in which this debt was incurred is as follows:—The registered creditors, under the act of 1784, had a right to certain portions of the annual payments made to the company by the nabob, under the treaty concluded with that prince by sir A. Campbell.—In the year 1791, lord Cornwallis assumed the nabob's countries, and applied all the revenues to defray the civil and military charges of the company. The creditors applied for payment to the company, and the decision was not passed upon the subject till after the year 1798, when the principal which had been due in 1791, with interest calculated to that period, was added to the company's bonded debt of Fort St. George.—But there is another view which may be taken of the debt of 27,722,391 *l*, which is supposed to be due in India, on the 30th April, 1806; 16,669,745 *l.* of which have been incurred since the 30th of April, 1798.

The assets in India, in April, 1798, were	£.9,922,903
In April 1806, supposing them the same as in April 1804, they were	17,952,299
Increase of assets in that period is	7,229,493
Subtract the increase of assets from the amount of the increased Debt since 1798, and the remainder will be - - - -	9,440,252
Which is the net increase of Debt.	
Set-off against the net increase of Debt the sum of - -	3,147,725

being the sum applied to investment, to supplies to China, and to his majesty's and to the company's chartered ships, beyond the amount of the exports and supplies from Europe, and the result will be, that the debt incurred in India, on account of civil and military establishments and services of all descriptions, including the Egyptian expedition, is 6,292,527 *l.* in eight years, from April 1798, to April 1806.—This view is liable to the same exception as the former, on account of the errors in the accounts of the assets; but the error is not of very great magnitude. In this account of debt, supposed to have been incurred on account of political expenses, is included the amount of supplies to Bencoolen and St. Helena, which, in the six years from 1798 to 1804 only, amount to 1,096,736 *l.* Upon a review of the accounts which have been laid before parliament, at different times, it appears, that large sums have been expended in India, for services chargeable to his majesty's government; the Egyptian expedition was carried on at the expense of the company; and expenses have been incurred in India on account of expeditions against the Danish settlements, and of their capture; for all of which expenses, the company have a claim upon the public.—But as these expenses have been incurred in India, and have been a charge upon its revenues, the amount allowed for them, and paid, or to be paid to the company, ought fairly to be set off against the amount of the debt, as well as the sums advanced to his majesty's ships, and for the government of Ceylon already noticed. There are other sums also which now constitute a part of the debt in India, the value of which the company have received in England. The total charge of the Molucca islands, during the time they were in the possession of the British government, ought to be carried against the home concern in the analysis of the debt in India; as nearly the whole of the produce of the Moluccas was sent home, and sold for the benefit of the East-India Co.—After this view of the Debt, it is to be hoped that its amount, considering all the circumstances which have contributed to raise it, will not prove, that the company's affairs have been managed in an improvident manner; and that the public will see, in the general situation of the company's finances, ample means of reducing this debt to any amount that may be deemed advisable.—If the mode proposed of drawing a proportion of the debt to England be adopted, and the saving of interest, which will be the result of this operation, be added to the annual interest calculated to amount to 250,000 *l.*, upon the principal now in the hands of the commissioners for the redemption of the debt, this revenue alone will make an impression upon the debt, which must soon reduce it to the level to which every body wishes to see it reduced. Notwithstanding the large amount of the Debt, and the embarrassments occasioned in India, at different times, by the great demands for the various services which were in progress, the company's credit was improving from the moment of lord Wellesley's arrival in India, to the moment of his departure. On the first of June, 1798, the 12 per cent. paper in Bengal bore a discount of ¾ to ¼ per cent.; on the 29th of July, 1805, the 12 per cents. were all paid off, and the 10 per cent. paper bore a premium of 4 per cent. In June 1798, the 8 per cent. paper was at a discount of from 12½ to 13½ per cent.; in the beginning of 1805, the 8 per cent. were at par, and would have continued so, if it had been possible to send out specie from England at an early period in the season. In July 1805, they were at a discount of from 3¼ to 3¾ per cent.; in June 1798, the 6 per cent. paper was at 21 per cent. discount; in 1805, the 6 per cents. bore a discount of only 8¼ per cent. —This improving state of the credit is to be attributed to the public confidence gained by the regularity and publicity of all the financial operations of the government, by the measure of establishing funds at Fort St. George and in Bengal for the redemption of debt; and by the judicious measures adopted for the improvement of the revenue.—The amount in possession of the commissioners for the redemption of the Debt, on the 30th of April, 1805, as appears in p. 90 of the printed accounts, is 3,151,064 *l.*, which sum, at 8 per cent. interest, will give nearly 250,000 *l.* per annum for the reduction of the Debt.—The improvements effected in the revenue during lord Wellesley's government also deserve notice. Exclusive of the increase of revenue, by territorial acquisitions, and by subsidies, it appears, that every branch of the revenue of 1798, under the Bengal government, which, in the five preceding years had decreased to the amount of 234,519 *l.*, was improved, under lord Wellesley's government, as follows:

	1798	1803-4	Increase.
	S. Rupees.	*S. Rupees.*	*S. Rupees.*
Mint duties -	64540	68042	3502
Post Office -	140398	248127	147729
Stamp duties	92416	547137	454721
Licenses for sale of spirituous liquors -	47531	138209	90678
Fees and Fines	6606	96049	89443
Provincial police	427928	456217	29289
Land revenue	29825983	31805421	1979438
Salt -	10302783	15374223	5071440
Opium -	2084184	3989200	1905016
Customs -	1251469	3228865	2023396

Increase of the old revenues of Bengal during lord Wellesley's government -	Sicca Rs.10794652 £. Sterl. 1,349,331

The total increase of revenues during lord Wellesley's administration, in different parts of India, is 6,608,239 *l.*; the revenues having been, in 1798, 8,059,880 *l.*; and those estimated by me for the future, 14,668,119 *l.* The general commerce of the country is improved equally with the revenue. It appears, by the public documents before this house, that the commerce of India is now able to supply the China market so effectually, as nearly to preclude the necessity of sending bullion to China; and large sums in specie are now imported into India from that country.—After the view which I have taken of the general situation of the affairs of the East-India Co. in India, I hope that it will be found, that their debt, although large, and certainly pressing in a very great degree upon their prosperity, and upon the attention of those who have the management of their affairs, is not of a magnitude to create any danger; that it appears, that there are means of reducing it, at no very great distance of time, to a moderate amount, and that, under the auspices of the noble lord (Morpeth), by a just attention to the system of economy which he has recommended, and by reverting to the system and scale of establishments fixed in 1802-3, with such augmentations as the change of affairs has rendered necessary, and as I have already described, the revenues of that great empire will be found to afford ample means of restoring the finances.

Mr. *Whitshed Keene* said, he greatly preferred the situation of India at present, to what it was in 1798, and had such confidence in the benefit that would result from the territorial acquisitions made by marquis Wellesley, inasmuch as they had left no footing for Bonaparte, that he would invest all his property, had he ten times what he possessed, in India stock.

Mr. *C. Grant* had a statement in his hand which he had reason to believe to be correct; the only mode of ascertaining where the error lay, was by comparison; it was impossible then to enter into the detail; it might be done upon the report.

Mr. *Prinsep* rose, and declared, that he could not allow the committee to rise without first delivering his opinion, at great length, on the alarming aspect of the company's affairs, whom he declared to be in a state of absolute insolvency. Rather than again forego his privilege, of which he had been more than once deprived in the way now attempted, he would count the house. He was ready at that late hour to enter into this investigation, or to adjourn the debate.

Mr. *Hobhouse*, the chairman of the committee, stated that the hon. member might perhaps have an opportunity of the comparison previous to the bringing up of the report; it would then be equally competent to him to urge his objections as it was at the present moment.

Mr. *Paull* was confident, that, upon the resolutions being taken into further consideration, he would be able to disprove every part of the hon. general's statement.

Sir *A. Wellesley* declared, that he was extremely willing to shew his statement to the hon. director, or any other member who might be desirous of making a comparison with any statement of his own.

Mr. *G. Smith* denied that the company was in a state of insolvency, and observed, that such an assertion as that which the hon. alderman had made, required some further explanation.

Mr. *Prinsep* was proceeding to account for the opinion which he had advanced, when

Lord *Castlereagh* observed, that, from the hon. member's course of reasoning, it was evident that his explanation would occupy more time than was desirable at the then late hour. On the suggestion of lord Morpeth, the chairman reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again on Tuesday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, July 11.

[Training Bill.] Earl *Spencer* moved the order of the day for the house resolving itself into a committee on the Training bill. His lordship observed, that this bill was one to which he could scarcely anticipate any objection. It was founded on the exercise of his majesty's undoubted prerogative, a prerogative which had never been disputed, that of calling out all those who were able to bear arms for the defence of the country against an invading army. The only question that could arise was as to the means of exercising that prerogative. Under the present circumstances of the country, and looking as we must do to the enormously increased power of France, it was evident that it was absolutely necessary that a large efficient force should be kept up ready for the exigency of the moment. The object of the present bill was to train to the use of arms 200,000 men, who might, in case of necessity, come in aid of the other force of the country. It was not to be said that because we had already a large force, that therefore it was unnecessary to resort to other measures; it should be remembered that, on our vast extent of coast, it was impossible strictly to guard every point; it was therefore the more necessary that there should be an efficient force ready to bear down upon any point where their services might be most wanted. Provision was made in this bill, that it should interfere as little as possible with the varied pursuits of the people, or break in much upon their convenience; and, at the same time, an option was given to those who might not wish, for various reasons, to be trained with the persons on whom this bill would generally operate, or who could not go out to be trained without great injury to their business, to pay instead a pecuniary fine. It was also provided, that the number to be called out should be balloted for, which was thought, and justly in his opinion, the fairest mode of choosing the persons to be trained, thereby avoiding all partiality. He was convinced that, when the bill was thoroughly understood in the country, the voluntary zeal and ardour of the people would render it unnecessary to carry the compulsory provisions into execution. The bill might not be immediately operative, but he looked forward to the most beneficial permanent effects from such a system. It was not merely at the exigency of the moment that he looked to the bill for aid to the country, but he considered it as a means of inspiring a military character into a large mass of the population of the country, and thus, in the midst of our commerce and our wealth, giving us also military strength, and enabling us to enter, fully prepared, into any future war, with the means of sending out of the country a large disposable force. He concluded by moving, that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the bill.

Lord *Melville* said, it was not his wish to oppose any measure which his majesty's ministers considered necessary for the defence of the country, but he must beg leave to express his doubts as to the propriety or utility of the present bill. In considering this measure, he naturally looked to the present state of the military force of the country; and when he found that we had at present a volunteer force of from 3 to 400,000 men, in addition to the regular army and militia, he was induced to ask, where was the necessity of this measure? We had already a large force of a much superior description to any that this bill could give; a force which had arisen out of the voluntary spirit, the zeal and the ardour of the country; a force, in contemplating which, every man might sleep sound in his bed, and consider the country secure. Why then resort to compulsory means, when we had already a sufficient force, and when the country was already secure? To resort now to such a bill as the present, would tend to dishearten and discourage that voluntary force, to whom the country were so much indebted, by telling them that they were of little use; that, notwithstanding all their zeal and ardour, it was still necessary to resort to compulsory means to ensure the security of the country. He did not mean to insinuate that noble lords on the other side had any wish or intention to discourage the volunteers; but declarations had been made, which had gone forth to the country, and which certainly tended to damp the ardour and the spirit of those who had so loyally and so patriotically stepped forward in the hour of danger, to take up arms in defence of the country. How was such a force as the present to be properly disciplined? How was it to be officered? No means were pointed out by which such a force was to be rendered really efficient. A great expence would be incurred in carrying the provisions of the bill into execution; an expence for which he had not the least dobut that 400,000 volunteers might be provided, properly armed, accoutred, clothed, and officered; a force which, it was needless to say, would be of a much superior description to that which would arise out of the present bill. There was, besides, another objection to the present measure, arising out of a bill of a similar nature, brought forward at the commencement of the war; in which it was provided, that if a number of volunteers came forward, equal to six times the number of the militia, the compulsory provision of training should not be resorted to. Considerably more than that number of volunteers did come forward, and now, notwithstanding that, a new bill was brought in, to carry into execution a compulsory mode of training, and thus to substitute a force which was not known, nor ever had existed in the country, for one which had been already tried and found efficient. He was thoroughly convinced that nothing had tended in a greater degree to silence the boastings of the enemy, and shew him the futility of his schemes against this country, than that zeal and patriotism which had been so eminently evinced by the volunteers; and he appealed upon this subject to a noble lord (Moira) on the other side of the house, who, when commanding in Scotland, spoke in the highest terms of the quality and efficiency of that description of force. If, then, as he contended, the volunteers were an efficient force, where was the necessity of resorting to a measure for training a large portion of the population of the country to arms? The volunteers were, in fact, the trained population of the country, and trained in a manner greatly superior to the training which would be carried into effect under this bill. He agreed in the policy of training young men to arms, and making it a part of their education; but he thought it would be much better to give up the present bill, which could not, at any rate, be carried into effect for some time to come, and next session a bill might be brought in with provisions more adequate to the intended object.

The Earl of *Moira* said, the noble viscount agreed in the necessity of having a large efficient force under the present circumstances of the country; the only difference of opinion between them was as to the quality of that force. He had been appealed to by the noble viscount with respect to what was formerly uttered by him, as to the efficiency of the volunteer force of Scotland, and to that opinion he still adhered. At the time he commanded in Scotland, he not only undertook the defence of that country, but also of the northern parts of England; and had so high an opinion of the volunteer force, that he would have led them on with the utmost confidence against an invading enemy. It was in that confidence in the volunteers that he parted with the regular troops under his command, who were thereby rendered disposable for the service of the country in other quarters. This was not an overweening confidence, but a confidence founded upon an experience of the efficiency of the volunteer force, a confidence which he still maintained; nor would he hesitate to lead on such a force against any veteran army of France which could effect a landing here. The noble viscount had contended that our present force was sufficient for our defence: this argument might be good, if we could know at what point an enemy might attempt to effect a landing, or that he would only make the attempt at one point; but with our vast extent of coast, this was absolutely impossible, and therefore it became necessary to have a large efficient force in the country, ready for the exigency of the moment. He admitted, that the volunteers were of a much superior description of force to the force which could be procured under the present bill; but it was not intended, as the noble viscount had said, to substitute this force for the volunteers, but to bring it in aid of them. The noble viscount had talked of expressions which had been used, tending to discourage and dishearten the volunteers; but he disclaimed any such intention in any of his colleagues in office, and maintained that what had been alluded to had been invidiously represented. Our present force, it was said, was sufficient for the defence of the country; but were they to look only to the defence of our coast, without considering the modes adopted by the enemy, of attacking the resources of our commerce and our prosperity in other quarters? No: he looked forward to a period when, if the war continued, we might, by means of our volunteer force, and the force raised under this bill at home, be enabled to send every battalion of regular troops out of the country, to combat the enemy in those quarters where they were attacking our resources and our interests. Were an enemy them to land in this country, he would lead on a volunteer army against them with the utmost confidence. It would be wise policy, in such a situation, not to risk a battle without absolute necessity; but, in the mean time, the peasantry trained under this bill might be most advantageously employed in firing from behind hedges and banks upon the columns of the enemy; who, unable to send out detachments, and perpetually harassed by this mode of attack, would ultimately be overwhelmed and completely defeated. He could not conceive by what mode of calculation the noble viscount had discovered that 200,000 volunteers could be raised for the same expence as would be incurred under the present bill. How those 200,000 volunteers were to be raised, it was beyond his comprehension to discover. As to the objection, that there was no provision for officering the men trained under this bill, it was not intended to officer them until the exigency of the moment might require it, but merely to train them to the use of arms, that, in the case of emergency, they might be employed with effect against an enemy, and in aid of the volunteers. He considered the bill to be well calculated for the purposes which he had mentioned, and its provisions to be well adapted to secure the objects intended to be effected.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* contended, that the bill imposed a heavy burthen upon the country, without the probability of deriving from it any adequate advantage. There were, he believed, 15,000 parishes; and how were the men in these different parishes to be trained? how many serjeants and constables must there be? how many drums and fifes? what was to be done with the arms? were the serjeants to travel in post-chaises or balloons? There appeared to him to be no adequate provision for carrying the object of the bill into effect. The bill, besides, threw a slur upon the volunteers, by declaring that their services were inadequate. It had been said, that opinions given respecting the volunteers had been misrepresented; but was it meant to be stated, that all the newspapers, and all the short-hand writers, had been bribed to circulate a misrepresentation through the country? Were not other measures, not favourable to the volunteers, suggested by his majesty's servants, through the mouth of his majesty?

Lord *Grenville* spoke to order. The noble lord was, he conceived, irregular, in discussing opinions uttered in another place, and certainly in mentioning his majesty in the way he had just done.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* said, if the expression he had used was improper, he would say, measures that had been announced by his majesty through the mouths of his servants.

Lord *Grenville* again spoke to order, declaring it disorderly for any noble person to say, that his majesty spoke through the mouth of any member of parliament.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* apologised for having used the name of his majesty in any way that was conceived improper; but contended that, in discussing the opinions used in another place, he had only done what had been done before, in the course of the debate. His lordship resumed his arguments against the bill, which, he contended, was not calculated to produce any advantage to the country.

Lord *Sidmouth* defended the bill, which, he contended, was not near so rigorous in its provisions, as the bill of a similar description, brought forward when the noble lord (Westmoreland) and himself were in administration. The object of the bill was, to raise a force which might be rendered essentially useful, either by being incorporated with the regulars or the militia, or, in other modes, in the event of an attempt on the part of the enemy. It had been truly said, by a great and eminent character, that we might have, in this country, what an enemy could not bring with him—an armed people, whom no enemy could conquer. It was in this view that the bill was essentially important, as contributing materially to that great object. It had been insinuated by the noble viscount (Melville), that this measure was a breach of faith with the people, in as much as, by the last training bill, compulsory measures were not to be adopted, if the volunteers, to a certain extent, came forward. That bill, however, only authorised his majesty to suspend, in that event, the operation of the compulsory clauses; but did not, nor could, affect his majesty's prerogative to call out the people whenever necessary. The present measure was rendered necessary, in order to raise a force sufficient for the purposes for which it was wanted, and which would come in aid of the volunteers.

Lord *Eldon* declared, that no man more highly approved than he had done, and that none could, at this moment, be more firmly convinced than he was, of the propriety and merits of the military measures brought forward by the noble viscount who spoke last. The measures of the ministry who succeeded the noble viscount, at the head of whom was that great man whose loss was now so justly deplored, he was also convinced, were the best which could be resorted to, in the situation in which the country was placed. These measures had also been approved of by the noble viscount; and he (lord Eldon) was only afraid, the noble viscount was not entirely aware of the nature of the present measures, introduced by those with whom he now acted, who had so loudly decried the measures of the noble viscount, and of his successor, as being totally weak and inefficient. The opinions of the present government, as to the volunteer force of the country, it was not his wish to judge of from any representations which had taken place out of the house. He must therefore collect it from what he should hear their lordships say in their places that night. He must, however, declare, that, in his opinion, to them this country was not indebted, alone, for safety from a foreign foe; but that, from their being collected together at the period when they were first embodied, was owing the existence, at this moment, of the constitution. The present bill, or any other which could have any tendency to degrade them, or to render their services less beneficial, he could never approve of. He alluded to the promises of ministers, to bring forward a complete military system; not a piece here and a piece there; but contended that, in this, they had completely broken their word; and that, after an interval of some months, first one part of their system, and now, at the distance of another month, another part of their system, had been introduced.

Lord *Grenville*, after the able statements, in support of the measure, made by his noble friends near him, should not have thought it necessary to say a word on the subject, had it not been for the observations of the learned lord who spoke last. For the right hon. gent., now no more, to whom the noble and learned lord had alluded, no person could feel more strongly than he did. He had been his dearest friend; and when he had differed from him, it was with sincere regret; but, at the same time, he could not sacrifice to him his judgment, and every idea of propriety. With respect to the opinions of his majesty's ministers as to the volunteers, every individual member of administration in this house knew, that there was but one opinion among them. This opinion, he desired, might be collected, not from their words, but from their conduct. Had they not been among the first, not merely to countenance and encourage, but, themselves, to take a part in that service; and could it be supposed, that they wished to do any thing which should go to degrade and insult themselves and their comrades and companions in arms? For the government collectively too, he could declare that, so far from degrading, it was their wish to honour and protect the volunteers; to protect them more particularly against that foul insinuation which had been thrown out against them, that they had so little patriotism, as to be deterred, by misrepresentations and misconceptions, from performing their duty to their country. If, however, by saving the country, the noble and learned lord meant, that there was any dread that, but for their existence, our country was, at present, in danger, from its internal enemies, he could by no means follow him that length. He was convinced, if there were, among ourselves, any enemies to the constitution of this country, the occurrences of the three last years must have been more than sufficient to bring them back into the path of loyalty. His lordship then proceeded to shew, that the present was not a separate measure; but a part of the general military system, which the present government had resolved to adopt, and which the noble and learned lord could hardly have expected to see comprehended in one bill. First, they had got rid of one measure which was universally acknowledged to be burthensome and unjust in itself; which had been unproductive, and, at the same time, operated as a drawback on the ordinary recruiting. They then proceeded to introduce a limited endurance of service, with the double view of increasing the number, and of introducing into the army a new order, superior in zeal and energy, as superior in knowledge. The volunteer force still existed; and now the present bill was brought in for the purpose of forming a force in addition to it, by which, in time, the whole country should be instructed in the use of arms. He informed the noble earl (Westmoreland), that it was the intention of the present government to disperse 200,000 stand of arms among the people of the country; so far were they afraid of this, that they even intended to instruct them how to use them. Neither should they think it necessary to have them deposited in some castle or fortress; but should think, that in enabling every man to become habituated to the use of arms, and the people thus to become an armed people, while they in no wise endangered the peace of the country at home, they rendered it invulnerable against every foreign attack.

Lord *Hawkesbury* entered into an investigation of the different measures alluded to by the noble lord; and particularly of the great advantages of voluntary services, which, he was convinced, would be greatly affected by the present measure; a measure which, in his opinion, would be equally expensive, and by no means so efficient as the voluntary force. He should not, however, press the matter to a question.

The Earl of *Rosslyn* shewed, that the volunteer service could not at all be affected by the present measure; which was not a substitute for, but an addition to, the volunteer system. He took a view of the different immunities, such as exemption from ballot for the militia, army of reserve, &c., which had been formerly held out to them; and maintained that, instead of being degraded, as it had been termed by this bill, it also went to encourage the entering into the volunteer corps, by exempting all such from the provisions of the bill. He asked, too, if it could be contended, that the same number of volunteers would continue having nothing but the August establishment, while the contributions were discontinued? He adverted to what had fallen from the learned lord (Eldon) as to the volunteers being the saviours of the constitution; and trusted it could not even be insinuated, that such an idea was at all well founded, in the present state of the country.

Lord *Eldon*, in explanation, declared, that he had never either insinuated or dreamt of such a thing. He had simply alluded to the volunteers at the time of their formation; and had attributed to them, he was convinced, correctly, that this country had escaped those destructive and desolating principles, by which the liberties of the rest of Europe had been overturned. —The question was then put, the house went into a committee, and the bill was reported.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 11.

[Grenada and St. Vincent's Loan Bill.] A Bill was brought in, for vesting, in certain trustees, the sale of property belonging to the house of M'Dowall and Co. for the re-payment of advances made to them by government; which being read a first time,

Mr. *Baker* took a view of the whole of the transaction, observing that, in consequence of the calamities which occurred in the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent's, in 1800, an act of parliament was passed, to enable government to make certain advances to the merchants and planters of these islands, on sufficient security being given for the re-payment. Of this money, the sum of 240,000*l.* had been advanced to the gentlemen in question; and yearly applications since made to parliament, to extend the time of the re-payment. It seemed that this money, instead of being employed in the manner proposed, had been laid out for other purposes in Scotland; and he thought, that the outstanding of the debt to this time was highly criminal, in some quarter or other.

Mr. *M'Dowall* requested the permission of the house to explain, that ever since the year 1800, when this loan was made, he had used every possible exertion to repay this debt to government. He had ample funds, not only for paying that, but every other demand upon this firm; but, in all his efforts to dispose of the great property he possessed in Scotland, he was, for some reason or other, constantly thwarted and impeded by the first law officers of the crown in Scotland, under the late government. Even at this moment, he had a property of 180,000*l.* floating in Scotland, which, for the reasons already mentioned, he could not avail himself of. He was aware that his own honour and character required a full explanation of the whole of these transactions being made to the house and the country; and, however reluctant he might be, on some accounts, to make such a disclosure, he owed it to himself to afford it in a proper stage of the bill. The foundation of the present bill was, to permit him, by his own consent, to dispose, through the medium of trustees, of that property which would enable him to discharge the debts due to the public and the other creditors to his house.

The *Attorney-General* explained, that when he came into his present official situation, he found this large debt due to government; and, for the better and more speedy recovery of it, he wished to have the sale of the property vested in trustees; which was the whole object of this bill.

Mr. *R. Dundas* said, he did not mean to oppose the bill, or controvert the greater part of what was said by his hon. friend; but he thought it hard, that the late law officers of Scotland should be arraigned for their conduct, before the whole of the proceedings should be before the house.

Mr. *M'Dowall* said, what he had principally to request was, that the house would suspend its judgment till they should be in complete possession of the whole, from documents which he should, at any time, be prepared to lay before them.

Mr. *Johnstone* said that, notwithstanding this bill for vesting the sale in trustees, he hoped the present securities for the debt would not be released, on account of any difference of opinion between the late and present law officers of the crown in Scotland.

Mr. *Francis* said, he objected to the principle of these loans originally; and the present bill was a proof, that such advances of money to individuals were not within the proper functions of the government.—The bill was then read a first time.

[BILL SENT BY MISTAKE TO THE LORDS.] Mr. *Hobhouse* felt himself under the necessity of calling the attention of the house to a circumstance which might involve some blame to himself; but in which he trusted to the indulgence of the house. A bill (sir J. Gordon's Divorce Bill) had been taken from the table of the house, and carried up to the lords, which had not passed this house; the lords were unwilling to part with the bill, without a message from the house to recall it; a message, therefore, he was under the necessity of moving for. There were precedents of similar mistakes, and similar messages; but he could not call upon the house, without taking some blame to himself for an inadvertency which, he supposed, must have happened to him acting as chairman of the committee of ways and means. He moved, that a message be sent to the lords, desiring that their lordships would send back the said bill.

Mr. *Baker* was not surprised that such mistakes should occur, when the duty of the chairman of the committee of ways and means was performed by so many persons. He wished to know, who was the real chairman?

Mr. *Hobhouse* said, it was well known that the chairman (Mr. Alexander) was much absent, in making preparations for his departure for a foreign settlement. From friendship to that gentleman, he had generally performed his duty; and whenever he was not present, it was done by some other gentleman, for the convenience of the house. He was content to take the blame of the inadvertency upon himself, as having acted most frequently.—It was then ordered, that a message be sent to the lords, to desire them to return the bill.

[DEBTS OF THE NABOBS OF ARCOT.] Mr. Hobhouse moved the order of the day for the 3d reading of the Nabobs of Arcot's bill.

Mr. *Ryder* rose to move, by way of amendment, that the words "appointing the commissioners to report to the house the grounds of their decision on every claim that was brought before them," be erased. He contended, that this clause made the house a court of appeal, and would prevent the decisions of the commissioners from being final. Besides, they might, sometimes, find themselves obliged to decide in opposition to the evidence that was laid before them; and when this evidence was submitted to the house, it would not furnish them with the grounds of the commissioners' decision. He conceived the commissioners to be the ultimate resort in this case, since they were a sort of arbitrators between the East-India Co. and the creditors of the nabob.

Lord *H. Petty* stated the origin of the clause now objected to; which had been proposed as an addition to another which he had introduced, for the purpose of obliging commissioners to report their decisions to the house from time to time. However, he saw no material objection to the amendment now proposed; but he should wish to hear the opinions of his legal friends on the subject.

Mr. *Windham* supported the clause as it now stood; and observed, that it did not bind the house to investigate the grounds on which the commissioners decided in any instance; but merely went to enable parliament to review their proceedings whenever it might judge proper.

Mr. *Perceval* considered the motion to be liable to many objections. The commissioners stood exactly in the light of arbitrators between the creditors and the East-India Co., under a decree of parliament. That house might disagree with the judgment of the commissioners, whether the motives for their decision should be right or wrong. The claims for such a sum as 5 or 6 millions must be very numerous; and it would be extremely inconvenient for that house to examine the whole of the evidence in all the cases. It might, indeed, be right for them to make such a report as would shew, that they did not sleep upon their duty; but, by calling for the grounds of their decisions, he was afraid the house would make itself a party to them.

Mr. *Francis* said, that a bill which was to dispose of 5,600,000*l.*, so far from being a private one, was of the greatest public interest. For himself, he would take no part in it at all; as he did not think the parliament should be a party to any such agreements. He would oppose it *in toto;* and would not consent, that the house of commons should give its sanction to claims of which a highly respectable gent., late chairman of the Court of Directors (Mr. Grant), had declared, in his seat, three-fourths to be false demands; and, that it would be extraordinary, if even the other fourth should be established.

The *Attorney-General* said, the clause alluded to did not proceed from any distrust of the commissioners; but was thought to be one which must be desirable even to themselves. Though the parties were the creditors, and the East-India Co. the debtors; yet it was a public measure; for, if it was of a private nature, why come to parliament at all? He thought, also, that the different debts might be classed, and the grounds of the decision laid before the house, without repeating the whole of the evidence.

Mr. *Rose* thought, that if the commissioners were, as he believed them to be, fit and competent persons to enquire, the decision must be safer in their hands, than in those of that assembly. He disapproved of the whole of the clause, as the house could not possibly examine, itself, and decide upon all of the cases; and should not, therefore, give its sanction to the validity of any of the debts.

Mr. *Sheridan* said, that every word he had heard, convinced him that this was an unfit commission. It was, in reality, the public money by which the debts were to be liquidated; for how was the public to be paid by the East-India Co., if their revenues were swallowed up by the payment of these debts? Who were the fit persons for deciding on these debts? Were they not commissioners so constituted, as that their decision should be final? Was it not monstrous, that commissioners should be appointed, whose decisions should be subject to appeal? This house was the most unfit place for reviewing them; and why not, at once, appoint parliamentary commissioners, whose decisions should be final? What was known already, with regard to India debts, in 1784, justified him in making a supposition, that some collusion might take place between the creditors and the company; by which the public might be defrauded.

Lord *Castlereagh* was, also, for leaving the whole in the hands of the commissioners. The house should not give any additional validity to the claims, nor make itself a court of appeal. If it did, the consequence would be, to have the table of the house covered with a mass of useless papers.

Mr. *Sheridan* again observed, that if the house directed the commissioners to report the grounds on which they decided, it must be either for the purpose of revising them, or to gratify an idle curiosity.

Mr. *Grant* said, there could be no uncertainty in the business of the commissioners; who were all men of high character and honour, and were bound to decide upon oath. This agreement was not of a novel nature, as it was conformable to the practice observed in the whole of the East-India government.—After a few more observations, Mr. Ryder consented to withdraw his amendment.

Mr. *Johnstone* moved, as an amendment, that none of the commissioners, hereafter to be appointed for investigating these claims, should be members of that house; but, that this exemption should not extend to those who had been already appointed; which, after some observations, was withdrawn, and the bill read a third time and passed.

[Treasurership of the Navy.] Mr. *Whitbread* rose, pursuant to the notice which he had given on a former occasion, not with a view, in the present state of the house, and at this late period of the session, to move for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the treasurership of the navy; but for the purpose of moving, that, early in the next session, the house should take into consideration the act of the 25th of the king, intitled, "An Act for the better regulation of the office of Treasurer of the Navy." Every member who now heard him, he apprehended, had read, with attention, the report made by the committee appointed to examine the journals of the house of lords, relative to the late impeachment; and, if they had read it, he trusted that they had taken it into their most serious consideration; as, according to what appeared in those journals, eleven of the judges of England had given it as their opinion, that the law gave no hold to the public on its officers; that, without violation of the law, such officers might make use of the public money for their own private purposes, if they pleased; and, on proof being had of such application, that the officers were not punishable by information or indictment. If that opinion was called for, and if the majority of the peers, upon the opinions of the judges delivered to the above effect, had pronounced the acquittal in the late impeachment, then it was high time that this should be declared to be law, if it was law; or, that, if it was not law, it should be declared that it should become so in future. He regretted that, at this late period of the session, he could not propose, with propriety, to bring in a bill on that subject; but he hoped, that early next session this would be done. As to the act of the 25th of the king, it did now appear, from the opinions of the eleven judges, that the public had, from the moment it was passed, up to the present time, been under a most gross delusion, with respect to its provisions; and that large sums of public money, (as had lately happened, to the extent of 150,000*l.*,) might be drawn from the bank, and deposited in any place whatever, by the treasurer: and that not only he, but one deputed by him, might thus dispose of money, and lodge it in any place, even beyond the controul of the treasurer. He found not only that the assigned balances might be disposed of in this manner; but, also, when another object was in view, and when it appeared that the motive of the treasurer of the navy, or his deputy, was to make use of the public money for their own profit and advantage, we still found, from these decisions, that such practices were not cognizable by law, and that the parties were punishable on information or indictment. He wished that he could, even in this session, have brought forward a bill for the regulation of the office of treasurer of the navy, and the greater security of the public. As that, however, could not conveniently be done, he trusted, that early next session his right hon. friend near him (Mr. Sheridan) would introduce such a bill; or, if he did not, he himself would do it; and he sincerely hoped, that his right hon. friend would succeed better in a measure for the regulation of his own office, than his noble predecessor had done. The great difficulty he should feel, he protested, would be, to find words more strong than those which had been employed in the act of the 25th. He hoped, however, that his right hon. friend would make the words so strong and clear, the sense so conspicuous and defined, and the enactment so plain and obvious, that it would be impossible that the provisions of his bill could be misconceived, or mistaken. He concluded by moving, "that this house will, early in the next session, take into consideration the act of the 25th Geo. III. ch. 31, relative to the regulation of the office of treasurer of the navy." On the suggestion of the speaker, he also moved, that the reprot of the committee appointed to inspect the lords' journals should be entered as read.

Mr. *Leicester* rose, not with any intention to object to the motion of the hon. gent.; but, because some things which he said appeared to him so extraordinary that he could not pass them over without observation. He seemed to have supposed, that the learned judges had determined, that embezzling the public money was no offence cognizable by law. The judges had determined no such thing.—[Here Mr. Whitbread, by permission of the house, rose, and read the following extract from the journals of the lords: "Whether it was lawful for the treasurer of the navy, before the passing of the act of 25 Geo. III. c. 31, (and more especially when, by warrant from his majesty, his salary, as such treasurer, as aforesaid, was augmented, in full satisfaction for all wages, fees, and other profits and emoluments,) to apply any sum of money impressed to him for navy services, to any other use whatsoever, public or private, without express authority for so doing; and whether such application, by such treasurer, would have been a misdemeanour, or punishable by information or indictment?" The lord chief justice of the court of common pleas delivered the unanimous opinion of the judges upon the said question: "That it was not lawful for the treasurer of the navy, before the 25 Geo. III. c. 31, although after the warrant stated in the question, to apply any sum of money impressed to him for navy services, to other uses, public or private, without express authority for so doing, so as to constitute a misdemeanour punishable by information or indictment;" and gave his reasons.] Mr. Leicester, in continuation, observed, that he was perfectly aware of that; but then that was no embezzlement. The opinion only went so far as to say, that a temporary use of the public money, by individuals in office, was not an offence cognizable by law; and every one knew, who was at all acquainted with the course of business for these last thirty years, that this had never been considered as a public offence. Where was the difference between the case of the late lord Holland and such individuals? The hon. gent. had said, that the judges had given it as their opinion, that money might, by law, be drawn from the bank, and deposited elsewhere, for private purposes. They had said no such thing; they had only said, that it was not illegal to draw money from the bank *bonâ fide* for naval service. Whether afterwards the trust should be abused, was a quite different thing, and one which they considered themselves as having nothing to do with. The gentlemen on the other side, therefore, seemed to have misconceived them, and to blend the liberty of taking out the money, with the emoluments made by Trotter.

Mr. *Whitbread* hoped, that he should be indulged with the liberty of saying a few words in reply. He had never mentioned the word "embezzlement" at all. The learned gentleman meant, he supposed, by embezzling, the making use of the public money, and not bringing it forward at the making up of the accounts. He did not say any thing about that; nor had he any such thing in contemplation. What he meant was, the applying of the public money to private purposes for a time; and this, he and his friends had contended, was an offence punishable at common law. As to the construction of the act of the 25th of the king, if the treasurer, or his deputy, might take out the money from the bank for naval purposes, and afterwards apply it to purposes of private emolument, then, he repeated, that the public had, up to this time, been labouring under a most gross delusion; for it was utterly impossible to suppose, that the legislature had any other intention than, that the money drawn from the bank should be immediately applied to naval purposes, and to no other whatever. He again repeated, that his great difficulty would be, to find words more binding upon the treasurer, not to draw out the money for any other than naval purposes, and not to apply it to any other purpose when drawn. It was, that we blended the liberty allowed, with the use made of the money by Trotter. We did no such thing; but it was the learned gent. who blended the taking out of the money with the emoluments made by Trotter. Could his right hon. friend near him, then, allow Mr. Scott to take out the money, to deposit it at Coutts's, and make what use of it he pleased? If such a thing was done, he contended, that it would be, still, impossible to permit such a thing to pass without, at least, an attempt to punish it. He was not, at present, enquiring what was the law, in opposition to the judges? but still they were fallible men, and liable to error, even in construing the law. This house, and the other, might act in opposition to their opinions, as they were not bound by them, unless they appeared well founded; and it was no longer ago than the preceding day, that the house of lords decided in direct opposition to the opinions of the judges, after they had been solemnly called upon to deliver them. As the judges, then, were not infallible, it became the legislature to consider, whether what they had delivered, on this point, was law or not. If it was law, then the law ought to be declared. If it was not law, then it was high time to have a new law, to render the point clear and certain.

Mr. *R. Dundas* admitted that, according to the opinions of most persons, some new regulations were necessary, with regard to the law upon this subject. But, that the purpose for which he now rose was, to advert to something which had fallen from the hon. mover. That hon. gent. professed to think, that the house of lords grounded its judgment upon that opinion of the judges to which he appeared to object. But, he could not allow, that that hon. gent. or any other person, was competent to say, upon what the lords were induced to decide in the case alluded to; neither was the hon. gent. correct, in stating that that house should infer, from the admissions of lord Melville, that the noble lord connived at Mr. Trotter's application of the public money to his own profit.

Mr. *Sheridan* thought that, after the opinion of the judges, it was absolutely necessary that the law, upon this subject, should be satisfactorily settled. But, notwithstanding these opinions, he should take care that, while he remained in his present office, the affairs of it should not be managed, in any respect, contrary to what the law prescribed; and his conception of that law was this, beyond all doubt, that neither pay-master, nor any other person, should take naval money from the bank, unless it should be at the moment wanted for *bonâ fide* naval purposes. Indeed, according to the present arrangement, his pay-master had no concern with a single guinea of the public money; and it was somewhat curious, that this was the arrangement which Trotter suggested. Accounts are now opened at the bank in the name of each of the sub-accountants to which money was occasionally transferred by order of the pay-master. Such was his impression as to the nature of this plan, that he had recommended it to his hon. friend, and others, to introduce a bill at once to render it the law in future; but they, not conceiving several other provisions necessary to the safe custody of the public money, thought proper rather to postpone bringing forward any bill until next session. The pay-master, however, had now no connection with any of the public money; and he would hold him inimical, if he should attempt to draw a guinea from the bank for any purpose whatever. Such was the practice which the right hon. gent. declared his intention to maintain, while he had the honour to hold the office of treasurer of the navy, at least, until it was otherwise enacted by law.

Mr. *Perceval* threw out, for the consideration of gentlemen who proposed to bring in a bill upon this subject, whether, if the arrangement were enacted, such as the right hon. gent. had just described, the sub-accountants might not be open to the same objections which were applied to the paymaster; that is, whether those sub-accountants might not be open to a similar abuse of the public money.

Mr. *Whitbread* thought such a consequence improbable. It was to be recollected, that the sub-accountants, on the trial, refused to withdraw the public money from the bank at the particular instance of Trotter; and by no means in consequence of their own wish, for it appeared that inconveniences resulted to them from the transfer.

Mr. *Sheridan* could not admit that the case, with regard to the sub-accountants, could ever be subject to the same objections as those which applied to the paymaster. It was obvious, that they could not be so to the same extent. Indeed, he thought it quite practicable so to watch the sub-accountants; so to establish a check between the bank directors and the navy pay-office, as to detect any drawing of money not necessary for, and immediately applied to, a naval purpose; and, should such a thing appear, on the part of any sub-accountant, he had no hesitation in saying, that he should feel it his duty, on the instant, to dismiss him.

Mr. *Fuller*, adverting to a notice of a motion which he had given, relative to the expenses incurred by lord Melville during his late trial, stated, that in consequence of the declaration of the noble lord's son, that, as no delay had occurred in preparing for the trial, or, in its subsequent conduct, no more expense had occurred to the noble lord, than if the trial had taken place in the chamber of parliament, he was induced to wave his intended motion.

[ROYAL FAMILY ANNUITIES BILL.] Lord H. Petty moved the 2d reading of this bill.

Colonel *Wood* said, he felt it his duty to object to it. He then repeated the arguments he had used against it, a few nights ago; and thought this an unnecessary expenditure of the public money. The noble lord, in bringing forward the measure, had stated, as one of his chief reasons for doing so, the great increase which had taken place in all the necessaries of life, since these provisions were originally made. He allowed this to be the case; but these royal personages only felt the pressure in common with others; and that pressure was most severe on the great mass of the people, who were nearly borne down by taxes. He said he verily believed that, if he were to ask M. Talleyrand, the prime minister of Buonaparte, what mode he thought would be best to be pursued, in order to throw this country into the grasp and dominion of his master, he would say, it was to make the people dissatisfied with their government; make them dissatisfied with their taxes, and the people would be ready to throw themselves into the arms of Buonaparte. Those noble dukes held many places and emoluments, besides their original establishments of 12,000*l.* a year; and to make this addition to the public burthens, would, he thought, be one of the surest methods of making the people dissatisfied; and that at a moment when he would advise the noble lord to exert his every faculty and ability to make retrenchments, rather than add to the public burthens. He thought this measure ought to have been introduced by the noble lord before a secret or select committee, rather than by this mode; and that committee might have made enquiries, which would have enabled them to judge, and to have informed the house, whether this increase was actually necessary. As it now stood, he must object to the bill.

Mr. *W. Smith* expressed his confidence, that his noble friend would not need the lecture on economy that had been just read to him. He could not avoid coinciding in some of the opinions of the hon. gent. who had just sat down. He praised highly the conduct of the duke of York, in declining to apply for any additional provision. Were the depreciation of money, and the increased prices of every article of life, alone to be considered, he was willing to admit, that the claim preferred was a just one. But there were other circumstances, which, in his opinion, ought to be attended to. It ought to be recollected, that several of the younger branches of the royal family enjoyed emoluments, independent of their parliamentary provision. It was with a view to ascertain those emoluments, that he had made his motion the other evening; and really, until the papers, for which he had then moved, were on the table, he did not see how the house could, with propriety, pass the bill before them. It had been well observed by lord Bacon, that in some situations, voluntary poverty was a debt that a man owed to his country. Far was he from wishing, that the illustrious personages in question should be plunged, or allowed to remain, in poverty. He was solicitous, that they should not be deprived of the due appendages of their rank; but it became a question, whether, or not, the measure proposed was calculated to increase the respect that it was so desirable to secure to them?

Mr. *Rose* thought the increase that was proposed to the allowances of the younger branches of the royal family was very reasonable, and much less than was barely necessary to meet the depreciation of money, since those allowances were fixed.

Lord *H. Petty* thought, that the only question was, whether, when the salaries of every subordinate person in the state had been, within a few years, so much increased, it was wise to exclude, from the benefit of that general augmentation, a class of persons whose splendour and dignity were so intimately connected with those of the nation. Alluding to the duke of York, he described his situation as very different from that of his royal brothers. The income of his royal highness, independent of his emoluments as commander-in-chief, amounted to 26,000*l.* a year.—The bill was then read a 2d time.

[VOTE OF THANKS TO THE VOLUNTEERS.] Sir *Henry Mildmay* rose, in pursuance to notice, to call the attention of the house to the merits, the services, the zeal, and perseverance, of the volunteers of the united kingdom. He had no hesitation in saying, that it was the full conviction of his mind, that it was to them that the country was indebted for its security when threatened by invasion. Besides the general ardour which gentlemen from every county might bear testimony to, there were some particular instances of their promptitude and alacrity in the course of the last year. On an alarm of invasion on the coasts of Yorkshire, all the volunteers of the neighbouring districts pressed forward, with that ardour and zeal which the country had a right to expect from them. When there was an alarm of invasion in Scotland, the volunteers flocked from the farthest extremity of that country, to what they supposed was the seat of danger; and it was not merely for their spirit, that they deserved to be admired; but such was their discipline and efficiency, that lord Moira declared, that he would lead them with confidence against any enemy that could invade the country. Not only the earl of Moira had testified the efficiency of the volunteers of Scotland; but the inspecting field-officers, (who were men of high character, and could not be supposed to falsify the truth,) generally reported the volunteers as well advanced in discipline, and fit to serve with the troops of the line. They did not consider the volunteers as mere scarecrows, and persons that would spread confusion. He thought there was nothing more praiseworthy in the volunteers, than their determined perseverance. The corps that he commanded, and most of those with which he was acquainted, still mustered strong. He objected, principally, to the abolition of permanent duty, and the reduction of the drill serjeants. He concluded by moving, "That this house doth thankfully acknowledge, and highly approve of the services of the different corps of Yeomanry and Volunteers of the united kingdom; and doth think it necessary to record its decided opinion, that the due encouragement of the zeal and patriotism which the Yeomanry and Volunteers have so eminently displayed, in the maintenance of their establishment and the preservation of their discipline, would contribute, in an essential degree, to the defence and internal security of the country."

Mr. *Dent* seconded the motion. After a general panegyric of the Volunteers, he took notice of several expressions which were made in contempt and derision of them. He particularly dwelt on what had been advanced by an hon. member (col. Craufurd), respecting the trade of col. Birch; as if, because he made pies and jellies, he was, on that account, to be excluded from the service of his country. After repeating many of the expressions which had, at different times, been imputed to a right hon. secretary (Mr. Windham), he concluded by stating his opinion, that ministers dared not to move the previous question upon this motion of thanks to the Volunteers; for that, although minorities, in that house, must yield to majorities, yet it was not always to be expected that the public should remain quiet.

Sir *R. Milbanke* said, he had the honour of commanding a corps of Volunteers, who were as zealous as any set of men in the world. He entertained the same opinion of the whole body; they were honest, he knew, and, he believed, bold; and, therefore, deserved the thanks of their country. In this vote he concurred with all his heart; but he wished, very much, that the hon. bart. had confined himself to a vote of thanks, as he conceived that his majesty's ministers should have a power of regulating the force of the country in whatever way was considered best for its support.

General *Phipps* said, he was one of those who were appointed to inspect the Volunteers; and he had certainly stated, in his report, that many of them were fit to serve in the line, and better than some of the militia; but there were none of them superior to the regular army. He did not wish, he said, to make any severe remark on the conduct of his majesty's ministers; but he really thought the Volunteers had been dispirited. It was much to be regretted, he thought, that they no longer had the advantage of the inspecting field-officers, and, also, that the drill serjeants had been discontinued, as, without the advantages to be derived from them, he did not think they could be of much service to their country. The hon. general concluded by declaring that, from his high opinion of the Volunteers, it was impossible he could act otherwise than support the motion.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* said, the hon. general seemed to labour under a mistake, with respect to the drill serjeants; they were not abolished, nor had such an idea ever entered into his mind. His intention was, merely to reduce their pay; still, however, leaving as much as would make it an object for them to continue in the service. By the new regulation, the pay of the drill serjeant would be 7*s.* a day, for every day they were called out; which was, in his opinion, fully sufficient. The other point, to which his hon. friend had alluded, was, with respect to the opinion given of the state of discipline of the Volunteers. For his part, he always understood it as the opinion of the inspectors, that the greater part of the Volunteers could go through the general manœuvres with as much precision as the regular army; but, even though they could do this, and act with troops of the line, it was not pretended they were so good as troops of the line. There was something, therefore, beyond the mere military manœuvres, in which they were deficient. Was this courage? Certainly not; the volunteers were as brave men as the men who composed the line; and men who were not volunteers, as brave as men who were; but, as a body, they had not all the qualifications of the regular army. The regiments of the line, even though filled with recruits, had the advantage of experienced serjeants and corporals; each regiment had a name, which it was necessary to support, and which never died with the individuals who, perhaps, acquired it; they were also inured to pay severe obedience to their officers; which the volunteers were not; and, for all these reasons, it was impossible that they could be as desirable a force as the regular army. With respect to the resolution proposed, it was, first, necessary to see whether the reasons given, to induce the house to vote it, were sufficient; and, for his part, he did not think they were; as, in the first place, the hon. gent. had not set out on facts; for, after stating that his majesty's ministers were about to get rid of them, he advised the house, at least, to give them a *bene decessit* before they went. This was the mis-statement he complained of; for, it was not now, nor was it ever, his intention, to get rid of the volunteers. It could not be expected, that the system should be kept up in the manner it was begun, as the private subscriptions, which were double the 5 millions advanced by government, never would be repeated; and he, therefore, thought it should be considered, that any reduction made in the expense, did not tend to destroy, but to support, the system. The right hon. gent. then adverted to what had been said, with respect to the permanent duty; but, he conceived, the expense was so great, as to warrant his taking it away; and with regard to the system of training, he thought, that would evidently tend to increase the volunteers. He again contended, that the reasonings of the hon. gent. were incorrect: certain it was, that he thankfully acknowledged, and highly approved of, the conduct of the navy and army, for the last year; but he had not any idea of moving a vote of thanks to them, as there was no instance which pointed out the necessity; therefore, he did not think thanks should be voted to the volunteers, as there was no particular reason for it; that stated, of their being dispirited, not being well founded. It would not, however, be proper, he thought, to put a negative on the resolution, as some parts of it were true; but, as other parts of it were untrue, and unsupported, he thought, the best mode of disposing of it was, by the previous question; which he should support, if any hon. gent. should think proper to move it.

Mr. *Fuller* thought the right hon. gent. had been in error, with respect to the volunteers; and it would be more consistent with his manliness, to avow it. If the right hon. gent. could be brought to recant his errors, and make the volunteers the backbone of his system, he might raise such a military force as no enemy could overcome, and leave the army completely disposable. As to the resolution, he thought the house ought to agree to it, as it would make up the breach between the right hon. gent. and the volunteers, and record the opinion of the house, that the volunteers had deserved well of their country.

Lord *Ossulston* stated some arguments against the resolution, in the shape and manner in which it had been brought forward, and concluded by moving the previous question upon it.

Mr. *Bankes* said, it was argued that this vote of thanks should not be given, because there was no change made with respect to the volunteers. A great change had been made in the army and navy; as, in consequence of the high opinion the country entertained of them, their pay had been augmented. Now, with regard to the volunteers, the direct contrary course had been taken; and he, therefore, thought it was necessary that the country should declare, that they entertained a high opinion of them. The hon. gent. then expressed a degree of sorrow, that certain words had been dropped by the right hon. gent.; and he really thought that, by his words, and not his acts, he had injured the spirit of the volunteers: with respect to the latter, he had generally supported him in them; but the former, he said, had been spread all over the country; and it, therefore, became parliament to declare, that the services of the volunteers were acceptable, and a continuance of them was hoped for. He then entered into a detail of the advantages which would be derived from the new system of training; which he thought preferable to the volunteers, but which would be subsidiary to them. He would ask his hon. friends below him, with what view they brought forward this resolution? Was it with a view of embarrassing those who had the conduct of the nation entrusted to them? He also called on the right hon. gent. opposite him, to join him in excluding, from the resolution, whatever would cast a reflection on the majority of the house, by calumniating the measures which had been adopted by them, and then pass the vote of thanks to the volunteers. The hon. gent. concluded by hoping, that the motion for the previous question would be withdrawn; and that his hon. friends would allow some words to be struck out of the resolution which, to him, appeared exceptionable.

Sir *R. Williams* said, he could not conceive a milder, or more proper motion than this, which had, for its object, to thank those who had merited well of their country, and he gave it his hearty concurrence.

Mr. *Wilberforce* thought, that the only way in which any return could be made to the volunteers was, by such a mark of parliamentary approbation. If any particular expressions were exceptionable, he should wish, that the hon. mover would accede to some alteration, but none which would diminish the force of any language indicative of the favourable sentiments that house entertained of the conduct of the volunteers.

General *Tarleton* contemplated the volunteers with respect: 25,000 were ready to defend the metropolis of the empire; and, he thought, with no troops, whether of the militia or the regulars, would the capital be in a better state of security, than when defended by her own citizens. Three thousand volunteers were attached to the district he commanded; on a sudden, without previous notice, he ordered them from Bristol to Bath, and from Bath to Bristol; every obstruction was given them purposely; near Bath, they were four hours on the ground; and when they had performed this journey, of 32 miles, in one day, not a man was missing on their return. A more narrow inspection would shew, the volunteers deserved the character they had acquired. The hon. general entered into a florid description of the state of the army, militia, and volunteers; expressing, at the same time, his intention to support the motion; and his concern, that such a period was chosen for change and innovation. He concluded with reciting the dying exclamation of the late minister, "O, my country!" which he attributed to his concern, that the government should fall into the hands into which it had devolved.

Mr. *Sheridan* rose and said: Sir; although I could not have remained wholly silent during this debate; yet I wished to have heard the sentiments of others, before I delivered my opinion; but what has fallen from two hon. gentlemen, who have recently spoken, has induced me to abandon my original design, and to avail myself of this opportunity to solicit the attention of the house. I am desirous to abstain from all party allusions; and never wish to censure those who, from early attachment, and long habit, feel a peculiar ardour of affection for the late right hon. gent. (Mr. Pitt); but, whether the hon. general belongs to that number, I will not pretend to determine. I think that gallant officer was not perfectly correct, when he ascribed the impassioned exclamation of the late minister to his regret that the affairs of the empire should be consigned to the present servants of the crown: that eminent person, no doubt, fully expected that his own companions in office would remain in power, and, under this painful reflection, his anxiety for his country is fully explained; for what would have become of it in such hands, is sufficiently obvious. As to the measures that have been brought forward for the defence of the country, I have absented myself from the house whilst they have been under discussion, because of my opinion upon them. They were not the measures of my right hon. friend, but of the whole of his majesty's cabinet; and when founded on authorities which I so highly respect, I did not think it becoming of me to oppose them. I have not yet expressed my views of this military subject; but it may easily be expected of me to declare, that the defence of the kingdom ought not to be entrusted, exclusively, to a regular army; and history has instructed us, that there never was a country which preserved its liberties, that exposed itself to this danger; nor, sir, would I, on any occasion, give my vote to deduct one man from the great constitutional force—the militia. Acting under the influence of similar principles, I have always resisted the compulsory bills, stating it to be the undoubted prerogative of his majesty, to select any individuals from the great body of the community, to place them in the ranks of the regular army, and to send them to any part of the kingdom. It is true, the judges, and some public officers, were excepted; but the whole of such a bill should become a dead letter. It is not necessary, that I should now state my opinion on that subject; but I wish distinctly to be understood, that, with regard to the volunteers, I never shall vary my sentiments. I did, before, move the thanks of the house to that meritorious body; and, in so doing, I gave them a pledge of the spirit in which I would support their interests, character, and dignity. If, sir, they deserved this mark of public feeling, merely for the promptitude with which they stepped forward for the defence of the state, how much higher are their claims to merit, when they have done that service which they, then, only intimated a disposition to perform! With respect to the drill serjeants, and some other minor matters of regulation, it may be eligible to leave these in the hands to which such subjects are officially committed. But I think, that the reports of the military inspectors have been treated with a degree of levity which is neither candid nor decent. Are we to say, that the general officers are chargeable with misrepresentation, in order to deceive government, to lull ministers into a consciousness of security which is fallacious; or are we to presume, that as honourable men, as gentlemen and officers, they do render the accounts now upon your table? If these be accurate, ought the volunteers to be undervalued? Sir, it is a fact most notorious, that nothing made so strong an impression on the French government, during their hostile designs upon this country, as the energy manifested by the volunteers: the effect was equally felt by Buonaparte and his minister Talleyrand; they saw, with mortification, that the nation would be indebted, for its independence, to its own valour. The people of England did not prostrate themselves, and petition the sovereign, "O, king! hire us an army, and we shall be protected;" but they took the weapon into their own hands, to wield it in their own cause. I fairly say, that as the motion is now worded, I cannot vote for it. I shall, therefore, before I sit down, submit to the house a middle proposition, not liable to the same objections with the original proposition. What were the motives of the hon. gentlemen, in the form in which they have shaped this motion, I will not prejudge; but they may very correctly be ascertained, by the spirit in which they receive the variation I shall suggest. The passage to which I object is retrospective; the language is, "it is necessary to declare." Why is it "necessary," unless something has been done indicative of a different temper to that which the motion is intended to exhibit? It is admitted, on all sides, that if my right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) have intimated any thing at all injurious to the volunteers, it is confined to mere expressions. In his acts, it is admitted on all sides, that he has done nothing which can, justly, be deemed prejudicial to them. But, has no dexterity been employed to pervert his meaning? Sir, I will frankly confess that, formerly, I have had differences with my right hon. friend on this subject. He, perhaps, in the heat of debate, and in the ebullition of wit, used stronger terms than his deliberate judgment would have employed; and, possibly, having altered his situation, he is not disposed to shew, that this change has governed his opinions. The motion I should wish now to substitute, would be similar to another to which I have already referred; "That the thanks of this house be given to the several corps of yeomanry and volunteers, for the promptitude and zeal with which they have stood forward for the defence of the country in the moment of public danger." This motion was acceded to, without a dissentient voice; and I am not aware, how those who concurred in that proposition can, consistently, resist that which I shall presently recommend. It has been said that rumours are abroad, that the government designs to discourage the volunteers. These vague reports are, however, met by a distinct avowal, by my right hon. friend, that the measure to which he has resorted will increase, and cannot diminish, their numbers. Whether the training bill is calculated to have this beneficial effect, it is not my present business to enquire. But, be they just, or incorrect, rumours have prevailed, and an idea has gone forth, that administration is unfriendly to the volunteer system; and no more successful means can be employed, to prevent any misconstruction with regard to the intentions of ministers and parliament, than a vote of thanks, couched in terms expressive of the sense entertained of the important services of the volunteers. Again, they say, why do you not thank the navy and army, as well as the volunteers? Sir, the army and navy cannot be insensible of the estimation in which they are held by this house, and by the country in general; and they are sufficiently and properly convinced of their own importance: they know, we cannot dispense with the protection they afford. The volunteers are not so firmly persuaded, that they receive the applause they deserve, and, perhaps, they feel too diffident an opinion of their own utility. Besides, the army and navy cannot disband themselves at pleasure; the volunteers may, from some real or supposed provocation; and this is the serious evil I am most solicitous to avoid: by the vote I have proposed, all misunderstanding will be prevented. From these considerations, I am very desirous that the hon. member should withdraw his motion. I think he must see, that the effect of it, in its present shape, must be, to attach a stigma on ministers; and, what is yet more objectionable, on the house itself, for the legislative regulations it has already adopted, applicable to the military system. If the intention be purely, simply, and honestly, to impart to the volunteers, a conviction of the favourable sentiments of this house towards them, let them present the motion in a point of view, which will induce this side of the house to concur with them; if, under this ostensible design, they have other concealed motives, it will be in vain to expect this uniformity. I shall conclude, sir, with moving, "That this house doth thankfully acknowledge, and highly approve, the services of the different corps of yeomanry and volunteers." Whatever may be the result of the proceeding of this night, I will confidently assert that, in any former period in the history of this country, there never was a body of men who deserved more the gratitude of the nation, who merited more highly its love, respect, and veneration; and, nothing can be more becoming the house of commons than, by a solemn act, to record this effusion of public sentiment.

Mr. *Perceval* objected to the form recommended by the right hon. gent., because the motion, as he worded it, was not prospective. He said, he wished to preserve the volunteers undiminished, and yet there was no reference to the rumours by which it was apprehended their numbers would be reduced. The right hon gent. ventured to declare, that he disapproved of the measures of ministers on this subject, and yet it was well known that he had not opposed them in the whole progress of the business. If he could thus compromise his public duty, he should not be surprised, if, on that side the house, his motion was listened to with some jealousy, as calculated to screen his friends, without conducing to any beneficial purpose. In supporting the motion of his hon. friend, he had no particular attachment to the phraseology of that motion, nor any objection to an amendment in any other form of words which the right hon. gent. might think fit to propose, provided they expressed the spirit of the original motion, and had a view to declare the wish of the house, not only to thank the volunteers for their past services, but that those important services might be continued in future. The right hon. gent. however, should rather have called for the concurrence of his friends around him in the amendment he wished to propose, than to the opposite side of the house, who proposed the very motion which the hon. gent. had approved, upon every other ground, except that it was now necessary to express thanks to the volunteers. The right hon. gent. had been pleased to say, that his right hon. friend had never used any expression intentionally injurious or degrading to the volunteers, but that his words had been misrepresented or exaggerated, with a view to prejudice him in the public opinion. He himself, however, recollected that right hon. gent.'s expression, when a former vote of thanks was proposed to the volunteers; and when he warned the house against premature approbation to that body, whom they had not yet seen acting in a time of general election or general scarcity: and he should be glad to know if such language was not calculated to create a degrading diffidence in their loyalty, and to excite their disgust.

With respect to their discipline, which it was an object of so much importance still further to improve, what had the right hon. gent. done upon that head, to evince his wish of continuing and encouraging the volunteers? Why, he had brought in a bill, in which he had abolished their permanent duty, the best source of their discipline; taken away their inspecting officers, and in effect deprived them of their drill-serjeants, by reducing their pay from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 6*d.* per day, for which sum it was not to be supposed the services of these serjeants could be continued: but in fact, in this instance, a great injury and injustice was offered to these serjeants, who had entered under a compact of permanent pay, and subject to all the severities of martial law: that compact was suddenly broken, while they were still liable to martial law. The hon. and learned gent. concluded by supporting the original motion, although he was desirous of agreeing with any amendment proposed from the other side of the house, that should be adapted so as to effect unanimity.

Mr. *Sheridan* rose to explain; and complained that he had been misrepresented and very unfairly treated by the hon. and learned gent., who had thought proper to charge him with having neglected his duty, in not attending that house during the discussions which had taken place upon the various parts of his right hon. friend's military plan, to join with those who opposed them; and with compromising that duty, now, by moving an amendment of a suspicious nature. He begged to remind the house, that he had fairly avowed his reasons for absenting himself from the discussions which took place upon the several plans of his right hon. friend; and would tell the hon. and learned gent. that he was not to be schooled by him, as to what times he should think proper to attend, or to be absent from that house. He had fairly acknowledged that he was at variance with the opinions of his right hon. friend upon the whole of his military arrangements, but he begged at the same time to observe, that he did not consider those plans merely as belonging to his right hon. friend, but as adopted by the whole of his majesty's cabinet; and whatever might be the expectation of the hon. and learned gent., that he should come down to the house, and join him and his coadjutors, in opposition to his own friends and colleagues, he had only to say, that though he should ever maintain the right and independence of his own opinions, he would not have the arrogance to come down to the house and oppose those opinions against the whole cabinet of those ministers with whom, upon most other topics, he coincided; and he was sure that that cabinet would never look to him for the subserviency of sacrificing that independence of opinion to any consideration of office; at least if ever they should so expect, they would be disappointed.

Lord *Howick* said, that though his original intention was to support the previous question, yet, in consequence of the speech of his right hon. friend, he was in some suspense whether he should not change his first opinion, and vote for the amendment he suggested, with a view, if possible, to conciliate the unanimity of the house, so desirable on the present occasion: but, from the temper and disposition displayed in the speech of the hon. and learned gent. and the determination evinced by him, notwithstanding his specious professions, to resist all amendments of a conciliatory nature, and to persist in the original motion, he was now decided in his first opinion for the previous question; not from any opinion whatever that the volunteers were not entitled to the highest approbation and gratitude of parliament, and of their country, but that no occasion whatever had occurred since the thanks of parliament were last voted to them, to render any renewal of that vote at present necessary; and if any member was to propose a similar vote of thanks to the army or the navy, (the merits and importance of whose services could not be denied) without the concurrence of some particular occasion, he should conceive it a violation of his duty not to oppose such a motion by the previous question. He hoped, however, that his right hon. friend, who proposed to mediate in the present case by a conciliatory motion, for the purpose of obtaining unanimity, would take a lesson for the future from the speech of the learned gent. that would teach him how little was to be expected from conciliation or compromise in that quarter. He vindicated the conduct of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) relative to the volunteers, as well as his plans for the new modification of the services of this body; but did not mean to follow the example of gentlemen on the opposite side of the house, by going into a general debate upon all the other military topics which had been so repeatedly, and he had almost said vexatiously, discussed in the course of the session. He would just advert, however, to the speech of an hon. general (Tarleton), who had made such a brilliant display of military knowledge, and his surprising detail of the memorable march of eight hunded men from Bath to Bristol, and the astonishing spirit they had displayed under his command, considering the difficulties they had to encounter in the dangers of Bristol market, and the conduct of their baggage through defiles of booths, waggons, and carts, their labours in the manœuvres of the day, and the course of their long march, unbroken by fatigue, and undiminished in their numbers. He was willing to acknowledge the prowess and skill displayed by the hon. general in the feats of that signal day, and he believed it had no parallel in the military annals of this country, save in that of the celebrated march from Brentford to Hounslow, and from Hounslow to Finchley, under the famous Major Sturgeon, when, "with drums beating in the front, and dogs barking in the rear, the gallant commander marched with his troops in the closest order, until an unlucky drove of oxen from Smithfield threw his whole corps into confusion"—[a laugh]. His lordship concluded by again professing the highest respect for the volunteers, the most grateful sense of their services to their country, a sense which must be retained by that country and parliament to the remotest posterity; but as no new occasion called for a repetition of the thanks formerly voted to them, as the whole value of that honour chiefly consisted in its unfrequency, as it would be a departure from the dignity of the house to vote their thanks on every trivial occasion, he should vote for the previous question. But if the happy hour of peace was come, when the services of those corps would cease to be necessary, no man would be more prompt than himself to propose, second, or support a vote of thanks to them.

Mr. *Canning* supported the original motion, and agreed with his hon. friend (Mr. Perceval) in objecting to the motion proposed by Mr. Sheridan, because it was merely retrospective, and had no view to future services; it was not a preface but a postscript, not an exhortation but an epitaph. He went over much of the ground upon which the previous question had been previously opposed, and contended, that coming from the quarter it did, and supported by the same right hon. gent. whose sentiments, frequently expressed in that house, were known to be inimical to the volunteers, he must consider it as coming indirectly from him; for though it was the voice of Jacob, still the stroke came from the hand of Esau, and it would be utterly impossible for the most hostile government, determined to express the most hostile opinion to the continuance of the volunteer system, to do so in more direct and unequivocal terms than by a previous question, on an occasion like this. It was impossible to construe it in any other way; and he thanked his majesty's ministers for thus candidly expressing their sentiments, and setting all doubt at rest, as to their intentions respecting the continuance of the volunteers.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* replied, and positively denied any such wish or intention as the discontinuance of the volunteers; his wishes and intentions were the direct contrary way; notwithstanding the artful attempts of his opponents to affix such designs on him. In answer to what had been said relative to drill-serjeants, he observed, that the very clause which reduced their pay, gave them the option of retiring if they chose.

Mr. *Whitbread* adverted to a right hon. gent.'s (Mr. Canning) observation, that we ought to thank the volunteers now, because we had further need of their services, but that the reason of other military bodies not having received the thanks of parliament last war was because we had done with them. This was a sort of gratitude which he hoped he (Mr. W.) should never be induced to hold out to those who, in the most spirited and most patriotic manner, stood forward in defence of their country. The right hon. gent. had made some allusion to an epitaph, but the house would perceive that it was when a man was dead that we generally thought the fittest time to write epitaphs and praise him. He would be most willing to return thanks to the volunteers if there was an end of their services.

Lord *Castlereagh* said a few words in support of the original motion; and upon a division, the numbers were:—For the previous question, 75; for the original motion, 41; majority against the original motion, 34.—The original motion was then withdrawn.

Mr. *Sheridan* then observed, that suspicion and jealousy had, from whatever cause, whether from misconception or misrepresentation, of late appeared among the volunteers, with regard to the measures and intentions of government. In order to remove this suspicion, he would beg leave to propose the following resolution, which was nearly similar to what he had before moved, namely,—"That this house continues to retain its cordial sense of the zealous exertions of the several corps of yeomanry and volunteers of the United Kingdom, associated for the defence of their country, and doth highly approve the perseverance and patriotism they so eminently display in continuing to be associated for that object."—The motion was seconded by Mr. Vansittart.

Lord *Howick* then said, that, however painful it might be to his feelings, thinking so highly as he did of the zeal and patriotism of the volunteers, yet when he considered the nature of the debate that had taken place that night, and the diversity of opinions that had been manifested, he felt himself called upon to move the previous question.

Mr. *Canning* observed, that though the present motion fell short of what he had wished; yet having failed in his first object, this motion should have his cordial support.

Mr. *Hiley Addington* said, that no man was a warmer friend to the volunteers than he was; but he could not see any present call for such a measure. It was a possible event that peace was at no great distance, when it would be much better to pass a vote of thanks to the volunteers when their services were finished, than it would be to anticipate such a vote at present.

Lord *H. Petty* supported the amendment, and concluded with observing, that he trusted that a time would come, when a motion for thanks would be proposed that was not dictated by party motives, or the fancy of individuals.

Mr. *Perceval* expressed his astonishment that the noble lord should ascribe a motion to party motives, that was proposed by a distinguished member of the administration to which he belonged, and that had been seconded by an honourable secretary. He would therefore leave it to these gentlemen to determine which were influenced by party motives. Those gentlemen who had formerly supported a vote of thanks, were equally bound to do so now.

Mr. *Vansittart* said, that, having formerly concurred in a vote of this nature, he felt it impossible to refuse concurring with it now. A division then took place, and there appeared—For the previous question, 69; against it, 39; majority, 30.—The house then adjourned at four o'clock on Saturday morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 14.

[MINUTES.] On the second reading of the bill for more effectually partitioning lands in Ireland subject to ascertaining rights of common, lord Redesdale made several observations, for the purpose of proving, from the nature and provisions of the bill, that it ought not to be further entertained by the house, and concluded by moving, that the bill be rejected. The motion was supported by lord Eldon and the lord Chancellor, and agreed to.—The Usher of the Black Rod having appeared at the bar, and informed the house that the commons were ready for a conference in the Painted Chamber, a committee of conference was appointed, consisting of the earl of Westmeath, the earl of Limerick, lord Carleton, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Ossory, lord Redesdale, and lord Arden, who went forth to the Painted Chamber. On their return, the earl of Westmeath reported to the house, that they had received from Mr. Bankes, on the part of the committee of commons, a paper which his lordship read, containing a resolution of the commons (relative to a former resolution of their lordships, communicated to the commons, respecting the examination of lord Teignmouth) referring to the precedent of the examination of the earl of Balcarras before the house, who, not being a peer of parliament, was ordered to attend the house, whilst, on the same occasion, earl Cornwallis, being a peer of parliament, was requested to attend by a message to the house of lords; also stating that lord Teignmouth, not being a peer of parliament, or having a place or seat in the house of lords, was, in the same manner as the earl of Balcarras, ordered to attend the commons to be examined; and, finally, declaring that the commons conceived it their undoubted right to order the attendance before that house, to be examined touching any matter before the house, of any peer, not being a peer of parliament, or having a place or seat in the house of lords. The earl of Limerick observed, that this resolution contained matter of the highest importance to the peerage of the United Kingdom, and he therefore trusted their lordships would take it into their consideration on the earliest possible day. On his lordship's motion, the resolution was ordered to be taken into consideration on Thursday, for which day the lords were ordered to be summoned.

[MASTERS IN CHANCERY BILL.] The first reading of the Masters in Chancery bill was moved by lord Eldon.

The *Lord Chancellor* expressed his warm approbation of the bill, the object of which was to make an adequate provision for several persons of eminent ability and enlightened minds, to whom the country were every day essentially indebted, for the able and upright discharge of the duties of their offices. The country were also indebted to his noble and learned friend (lord Eldon), for the choice he had made of many of those who now filled the offices of masters in chancery; a choice the more pleasing to his noble and learned friend, as those whom he appointed, while they possessed in an eminent degree every qualification that could fit them for their offices, were, at the same time, his private friends. He rejoiced that such a bill had come up to that house, with respect to which it was important also to observe, that it would not be a taxation upon the public, and that not one individual in the country would have any additional burthen thrown upon him in consequence of the passing of this bill.—The bill was ordered to be printed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 14.

[MINUTES.] The members appointed to manage the conference with the lords, relative to the application for the examination of lord Teignmouth, consisting of all those in the house at the time, proceeded to the conference. On their return, Mr. Bankes informed the house, that the members appointed to manage the conference on the part of the commons had attended, and had met lord Westmeath on the part of the lords, to whom they had imparted the answer of the house to the lords' message, and had left with him a copy of it.

[RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.] Mr. *Huskisson* rose, pursuant to the notice he had given on a former day, to bring forward his promised resolutions, for the purpose of establishing a plan for simplifying and rendering more definite the annual accounts laid before parliament, of the receipts and issues of the treasury for public purposes within the year. After expatiating upon the want of regularity, clearness, and precision, in the accounts annually laid before the house, in consequence of each not being brought up to one general date, the object of his proposition was, that the accounts should all be made out up to the 5th of January in each succeeding year, not of the receipts and issues *for* the year, but *within* the year, and that all surplus, if any then remaining in the treasury, should be carried to the account of the next year; and that all floating debts due for the year, and not then brought forward, should be transferred in like manner to the next year's account: while the lords of the treasury should be enabled to issue out of the next year's revenue, payment for any bills so furnished after the 5th of January, for purposes ordered for the preceding year. There was also another proposition which he had to submit to the house, which would not only tend still further to simplify the public accounts, but to effect a considerable saving to the public annually, by enabling the lords of the treasury to pay off quarterly a certain portion of outstanding exchequer bills, and thereby saving to the public the interest that must grow thereon by longer outstanding, as is usual, while considerable balances were remaining in the treasury. This proposition was to perpetuate the taxes on malt, land, sugar, and pensions, which at present were voted annually, and estimated each year to produce about 2,750,000*l.*; the produce of these, instead of standing on a distinct account, he proposed should be carried to the consolidated fund; and in lieu thereof, he should propose, that three millions a year should be granted out of the consolidated fund to his majesty, for the purposes to which those taxes were appropriated. He apologised to the house for bringing forward these propositions himself, as wanting that weight and consideration which could give them authority; but he had previously submitted them to the noble lord opposite to him (the chancellor of the exchequer), and had the good fortune to meet his approbation; besides, he thought it the duty of every member of that house to suggest to his majesty's ministers, and to parliament, every project which he conceived to be for the public advantage, and of utility to the state. The hon. gent. then moved—1. "That an account of the total receipt at the exchequer, whether from ordinary or extraordinary resources, and of the total issues therefrom, be made up to, and closed on, the 5th Jan. in each year, to commence from the 5th Jan. 1808; and that such account be laid before this house within thirty days after the opening of any session of parliament which may take place subsequent to the said 5th day of January, 1808, or of any succeeding year, and within thirty days after such 5th day of January, in case the session should be opened prior to that day."

Lord *Henry Petty* acknowledged that the hon. gent. had submitted to him the several resolutions contained in his plan, previously to his proposing them to the house; and they certainly had his approbation, because he conceived that a plan having for its object to make the accounts as clear and as intelligible to the house, and to the country at large, as possible, was extremely desirable; for which, the mode proposed by the hon. gent. seemed to him well calculated; and he should be glad to avail himself of the hon. gent.'s suggestions for carrying it into effect. Seeing no manner of objection at present to the adoption of this resolution, it should certainly have his concurrence.—The resolution was then put and carried.

Mr. *Huskisson* then moved—2. "That whatever sum shall remain in the receipt of the exchequer on the said 5th of Jan. 1808, being part of the grants for the service of the year 1807, and also the balances in the hands of the Treasurer of the navy, the paymaster of the forces, and the treasurer of the ordnance, being also part of the said grants, respectively, be considered as a surplus of the grants of the said year, applicable to the service of the year 1808, and so on for each succeeding year." 3. "That it should, nevertheless, be in the power of the lords commissioners of the treasury, to direct all such balances, either remaining in the exchequer, or in the hands of the treasurers and paymaster aforesaid, to be used and applied, at any time subsequent to the said 5th of Jan. of the year 1808, or of any succeeding year, in continuance of the services for which they were originally granted, without any further vote of this house." 4. "That an account of all such balances, as aforesaid, be laid before this house within 30 days after the opening of any session of parliament which may take place subsequent to the 5th of Jan. 1808, or of any succeeding year, and within 30 days after such 5th day of Jan. in case the session should be opened prior to that day." 5. "That the amount of all such balances, stated in the said account, be carried to the credit, and taken in diminution, of ways and means which may be granted for the service of the year in which such account may be laid."—On moving, "That it would be a considerable saving to the public, that the annual duty upon malt and sugar should be rendered permanent, and carried to the annual produce of the consolidated fund, if not otherwise appropriated,"

Mr. *Baker* rose to oppose the proposition, which he considered as a striking innovation, introduced at the close of a session of parliament, without any formality or mature consideration that should have accompanied a proposal, which, if he understood the hon. gent. must go to trench very materially upon a constitutional privilege of the house of commons, and materially abridge that wholesome check which it held upon the crown, namely, the privilege of voting or withholding the supplies annually. We had been, he said, heretofore frightened at the apprehensions of a standing army; but now we had got that standing army. That it might be rendered necessary by the circumstances of the times, he would not now dispute. But here was a proposal in which the house was called upon, at a moment's warning, to vote those taxes in perpetuity, which hitherto had been voted only annually. To such a proposition he should decidedly say Nay, unless it was much more fully and satisfactorily explained to him.

Lord *H. Petty* thought that as the motion had been objected to, the best method would be to give more time; and he suggested the propriety of postponing the consideration.

Mr. *Rose* admitted, that the hon. gent. had a right to object to it if he thought proper; but he contended, that it was no dangerous innovation, as it only regulated the mode of the accounts, without adding to their amount.

Mr. *Yorke* professed that he did not well understand these resolutions. He suggested whether it would not be right to move the previous question on them, which would leave them on the journals, to be taken into consideration at a more suitable time? He had a distrust of any measure which would take away the checks now in the hands of that house, of making it necessary to assemble parliament, after a reasonable interval, which necessity would not exist, if the taxes were made permanent.

Mr. *Bastard* was also a friend to the house keeping in its own hands all its present checks on the power of the crown. Amongst these was that of voting the taxes annually. He did not apprehend any approaching difference between the crown and the parliament; but as such differences had arisen before, they might possibly arise again; for which reason that house should not part with such checks as remained in its hands at present.

Mr. *Huskisson* said, it would give the crown no power whatever over the public purse, as the supplies must be voted from year to year.

Mr. *Perceval* observed, that all the resolutions were in his opinion unexceptionable, but the present. He wished the house to retain its power over the means by which the money was to flow into the exchequer, as well as over the subsequent appropriation of it. To simplify the making up of the public accounts was undoubtedly a desirable object, but it was a very inferior one when compared with the abandonment of any of the privileges of parliament.

Mr. *Huskisson* finding the sense of the house was against him, proposed to withdraw the resolution. He then moved—6. "That all demands outstanding, under any of the following heads of service, viz. 'Treasury, Navy, Army, Ordnance, and Barracks,' and which shall remain unsatisfied on the 5th of Jan. aforesaid, be carried to the charge of the ensuing year; but inasmuch as the amount of these demands may be considered as floating debts from year to year, that provision should be made, in the supply of each year, for the discharge of such part of them only, as, upon the estimates to be laid before the house for these several services, may be stated to be an excess of such floating debt at the commencement, over and above the amount at which it may probably remain at the close of such year; and that the amount of such probable excess (if any) be regularly stated in, and form a part of, the several estimates aforesaid." 7. "That an account of all such floating debts be laid annually before this house, in the same manner, and at the same time, as the account required by the 4th of these resolutions." 8. "That the annual surplus, or growing produce of the consolidated fund of Great Britain (forming part of the ordinary annual revenue), and now granted for one year, terminating on the 5th of April next, in case it should be thought fit, at the expiration of that period, to continue the grant of the same, be further granted from the said 5th of April, 1807, to the 5th of Jan. 1808, and from thenceforth, from year to year, so that the grant of each successive year should terminate on the 5th of Jan. of the year ensuing." 9. "That, in the account annually laid before parliament, intituled,—'An account of the disposition of grants for Great Britain,' the amount of each separate vote or grant of this house, as enumerated in the appropriation act, the sum paid upon each such vote, and the sum (if any) remaining to be issued from the exchequer, be specified separately and distinctly; and that this account be made up to, and closed on, the 5th of Jan. in each year, and not carried on to any later period."

Mr. *Paull* availed himself of this opportunity to observe, that it was impossible to follow the resolutions as they were read; he suggested the propriety of printing them before they were agreed to, more especially as there was no urgent necessity for their being immediately agreed to by the house.

The *Speaker* reminded the hon. gent. that by the constant practice of the house, every resolution was printed. No resolution had the force of law. It was merely a recorded opinion, which the house might subsequently change.

Mr. *Baker* hoped the hon. gent. did not mean to originate any bills on these resolutions, during the present session.

Mr. *Huskisson* replying that he did not, the resolutions were agreed to.

[FINANCIAL PROPOSITIONS.] Mr. *Johnstone*, finding that the resolutions of the hon. gent. did not go so far as he had expected, said, he would submit to the house certain Financial Propositions relative to the national debt, &c. similar to those which he had been in the habit of submitting for the last two years. He did this without notice, because it was his intention, immediately after the reading of the first resolution, to move that the debate on it should be adjourned to a future day. The first resolution was then read, and the debate was adjourned to Friday. The following is a copy of the said Propositions:

1. That the total amount of the Public Funded Debt of Great Britain was, on the 1st Feb. 1803, 567,008,978*l.*;—of which 67,255,915*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and 19,180,587*l.* had been transferred to them on account of land tax

16. That the official value of all imports into G. Britain, in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 31,442,318*l.*; and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th Jan. 1803, was 28,419,626*l*.

That the official value of all imports into G. Britain, in the year ending 5th Jan. 1806, supposing the imports from the East Indies (of which no account has yet been made up) to be the same as in the preceding year, was 29,488,072*l.* and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th of January, 1806, was 30,248,417*l*.

17. That the official value of British manufactures, exported from G. Britain in the year ending the 5th of January, 1803, was 26,993,129*l.*; and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th of January, 1803, was 22,942,800*l*.

That the official value of British manufactures exported from G. Britain in the year ending the 5th of January, 1806, was 25,003,308*l.*; and on an average of 6 years, ending the 5th of January, 1806, was 24,698,058*l*.

And that the real value of British manufactures, exported in the year ending the 5th of January, 1803, may be estimated at 48,500,683*l.*: and in the year ending the 5th of January, 1806, at 41,068,942*l*.

18. That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from G. Britain in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, after deducting the excess arising from the valuation of coffee, was 14,418,837*l.*, and on an average of 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 11,651,333*l*.

That the official value of foreign merchandize exported from G. Britain in the year ending 5th Jan. 1806, after deducting the excess arising from the valuation of coffee, was 9,950,508*l.*, and on an average of 6 years, ending 5th Jan. 1806, was 11,685,711*l*.

19. That in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, the number of British vessels entered inwards in G. Britain, was 13,622; their tonnage 1,793,333: and the number of men employed in them 108,669:—That the number of British vessels cleared outward was 13,012; their tonnage 1,625,966; and the number of men employed in them 102,427.

That in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, the number of Foreign vessels entered inwards in G. Britain, was 3,733; their tonnage 480,241; and the number of men employed in them 27,737:—And that the number of Foreign vessels cleared outwards was 3,352; their tonnage 461,823; and the number of men employed in them 26,749.

That in the year ending 5th Jan. 1806, the number of British ships entered inwards in G. Britain, was 11,409; their tonnage 1,494,075; and the number of men employed to navigate them 87,148:——That the number of British ships cleared outwards, was 11,603; their tonnage 1,494,968; and the number of men employed to navigate them 94,388.

That in the year ending 5th Jan. 1806, the number of Foreign ships entered inwards in G. Britain, was 4,515; their tonnage 691,703; and the number of men employed in them 34,719;——That the number of Foreign ships cleared outwards, was 3,930; their tonnage 605,641; and the number of men employed in them 30,910.

20. That the number of British ships built and registered in the several ports of the British empire, in the year

Ending		Number		Tonnage
5 Jan. 1803,	was	1,281	-	137,508;
5 Jan. 1804,	-	1,402	-	135,349;
5 Jan. 1805,	-	991	-	95,979;
5 Jan. 1806,	-	966	-	89,975:

21. That the total sum to be raised in G. Britain within the year 1806, may be estimated as follows; viz.

	£.
Interest on public funded debt, charges of management, sinking fund, on the 5th Feb. 1806 - - - - -	26,330,988
Interest, charges of management, &c. to be paid between the 5th Feb. 1806, and 5th Jan. 1807, on stock created by loans of the present session, to the amount of 29,880,000*l.*, after deducting interest on 5 per cent. 1797, paid off - -	943,890
Interest for loans to the emperor of Germany - -	497,528
Civil government of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia and deserters warrants, bounties for promoting fisheries &c. estimated to be the same as the year ending 5th Jan. 1806	864,330
Charges of collecting and management of the revenue, estimated to be the same as the year ending 5th Jan. 1806 -	2,257,185
Proportion to be defrayed by G. Britain, of the civil list and other charges on the consoli-	

dated fund of G. Britain, estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th Jan. 1806, 15-17ths of 1,827,184*l.*	1,612,221
Supplies voted 1806, for G. Britain exclusively	5,030,806
Supplies voted in 1806 for G. Britain and Ireland	43,737,910
Deduct proportion to be defrayed by Ireland, 2-17ths	5,145,636
	38,592,274
	43,623,080
Loan for the services of Ireland	2,000,000
Sums to be raised parochially for the maintenance of the poor, estimated to be the same as was required in the year, ending Easter 1803	5,246,506
Making in the whole the sum of	£. 83,375,728

[INCREASED PAY TO THE ARMY,] On the motion of lord H. Petty, the house resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, to which the Estimates respecting the Augmentation of Pay to the Army were referred.

The *Secretary at War* then rose to move certain resolutions on this head, which, he trusted, would meet with the unanimous concurrence of the house. The low rate of pay of officers of infantry was a subject on which all must be agreed, that it was a wonder how they had been hitherto able to subsist; the patience with which they had waited for some addition to their pay was so exemplary, as to call for the approbation of the house and of the country. Even the increase, which was now proposed, was not, however, to be considered as an adequate reward for their services. This would require a much larger addition; but the present situation of the country, which called for the utmost economy, admitted that such increase only should take place as was required by absolute necessity; and he was convinced that it would be rather a subject of regret, than of satisfaction, that the proposed addition was so small. The increase, besides, was to be partial only, and not general, and was only to extend to those whose pay was inadequate to their situation. Notwithstanding the nobler claims which officers had to respect, arising from the nature of their professions, and their honourable services, yet all must know, that unless enabled to support a certain rank in society, they would not meet with general respect from the world; and thus the strongest discouragement would be held out to a profession which deserved so well of the country. His first resolution related to an increase of the pay of Officers of Infantry. The second proposed an addition to the pensions of Officers' Widows; and the third related to the increased pay of Serjeants, Corporals, and Privates, and the addition to the Chelsea pension. The grounds on which these last were adopted, had already been stated in the course of the discussions on the Mutiny bill. It was also proposed, that every field officer, commanding a regiment for the time, should have, during that period, an addition to his pay of 3*s.* a day. This was founded on the obvious principle of his being enabled to support, at such a time, a certain higher degree of rank. It was, besides, thought proper, that some addition should be made to the pay of captains of a certain standing in the army. After ten years service, it was desirable that some increase of pay should take place. At present, such officers were entitled to the rank of brevet-major, and it was now proposed that they should receive an addition of 2*s.* per day. It was also proposed to grant an additional allowance to lieutenants of 7 years standing. During war, promotion advanced with so much rapidity, that there were seldom any instances of this sort; but in peace the case was different, and promotion became more slow; hence there was an evident propriety in making some addition. He then concluded with moving, That the sum of 161,700*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.* be granted for defraying the expense of these additional allowances for 183 days, from June 25 to Dec. 24.

Sir *A. Wellesley* made several observations on the pay of subalterns in the guards, which, he contended, was too small. He thought, also, that the lowest sum on which an ensign could subsist was 5*s.* 8*d.* per day.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* thought the common opinion incorrect, which went to regulate the pay of officers exactly by subsistence, and to increase the pay of the lower orders, for the purpose of bringing them nearer the higher. All this seemed founded on a false assumption. The consequence of the present system was, that none could enter the army as officers who had not something else besides their mere pay. This was important, in a constitutional view, since it prevented them from becoming mercenaries, and gave them an interest in the country which they defended. Besides, there had been no difficulty, of late, in procuring officers, even when the pay was, confessedly, more inadequate than it was now proposed to be made. But it was also an object of importance, that subalterns should look forward to something higher, when their emoluments might be better proportioned to their expenditure. The ground of the whole system was, that the pay of officers, though not generally adequate, might yet be so, in particular instances, by means of extraordinary economy. Thus, in addition to those who entered the army with some property of their own, there might be others, impelled, perhaps, by a strong military inclination, though destitute of all other resources, who might go on, for a time, by dint of rigid economy, and struggle through the situation of subalterns, till they arrived at a higher rank. It was not thought necessary, that an easier species of admission should be granted to the lower ranks of society. Young men, also, who entered the army, generally received that assistance from their relations, which, at a more advanced period, was not to be expected, and were then better able to submit to privations of every kind, while the increase of their pay would advance, in proportion to their rise in their profession. He had no doubt, that a sufficient number of individuals would always be found possessed of magnanimity enough to bear all these inconveniencies, with the prospect of improving their situation in the army. These were the grounds on which the present scale of additions was calculated.

Lord *De Blaquiere* observed, that having spent the best part of his life in the army, he had a fellow-feeling for all those who belonged to it, and could not but admire the wonderful addition of 1*s*. 1*d*. per day to field officers. This pittance would not enable them to pay the tax on property, which had been imposed during the present session, since every officer, who received 200*l*. a year, would have to pay 20*l*. out of it. He could have wished, that a still larger addition had been made to the pay of captains.

The *Secretary at War* replied, that, besides his increase of pay, every field-officer was to receive forage for one horse. In answer to what had fallen from an hon. general, with regard to officers of the guards, he observed, that as they had necessarily private fortunes of their own, they did not need the present addition, and he could speak, from his own knowledge, of that body, acquired from long service in it, that they would disdain the idea of serving for money alone. But the allowance of forage for one horse was, also, to be extended to them.

Lord *Temple* wished to know, what addition was to be made to the pay of militia officers?

The *Secretary at War* replied, that the increase was only to extend to subalterns, on the principle that the field-officers must necessarily be men of fortune.

Mr. *Windham* observed, that if people could be found to fill the rank of officers, without pay, and actuated by the love of honour and distinction alone, it would be so much the better. But since this was not to be generally expected, they must be influenced by the mixed consideration of pay and honorary distinctions. Now the higher rank of officers in the guards was really one of these considerations, by which men were apt to be influenced.

Mr. *Francis* wished to know, whether it was meant to reimburse officers for the expence of the property tax? If this were not done, what the house gave with the one hand, it took away with the other.

Mr. *Windham* replied, that this was a subject which could only have come before the house, with propriety, when that tax was discussed.

Lord *Temple* expressed his regret, that his right hon. friend had not found it possible to extend the addition to captains in the militia. Of late, the difficulty of procuring them had been so great, that colonels of the militia had been empowered, by act of parliament, to take captains from half-pay of the line; and many subalterns had also been promoted to that rank, who had not the usual qualification in land; but as no alteration could be made in the present resolutions, there was only one remedy which could be applied, and that was by addressing the crown, that a similar addition might also be extended to them. Unless such an augmentation should take place, he pledged himself to submit a motion to the house on the subject, in the next session of parliament.

Mr. *Windham* acknowledged, that there was a certain number of the militia officers, of the description that had been mentioned. But, besides, that they had not passed through any subordinate situations, it was improper that the interests of a few should prevent any general regulation with regard to that body.

Colonel *Craufurd* observed, that this difficulty in procuring officers, with the legal qualification, arose from the late great extension of the militia; and when they were diminished, the difficulty would cease.—The resolution was then agreed to.—A 2d resolution, granting a sum of 3829*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* for defraying the charge of increased pensions to officers' widows; and a 3d, granting a sum of 50,000*l.* to cover the increased charge of the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, were also agreed to.

[MILITIA OFFICERS' BILL.] Mr. Windham moved the order of the day, for the house to go into a committee on the Militia Officers' Bill.

Sir *W. Elford* strongly objected to the present bill, on the ground of its making a distinction between the militia and the army, that was utterly inconsistent with those acts of parliament on which the militia was established. It was founded on the absurd principle, that men of fortune should accept no remuneration for those services which they might perform to the public. But supposing, for a moment, that a gentleman of large fortune, in the county of Norfolk for instance, should be appointed one of the secretaries of state, and that his colleagues should propose to him, that he should perform the duty, without any salary, he had no doubt that the proposition would appear to him very absurd. The militia, he contended, were placed on the same footing with the army, and the officers, without distinction, were equally entitled to the same additional pay that might be thought proper to bestow on those of the regulars. Was it not dangerous to innovate on what had been determined by the wisdom of our ancestors; and what, besides, had given general satisfaction? It was not so much the idea of pay that was to be considered, as the distinction which was now proposed to be made, which, he was convinced, would sow the seeds of discord in the militia.

Mr. *Yorke* contended, that this bill might have been brought in, weeks and months ago, when there was a full attendance of members, and particularly of those who were connected with the militia service. On this ground alone, he would oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair. The right hon. gent. had already struck a blow at the volunteers, as much, perhaps, by the manner in which he had introduced his measures, as by the objects which they had in view, and now he made a similar attack on the militia service, while, from the thinness of the house, he thought himself exempted from the necessity of defending the measure. He then took a view of the arguments against the bill, and observed, that the invidious distinction now proposed to be established, would not save more than 5000*l.* to the country. He complained of the right hon. gent.'s want of attention to the arguments which came from his side of the house; but, however, as an individual, he might be inclined to turn a deaf ear to what was said against his measures; yet, as one of the king's ministers, it was his duty to listen to the arguments and sentiments of independent gentlemen, when they thought it necessary for the public service to deliver them in that house.

Mr. *Bastard* contended, that the present measure was a breach of the faith of parliament, which was pledged when the militia were first raised, that they should be on the same footing, in all respects, with the army. Their services were kept, while they were deprived of those privileges to which they were entitled. The distinction now proposed was odious, and for a pitiful saving, the whole militia service was to be disgusted.

Lord *Temple* totally differed from the hon. gent. He could not approve of that wandering manner, with which gentlemen on the other side seemed determined, whatever was the question, to inveigh against expressions said to have been used by his right hon. friend, respecting the volunteers. Those topics were now introduced into every debate. He would, however, leave it to the house, from what side the expressions now came, which had an obvious tendency to irritate the volunteers, and to disgust them? Who were the men who now avoided all conciliating language, and who appeared to wish to diminish both the numbers and the spirit of the volunteers? There was an objection, however, which he had to the bill, and that was, that it gave to volunteer officers, when called into action, superior advantages to what the officers of the militia would have.

Mr. *Bankes* said, that he should himself make no observation, but he would leave it to the house to judge on the manner and tone, with which the noble lord, (Temple,) upon this, and indeed almost upon every occasion, reprehended those who differed with him in opinion. The house would discover on what ground his title to give such lectures rested, whether it was on his superior ability, or his great experience. It appeared to him, that it was too late in the session (when the extraordinary pressure of business was considered) to bring forward a measure which might disgust such a considerable body of men, who formed the constitutional army of the country. As to the economical saving, he considered, that it was a mere trifle, when compared to the serious mischief of disgusting the militia. He thought that a measure of such moment should not have been brought forward at such an advanced period of the session, when a regular and decent attendance of members could not be expected.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* took a review of the objections that had been urged by different gentlemen, from the temperate and argumentative speech of an hon. baronet, (sir W. Elford,) to the intemperate, unreasonable, uninteresting, and, as he conceived, most unargumentative speech of a right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke). He differed from the hon. baronet in the whole view of the case. Instead of considering it an innovation on any fundamental principle, it appeared to be one of those mere matters of discretionary regulation, which was always supposed to be completely open to the wisdom of parliament. It had been laid down as the general rule, that the militia were to have the same pay as the army. It should, however, be recollected, that this rule was not founded upon any constitutional principle, but merely as the words of the act of parliament. It was, therefore, to be considered, what were the words of the act, and what the meaning of it. The militia were called out according to law; but, as there before existed no law to determine what provision should be assigned for them, the act of the 42d of the king stated, that that should be the same as was allowed to the army. The meaning of the act was clearly, that as it was necessary to assign them some provision, the legislature thought that what the army then received was not too much. In assigning them that, for their provision, the legislature never meant to tie up the hands of the sovereign, or prevent his increasing the pay of any other description of his force. If it was contended, that, on account of the words of this act, the king could not now make any provision for any other description of force which should not extend to the militia, the conclusion appeared to him a *non sequitur*. That his majesty might, from time to time, make alterations with respect to one part of his force, which should not extend to the other, was a thing agreeable to reason, and to the fact. In reason, it could not be contended, that regular troops, who were liable to be called, at a moment's notice, to serve their country abroad, in unwholesome climates, and exposed to danger, were not in a situation very different from the militia, who could not be ordered out of the country; if then, their situation was different, it would not be unreasonable, if there should be some difference in their allowances. In point of fact, too, a difference had always existed. The officers of the regular army were entitled to half-pay, when militia officers were not. The field-officers of the militia, however, made no complaint. It was not so much a difference between regulars and militia, as between one part of the army and another. As to the right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke) he must say, that, with whatever gravity of manners, or authority of tone, he chose to lecture him upon what was his duty as a minister and a member of parliament, the whole weight and importance of his lectures depended upon the strength of the arguments he adduced; and if his arguments were altogether feeble, it was in vain for him to take the tone or manner of authority. The mode which the right hon. gent. had adopted, might serve as an useful example, not to follow, but to avoid. The thing, however, which seemed most to have offended the right hon. hon. gent., was, that he seemed to think, that he (Mr. W.) had not received his arguments with all that attention, deference, and respect, which he, no doubt, thought was due to them. It was impossible for ministers, or any other men, to direct their whole attention, in the course of a long debate, to every word that came from those gentlemen on the opposite benches. Sometimes the very business of the debate itself would oblige them to converse a little with those who sat near them. He believed that it was really some observation arising out of the debate, which might have caused, for a moment, that apparent inattention, of which the right hon. gent. (Mr. Yorke) so loudly complained.

Mr. *Yorke*, in explanation, said he was ready to apologise to the house, if he had made use of any unparliamentary expression. He certainly had felt a considerable indignation, at a business of such importance being brought forward so late in the session. This indignation he meant to express with the freedom which became a member of parliament, and he hoped he had not transgressed the proper bounds. He had also conceived, that he saw a marked inattention from the right hon. secretary, with which he confessed that he felt himself very much hurt. Since the right hon. secretary had, however, disclaimed what he conceived to have been a marked inattention, he was ready to apologise to the house, if he had been guilty of any irregularity.

Mr. *Perceval* thought the arguments of his right hon. friend had been mis-stated. The great objection to the bill which was now presented to the house was, that it was upon a subject of so much importance, that it was not fair to bring it forward at so late a period of the session, when there could be but a very thin attendance of members. It appeared to him, that it would be very wrong, in point of policy, that such a measure should be brought forward, at a time when the militia were in arms, and embodied. It was, then, no time to disgust men, when we looked to them for services. He might be told, as he was the other night about the volunteer drill serjeants, that they might resign. He doubted, however, even whether those who asserted that proposition could venture to say, that the militia might resign. If, then, it was allowed, that they could not resign, and that the terms under which they entered were, that they should be on the same footing with the army, it would be a violation of faith with them, to place them, now, upon a worse condition than the army. Certainly, no little saving, in point of economy, could compensate for the impolicy of disgusting such a body as the militia, at a time when their services were so necessary.

Mr. *Giles* considered, that all the objections which were made to every measure, on account of the lateness of the session, amounted only to this question, Why did not the present ministers bring forward, all at once, all the measures which they meant to introduce in the course of the session? As to the breach of public faith, that was so much spoken of, he begged leave to remind gentlemen, that the militia was not a voluntary, but a compulsory service; and that, if no particular faith was pledged to the balloted men, certainly their substitutes stood in no better situation than they did. Of a man that voluntarily inlisted in the regular army, it would be right to consider, strictly, the terms under which he entered; but the militia-man, whether he is the balloted man or the substitute, enters into the service from the compulsion of the law, and can claim no other terms but what the legislature chooses to give.

Lord *De Blaquiere* said, he was decidedly adverse to the bill, as, he thought, it went to disgrace a great military body, and to create an odious distinction between the militia and the regular army.

Mr. *O'Hara* was for the bill. He was sure, that both the field officers of the militia and of the volunteers, would cheerfully yield to any deductions, that could tend to give the country a greater disposeable force at the present moment.

Sir *W. Lemon* considered that it might be the cause of much discontent, that when the officers of the regulars and militia messed together, the one should say, "We are superior to you; our pay is higher."

Mr. *Ellison* said, it had been his misfortune, wishing, as he did, to give his support to the ministers, to feel himself under the necessity of successively objecting to all the measures they had brought forward. The bill, then the subject of debate, he was sure, would give the greatest dissatisfaction to the militia, who, from recent intercourse which he had had with some regiments at the barracks in the neighbourhood of the district from which he was returned, he knew, were led, from the late measures of the right hon. gent., to expect an increase of allowance, and were, at present, anxiously awaiting the promulgation of it. He thought, that economy was not a sufficient consideration for a distinction like that proposed to be made in this case, as the militia were liable to the same duties as the regulars, and had always been found to perform them as well. He should vote for the bill to go into a committee, under the hope, that sufficient would transpire therein, to induce the right hon. gent. to relinquish the bill.

Colonel *Craufurd* could not at all agree with the opinion of the hon. baronet. So far from the regular officers being entitled to claim any superiority, on account of this distinction, he thought the superiority, as far as income went, was on the other side; and that the militia field-officers, who did not receive the increased pay, merely upon the ground that they were men of somewhat superior fortune, and who, therefore, did not require it, ought, on that ground, neither to claim a superiority over the regular officers, who were, in general, inferior to them in point of fortune. He knew that it was unparliamentary, to impute any improper motives to members of that house; but he must say, that if, in any other assembly, men had acted the same part as had been pursued by those of opposition; if, on every question that could be brought forward, so much was said in praise of the volunteers, and so much had been said of certain expressions of his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham), he should think, that their object was merely to catch at popularity, to win to their side that numerous and respectable body of men, and to make his right hon. friend as unpopular and as odious as they could to that body. This would have been his opinion, if a similar conduct had been adopted by any set of gentlemen out of that house; but, in that house, he knew that it was most unparliamentary to suppose, that any member could be actuated by such motives, and, therefore, he did not impute such to them. As to the distinctions of pay, such distinctions already existed in the regular army, and were not complained of.

Colonel *Mitford* said, it had always been understood to be the rule, that the militia should have the same advantages as the soldiers of the line.

Mr. *Windham* said, he rose for the purpose of withdrawing, for the present, his motion for the speaker leaving the chair; and moved, "That it be an instruction to the said committee, that they have powers to extend the provisions of the said bill to the volunteers and yeomanry corps."--After the gallery had been ordered to be cleared, this was agreed to. The bill then went into a committee. In the first clause, sir W. Elford proposed to leave out the words "officers, or;" upon which a division took place: Ayes, 17; Noes, 38. The bill then went through the committee, and the report was ordered to be received to-morrow.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 15.

[Slave Ship Restriction Bill.] On the order of the day being read, for the house resolving itself into a committee on the Slave Ship Restriction Bill,

The Earl of *Westmoreland* went over several of the arguments before urged against the bill, which, he contended, would be highly unjust in its operation; and that, by enacting that the ships now employed in the slave trade should be traded by the same owners, great loss of property would frequently ensue to the remaining owners of a vessel, where a part owner died, or became bankrupt, as, in that case, from the change of the property, the ship could not be continued in the trade.

Lord *Grenville* contended that, it having been determined by both houses, that the slave trade ought to be abolished as soon as possible, it was a necessary consequence of that measure to bring in the present bill, in order to prevent that superabundant supply of slaves which would, otherwise, be attempted, in the interval, to be poured into the West-India islands; whilst it was, at the same time, an act of justice to the subjects of the country, to prevent them from engaging in a trade to their certain loss. He did not conceive, that any injustice to individuals would result from the present bill; although, in all great measures of policy, it was impossible to prevent some individual hardships arising from their operation.

Lord *Eldon* argued that, in the present case, individuals might be exempted from loss of property, without endangering the principle of the bill. He was of opinion that, from the words of the bill, if any part owner of a ship employed in the slave trade died, or became bankrupt, the property being changed, the remaining owners could not continue to trade with the vessel; the property in which would, therefore, become of little or no value, the remaining owners sustain a heavy loss, and the estate of the testator, or the bankrupt, be seriously injured, and thus creditors be unable to obtain their demands.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* defended the bill, and maintained, that the persons engaged in the trade had had amply sufficient notice of the intention of the legislature to abolish it, and, therefore, ought not now to complain of injustice. He thought, that the words of the bill which had been objected to ought to remain, as to allow other owners to trade with the present vessels, would only tend to increase the number of claimants for compensation when the legislature, finally, abolished the trade.

Lord *Sidmouth* declared himself friendly to the abolition of the trade, provided it was done cautiously, with full information upon the subject, and with as little injury and oppression as possible to individuals.

Lord *Redesdale*, also, expressed himself friendly to the abolition; but thought it had been retarded by the harshness used towards those who carried on the trade. In order to prevent this bill from being a harsh measure upon individuals, he suggested, that those words should be left out, which restricted the employment of the vessels now in the trade to the present owners.

Lord *Ellenborough* was of opinion, that the words objected to did not legally bear the interpretation which had been put upon them. He contended that, notwithstanding the death, or bankruptcy, of any of the part owners, the vessels might still be navigated under the old register.—The house then resolved itself into a committee; where some conversation arose upon the different clauses; in the course of which, lord Ellenborough warmly replied to an expression used by the earl of Westmoreland. The latter noble lord moved, to leave out the words "any owner or owners," with a view to prevent the trade from being restricted to the present owners of the vessels employed in it. This was opposed by lord Ellenborough and lord Grenville, on the grounds before stated and supported by lord Eldon. The proposition was negatived. Lord Eldon moved to extend the time limited for taking out licences, for navigating vessels in the trade, from the 1st of August to the 1st of September. This amendment was, also, negatived, as was, likewise, an amendment proposed by the earl of Westmoreland, to limit the duration of the bill to the end of the next session of parliament, instead of 2 years. The bill then passed through the committee, and was reported without amendment.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 15.

[PUBLIC HARBOURS BILL.] Sir C. Pole moved the 2d reading of the Public Harbours bill.

Colonel *Wood* did not mean to oppose the 2d reading of this bill; but, as much and valuable private property might be affected by its operation, trusted that care would be taken, in the committee, to provide for the protection of that property. No objection could be felt to the measure, if it was only to extend to the king's harbours of Plymouth, Portsmouth, Sheerness, &c.; but, to other places it might be seriously injurious.

Sir *C. Pole* informed the hon. member, that the bill was to extend to all harbours in the united kingdom, commercial as well as naval. Its object was, purely, to prevent nuisances, and to preserve the anchorage in the state in which it is at present in each.

Colonel *Vereker*, as the bill was to prevent nuisances, suggested to the hon. bart. and to his noble friend (lord H. Petty), the propriety of introducing a clause into it, for removing nuisances in harbours. The harbour of Limerick, the city he represented, and one of the best commercial harbours in the kingdom, was choaked up by rocks, which, by estimate, might be removed at an expence of 2,000*l.*

Mr. *Huskisson* reminded the hon. col., that these rocks were a natural obstruction, not a nuisance in the harbour; and, that the proper mode of originating any grant, for the removal of them, would be, to submit a proposition, to that effect, in a committee of the whole house.

Lord *H. Petty* admitted, that the suggestion of his hon. friend was entitled to the consideration of the house, and might be a subject for future discussion. As the object of it, however, was a grant of the public money, no clause, to that effect, could be introduced into the present bill.

Mr. *Foster* recommended his hon. friend, not to press his suggestion in this instance; the mention of it, however, had been attended with this good effect, that, by the observations of the noble lord, his hon. friend was directed in what manner his object might be attained next session.—The bill was then read a 2d time.

[PILOTS' BILL.] Lord *Temple* moved for leave to bring in a bill, to regulate the business of pilots navigating the British seas. The necessity of such a bill, he said, was become as obvious, as its utility must be important to the commercial interests of these countries, inasmuch as the losses sustained every year, both of property and lives, in consequence of the business of pilotage being frequently undertaken by persons unlicensed, ignorant, and unskilful, loudly called for some such regulations as he intended in the bill. He did not mean to press it through the house at this late period of the session; but, merely, that it should be read the 1st and 2d time, and go into a committee, for such amendments as should immediately appear necessary;

and then to be printed, for the information of the parties interested, in order to such further suggestions as might be made, and to bring the measure forward in the next session of parliament, in as perfect a form as possible.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* seconded the motion, and only regretted the absence of several members interested in commercial concerns, who, he was sure, if they were present, would heartily approve the measure, and cheerfully join with him, in returning thanks to the noble lord for bringing it forward. It was not merely from the ignorance or unskilfulness of such pilots, that the extensive losses, in property and life, alluded to by the noble lord, annually occurred; but from their combinations, their obstinacy, and their desire of extortion, in refusing to go out for the assistance of vessels in rough weather, or apparent danger, until they had made the most exorbitant stipulations with the mercantile interests in the different ports, for the reward of their services; by which means their assistance was often delayed so long, as to come too late for the salvation of ship or crew. He hoped, therefore, the bill would include some measure of effectual regulation.—The motion was agreed to; and lord Temple presented the bill, which was read the 1st time.

[Lord Nelson's Annuity Bill.] Lord Henry Petty moved the order of the day, for the house to resolve itself into a committee on this bill; and, upon the question, that the speaker do now leave the chair,

Colonel *Wood* rose, he said, with considerable reluctance, to oppose a measure so congenial to the sense which the country entertained of the eminent services of that noble lord, in remuneration of which these annuities were now proposed. But, participating, as he did, most sincerely, in those feelings, he could not, consistently with the principles he entertained, and his sense of duty as an individual member of parliament, assent to so large an appropriation of the public money, in the present arduous circumstances. When he considered that 300,000 or 400,000*l.* had been recently added to the public burthens, for an increase of pay to the army and navy, and that every class of society was loaded with imposts to support the exigencies of the country, he could not consent to the grant of the public money in any way not absolutely and indispensably necessary; and, feeling, as he did, that an allowance of 5000*l.* a year had already been voted to the representative of the noble lord, who succeeded to his title, he thought it amply sufficient, without any farther allowance to his relations. Had the noble lord himself been living, to enjoy the public remuneration of his splendid services, he should not be the person to oppose a grant, even to a much greater extent: but, as the grant now proposed was not for the noble lord, nor any of his lineal descendants, but for his relations, certainly very nearly allied to him, he could not think of increasing the grant already made, until, at least, some considerable reduction was made in the public debt of the nation; until it was brought down to 200 millions, from the 500 millions at which it now stood. It would, possibly, be right, for the house to have in view what parliament had done, in similar circumstances, upon a former occasion; and the most apposite precedent which occurred to him was, the case of the duke of Marlborough, in the reign of queen Anne; when, in consequence of a message from her majesty, on the 10th of June, 1702, recommending to the house a provision of 5000*l.* a year for that nobleman, that provision was made. He then moved, that the proceedings on that occasion be now read from the journals. [The proceedings on the 10th of June, 1702, were accordingly read, being the message received from her majesty, recommending the important public services of the noble duke, as well by his negociations, as by his splendid victories, to the liberality of parliament; and also the subsequent proceedings of the 18th of the same month, in which the house voted an address, in compliance with her majesty's request.] The hon. col. said, he was ready to allow, that the services of lord Nelson to his country, were as splendid and important as those of the duke of Marlborough; and that 5000*l.* a year, at that day, was a much greater sum, in effect, than the like sum, at this; but, then, the comparative circumstances of the country, in both periods, were also totally different. In the former, we owed scarcely any national debt; now, we had one of 500 millions; and, until all that could be reduced, considering all the other circumstances of the country, and that it was not lord Nelson who was to enjoy the reward of his services, he thought 5000*l.* a year amply sufficient; and, when the reduction he mentioned should have taken place, he would have no objection to vote a much larger grant.

The *Speaker* observed, that the hon. colonel's object could only be properly attained in the committee. He then left the chair. Upon the house resolving itself into the committee,

Mr. *Rose*, in reply to the statements of the hon. col. (Wood), observed, that the grant now proposed bore no proportion to the allowances made to the duke of Marlborough; for, independently of the 5000*l.* a year, settled upon that illustrious person, no less than 7 manors were granted to him by the crown. The palace of Blenheim was, also, built for him at the public expence. Queen Anne had this building commenced; but the tory administration, towards the close of her reign, thought proper, most unworthily, to prevent its proceeding. Upon the accession, however, of George I. 42,000*l.* which were found remaining due to the workmen employed during the former reign, were paid, pursuant to an act of parliament, and the building was proceeded upon to its completion. The right hon. gent. added, that he understood, from the executors of Sarah duchess of Marlborough, that no less than 500,000*l.* were laid out, from the public purse, for the buildings at Blenheim. But was the hon. col. when he made the comparison alluded to, aware of the amount of the revenue possessed by the duke of Marlborough, at the time the pension was granted him? His grace then had, from the salaries and perquisites of various offices, no less than 40,000*l.* a year. Could it, then, be pretended, that there was any parallel between the case of the duke of Marlborough and that of lord Nelson? The one had an immense fortune, which devolved upon his family; while, unfortunately, the other was in very different circumstances. The splendid services of lord Nelson were not productive to him of any pecuniary profits. No; for prize-money, his receipts were insignificant. His proportion of prize-money, even at the splendid battle of the Nile, was not more than 3090*l.*; and this, from particular circumstances, was less than the sum which fell to the lot of many of his captains. Indeed, the fortune of this distinguished hero was much less than could at all be supposed by any one unacquainted with the fact. For, he could say, and it was, now, no breach of confidence to state it, that, in the course of some communication which he had with lord Nelson, the very day before he last sailed from England, the noble lord told him, that all the property he had in the world did not exceed, at the utmost, 15,000*l.*; and that his debts nearly amounted to that sum. When one, then, considered the nature of the noble lord's services to this country, which, without meaning to depreciate the merit of any officer, he had no hesitation in saying, were far greater than those of any other officer the country had ever known, great even as the services of the duke of Marlborough were; having that impression upon his mind, an impression, indeed, which was, as it ought to be, universally prevalent, the right hon. gent. was surprised at the opposition made to a measure which proposed to grant merely sufficient to support the rank, dignity, and name, of this illustrious man. The right hon. gent. repeated that, if the committee would compare the sums allowed to the duke of Marlborough, with that under consideration, he was sure that all objections must disappear.

Mr. *Francis* rose and said: The public part I have already taken, on the subject of this grant, obliges me to say a few words on the present occasion. It does not appear to me, that the hon. gent. (col. Wood), who objects to the motion, has been convicted of any mistake. With respect to the grants successively made to the duke of Marlborough, you must observe the dates, and not confound the services and the periods. The manor of Woodstock was granted, and the expense of the palace provided for, in consequence of the victory at Blenheim, in August 1704. But, it appears by the journals, that, although his services, in the year 1702, were acknowledged in high terms, and that queen Anne desired nothing but, that the allowance of 5000*l.* a year, which she had granted to him, out of the post-office, for her own life, might be continued to his family, to support the honour of the dukedom, which she had lately conferred upon him, the house of commons positively refused it. No man can think more highly than I do of the services of lord Nelson. It would be invidious to enter into a comparison of personal merits between him and the duke of Marlborough. I shall, therefore, only say that, if the merits were equal, the cases would not be parallel. In the first place, queen Anne thought 5000*l.* a year quite sufficient to support the rank and title of a

Duke; but now it is not thought enough for the title of an Earl. But what makes the essential difference, in the two cases, is, that the duke of Marlborough was alive, and had children living. He, who received the reward, had earned it by acts of his own. Lord Nelson's collateral relations, personally, are unknown to the public, and can have no claim but what they derive from the accidental honour of bearing his name, and from services, in which they had no share. The gratitude, due to his memory, would, in my opinion, be better expressed with less profusion. He, who gives the public money, or his own, with moderation and economy, shews, that he values the thing he gives. Without arguing the question any longer, I adhere to my former opinion.

Mr. *H. Addington* thought it unnecessary to say any thing as to the merits of lord Nelson, whose character it would be as difficult to exalt by panegyric as to depreciate by calumny. But with respect to the measure before the committee, he observed, that it conveyed a proposition of reward for services of an unparalleled nature, far short indeed of that which was granted to the duke of Marlborough.

Mr. *Wilberforce* remarked, that if 5,000*l.* a year was, in the days of the duke of Marlborough, deemed necessary to support the dignity of a duke, that sum now, from the comparative value of money, was scarcely adequate to uphold the rank of an earl. But he viewed this grant altogether, not so much as a provision for the family of lord Nelson, as a pledge of national liberality, held out to our navy to encourage an imitation of that hero's example.

Lord *Henry Petty* conceived that, if any reference were had to the case of the duke of Marlborough in order to apply that case to the measure before the committee, such application could only serve to suggest a considerable augmentation of the proposed grant. The expence of building Blenheim alone, it appeared, exceeded the amount of the provision contained in this bill. But, independently of this expence, and the other sums alluded to by the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose), it was to be recollected that the family of the duke of Marlborough still enjoyed a revenue of 5000*l.* from the post-office, which was originally granted in consideration of the services of that distinguished officer. Of the sum which this bill proposed to allow, the noble lord observed that 20,000*l.* were to be divided between the two sisters of lord Nelson, who were, he was very sorry to say, rather in limited circumstances, but who were the peculiar objects of that hero's care and affection, and both of whom he bequeathed to his country for that provision which it was not in his power to leave them. Could that country then, which he so highly served, hesitate to execute his wishes? After the deduction of the 20,000*l.* it was intended to apply the remainder of the sum mentioned in the bill to erect a monument, which should transmit to posterity the fame of Nelson, and the services which he had rendered to his country. With regard to the allusions which had been made to economy, he thought them inapplicable in this instance; economy, generally speaking, should meet with his warmest support; but the economy of reward for great public services, he should ever deprecate, particularly at a period like the present, when it was necessary to keep up the tone of the public mind to a level with the dangers of the country; to excite men to emulation by the influence of this example.—As to the remarks of the hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) upon the propriety of granting the proposed sum to the collateral branches of lord Nelson's family, he thought the argument had not the weight that hon. gent. attached to it. For those branches being the objects of the noble lord's solicitude, belonging to his family and bearing his name, were, from all those motives which suggest a reward of this nature, fully entitled to the consideration of parliament. There was perhaps, no desire that operated more powerfully upon the minds of many men, than the desire of founding a family; and perhaps there was no class of men among whom this desire formed a greater stimulant to action, or a higher object of ambition, than those who composed the officers of the navy.—For what dangers did they encounter, what privations did they submit to, in order to communicate to others those means, those comforts and enjoyments, which they have no opportunity of enjoying themselves!—This feeling, which formed such a prominent feature in the character of a seaman, it was the duty and interest of parliament to cherish and to encourage; and what could serve as a greater encouragement to it, than the example which this bill proposed, of lord Nelson's merits laying the foundation of a distinguished family?—The clauses were then agreed to, and the report ordered to be received to-morrow.

[India Budget.] Lord Morpeth moved the order of the day, for resuming the adjourned debate on the East-India Budget. The house having resolved itself into a committee,

Mr. *Grant* said, that after the clear and satisfactory exposition given by the noble lord (Morpeth) of the present state of the Company's affairs, it was not his intention to have entered into much observation upon them; but, as the hon. general (Wellesley) had, on the first night of the debate, brought forward a variety of statements, which, in fact, amounted to another exposé of those affairs, having, for its object, a justification, or, rather, commendation, of the financial management of lord Wellesley, it became his duty to submit to the house the views he entertained of the principal subjects treated of in the hon. general's speech. But, first, it would be necessary for him to advert to some remarks which had fallen, on the preceding night, from another hon. gent. (Mr. Francis). That hon. gent. had said, that the Company's sales were now acknowledged to be productive of loss. Mr. Grant denied, that any such acknowledgment was made by those connected with the Company, or that the statements on the table would support the hon. gentleman's allegations in respect to loss on the sales. The amount of profit on sales ending 1st March, 1805, Mr. Grant observed, was, by the printed account on the table, No. 25 - - £1,172,779

And the charges of all kinds were per said account - - - - -			1,591,319
Leaving an apparent deficiency of - £			418,540
But among these charges, were several articles which did not belong to the commerce, and were entirely of a territorial nature, such as political charges on account of the territory		£267,249	
Military ditto - - -		112,234	
St. Helena charges are stated at - -	£76,013		
But the average of 3 years is only	63,000		
		13,013	
The total of these is - - -			£ 392,496
Leaving a deficit of only - -			£ 25,924

And this might fairly be placed, also, to the political charges, because the settlement of St. Helena answered political purposes, as well as commercial, and a part of its charge ought justly to go to the former head. It would be unfair, however, to judge of the result of the Company's commerce by the last year; because the imports from India, in that year, were most uncommonly small, the receipts from thence having been less than the estimate in the Indian accounts of 1804-5, in the sum of 41,78,282 rupees; and the sales also were, from the unsettled state of Europe, much more unfavourable than usual, as would appear from reverting to the accounts of former years.

In 9 years, from 1795 to 1803, the average of profits was - - - -	£1,397,971
In 5 years, from 1799 to 1803, it was	1,677,517
In 2 years, in 1804 and 1805 - -	1,185,307
Difference short, in the average of the 2 last years, per annum - - -	£ 492,210

The hon. gent. said, he should have occasion, in the sequel, to notice some other things, advanced by the hon. gent. (Mr. Francis); but, in the mean time, would address himself to the statement of accounts between India and Europe, which the hon. general had delivered in his speech, on the former night. By that statement, the hon. general made the commerce with Europe to be indebted to the territorial revenue, from April 1798, to April 1804, in the sum

of - - - - -	£3,578,590
And, from April 1793, to April 1798, in	2,216,032
Both	£5,794,622
To which if the interest on these sums were added, it would be - -	2,407,839
Making a total of - - -	£ 8,202,461

He did not question, that the hon. general was satisfied as to the accuracy of the statement he thus brought forward; but it would be found to be extremely erroneous. In an account drawn up with great care at the India House, which he (Mr. Grant) had occasion, in a former session, to produce to the house, and which he now held in his hand, the debits and credits between Britain, on the one hand, and India and China, on the other, from the year 1788-9 to 1802-3, forming a period of 15 years, stood thus:

Total amount of supplies of goods, stores, and bullion, to India and China - - -		£43,353,837
Ditto, of payments in England, on account of India and China - - -		5,085,690
		£48,439,527
Ditto, of receipts from India and China in goods and bills	£46,973,820	
Ditto, of receipts in England, on acct. of India - -	1,599,586	
		48,573,406
Balance in favour of India - - £		133,879

In this account, every thing received from India and China, in any way, was credited; every thing supplied to them was debited. Goods lost outward bound were not charged to India and China; but goods lost homeward bound, were placed to the credit of India and China. India had also credit for the commercial charges paid there, which were not included in its invoices;

and for loss on the sales of exports thither. The exchange was, as usual, at 2*s.* per current rupee, 2*s.* 3*d.* the Bombay rupee, and 6*s.* 8*d.* the pagoda. The bills drawn by India and China were debited; the sums received from government in England, for the expences of military expeditions from India, were credited.—Again, by a new account, which he had caused to be made up between India and China, on the one hand, and England, on the other, for 10 years, from 1793-4 to 1802-3,

The total amount of supplies to India and China were - - -		£29,531,583
The total amount of political payments in England, on account of the territory in India, was - -		3,743,028
Both		£33,274,611
Total amount of receipts from those countries - -	£33,903,574	
Ditto in England, on the account of India - -	1,599,586	
Both		35,503,160
Excess of receipts from India and China, in this peroid - - -		£228,549

The causes of this difference of Result, in the last period of 10 years, appeared to be these:

In the first period, from 1788-9 to 1792-3, the imports from India and China were proportionably less - - - -	£752,008
Payment to government at home, more	500,000
Difference of political charges, more -	842,661
	£2,094,669
Difference apparent per first account of 15 years - - -	133,879
Total -	£222,548

as above.—The hon. gent. said, he had also caused a third account to be made out, shewing the state of Accounts between the same countries for 7 years, from 1798-9 to 1804-5, inclusive; which comprehended nearly the whole time of lord Wellesley's government; and this account stood thus:

Total supplies to India and China -		£25,782;632
Political charges paid in England -		2,833,227
Both		£28,615,859
Total imports - - -	£23,286,507	
Payments received in England - - -	4,762,767	
		28,079,274
Balance against India - -		£ 536,585
To which may be added the balance that appears against India in 1805-6, when the exports to it were very large, and the receipts from it unusually small - -		1,690,100
Total against India and China, in 8 years, up to 1st Sept. 1805 - -		£ 2,226,685

There was still another way of reviewing this account:

The balance as above, in a period of 15 years, from 1788-9 to 1802-3, was in favour of India	£133,879
In the two following years, 1803-4 and 1804-5, the balance was against India	642,840
Apparent balance against India and China in 17 years - -	£508,961

Although these accounts, comprehending a great variety of transactions for a considerable length of time, were not to be contended for as absolutely perfect; yet the hon. gent. said, they were, as far as he knew, just; and he must conclude them to be, in fact, substantially so; and, he did not question, far more accurate than those with which the hon. general had been furnished; though he did not doubt they, also, had been made up without any intentional error.

These statements, produced by the hon. general, made the balance against the commerce, from April 1793, to April 1804 -	£5,794,622
To which add the balance by Mr. Grant's statements in favour of it, as above -	508,961
And the whole difference would be -	£6,303,583

It must, therefore, be highly presumable, that there were some great omissions, in the hon. general's accounts, to the credit of England; probably, the bills drawn on England. [General Wellesley dissented from this observation; and it appeared in the debate, on a following night, that the political charges paid in England, on account of the territory, were not credited in the general's statements, and made the principal cause of difference.] On the whole, therefore, there was no evidence, that the commerce owed any thing to the territory, or that any part of the increase of the India debt was to be charged to the commerce. The hon. gent. next adverted to the Account entitled "Stock per Computation;" on which Mr. Francis had made some animadversions. This account shews the whole state and result of the Company's affairs, at home and abroad. In this account, the capital stock, subscribed by the members of the Company, and owing to them, was not included, because an order of the house had directed it to be omitted; but this would make no difference in any one's judgment; and there was a fair reason why it should be omitted, because, when a partnership laid an account of its debits and credits before those to whom it was indebted, it never included the debts owing to the partners, or, in other words, their capital; the question being, only what the partnership owed to others, and what it had to satisfy them. By this account of stock, the Company appear, contrary to all unfavourable insinuations, to be solvent; 1st, as to all the demands upon them from creditors, exclusive of their own body, and, 2dly, as to their own stockholders, thus;

The balance of the Stock per Computation, in favour of the Company, over and above all claims

upon them, except by the stockholders for stock, is	£6,181,267
The value of the stock, at the rates at which it is subscribed, is	7,780,000
And this account exhibits, that to pay up the stockholders, a sum would be wanting of	£1,598,733
But, to answer this apparent balance, there are fortifications, buildings, and a variety of articles, comprised under the head of Dead Stock, which stands in the Company's books (deducting 400,000*l.* awarded for that head in the time of queen Anne) at	£9,559,400
Balance in favour	£7,960,667
From which, admit deductions made by government at home, from the Company's claims on it	2,460,000
There will still remain	£5,500,067

which, undoubtedly, must be regarded as a great and valuable mass of property; for which it must be admitted, that the Company would, in all reason, have to receive a very large sum, if, for the sake of argument, it were now supposed, that the territory were to be transferred from them to government. But, besides all this, the Company possess an immense territory; which, by retrenchments, will immediately produce an available surplus, that must, progressively, improve the state of the Company's affairs, by reducing the debt, and the interest on it.—The hon. gent. next proceeded to take a view of the Company's Indian Debt. The hon. general had computed this debt to be, at the end of April 1806, something more than 27 millions sterling; and, of this sum, he estimated about 16 millions to have been incurred during the administration of lord Wellesley. Mr. Grant observed that, according to the Budget Accounts, the Debt had been,

On the 30th of April, 1804	£22,536,207
On the 30th of April, 1805	25,715,760
And on the 30th of April, 1806, by computation	28,500,000

after deducting the amount of the sinking fund. But, as it had been found, after the close of all our wars in India, that there were large arrears due for military expenses, over and above the sums previously reckoned upon in estimates, so he could not help apprehending, that, in the complicated military operations lately carried on upon a scale large beyond all former example, the same thing would be experienced in a considerable degree; and he, therefore, thought it fair to allow, at least, a million and a half for arrears of military charges not yet brought to account. This sum would make the debt, on the 30th of April, 1806, after deducting the amount of the sinking fund, 30 millions sterling. On the accumulation of this debt, he observed, that, in 1793, it had stood at £8,074,865

In 1798, when lord Wellesley's government commenced, at	11,032,645
And in 1806, including the arrears above-mentioned for expences in 1805	30,000,000
So that the accumulation of the Debt, during lord Wellesley's government, would be about 19 millions, instead of 16 millions, besides a sum paid off from 1799 to 1805, by bills on England of	2,532,195

making, altogether, the increase of the Debt, in the 8 years of his lordship's administration, about 21½ millons sterling. How this vast sum had been expended, was a question that required particular investigation, before it could be accurately answered. It was a question of very serious import. Clear it was, that the hon. general's method of accounting for it was not satisfactory, because he had supposed a considerable part to have been incurred by borrowing money in India to supply investments to Europe; which supposition was shewn to be groundless by the statements Mr. Grant had exhibited. Doubtless, a very large proportion of the Debt had been occasioned by the expenses of the military expeditions undertaken in India, at the desire of the king's government, by the wars we had carried on there since the year 1798, and by the larger balances which the extended scale of our affairs had placed in the various offices and departments of the different presidencies. The increasing Interest on the Debt would, alone, account for the absorption of a large sum of the resources of government.

In 7 years, from 1791-2 to 1797-8, there had been paid, for interest, on the Indian Debt	£3,688,000
In 7 years, from 1789 to 1804-5, the amount of payments for interest is	9,000,000
Making an increase for the payment of Interest in the last 7 years, of	5,440,000

With regard to the debts termed optional, they were understood to be a class of debts contracted since the year 1800, and amounted,

For Bengal, to	£5,022,000
For Madras	1,000,000
Both making	£6,022,000

The characteristic of these Debts was, that the interest as well as the principal was payable in England at the option of the lenders, and both principal and interest at rates of exchange which rendered it probable, that payment of them might be demanded in England. All the other Debts were in a certain sense optional, the principal being also transferable to England, but at a rate of exchange which made it improbable that the holders would avail themselves of that option. Undoubtedly, the contingency of being liable to be called on in England for the payment of only six millions, though any such demand could only come in the course of some years, and so not without affording time for preparation, was a very serious contingency, which ought to be looked at with the other considerations belonging to this subject, unquestionably most alarming, of the Indian Debt.—The great question which now called for attention, was the liquidation of this enormous Debt. It was of a magnitude which left all former example far behind, and, unless means were taken to reduce it, the interest alone must overwhelm the affairs of the company. A plan for this purpose was necessary, and immediately necessary. It should be the first object of consideration, and of any such plan the first principle must be a retrenchment of our expenditure. We had heard much from the hon. general and others, of the increase of our Indian revenues; but in vain are our revenues increased, if the increase of our expenses keeps pace with them. The true question is not, what is the amount of our revenues, but what is the amount of our surplus; and unhappily it will be found, that as our revenues have increased of late years, our surplus has diminished, as will appear from the following particulars:

Revenue.	Interest.	Charges.	Net Rev.
	In the years 1793-4.		
£. 8294399	£. 526205	£. 6115146	£. 1612226
	In the years 1802-3.		
13464537	1457377	10940324	869988
	In the years 1803-4.		[Deficit.
13273044	1534758	13518170	1779884

And this last year, in which, instead of a surplus, there was so large a deficit, included only a part of the expence of the first war with the Mahratta chiefs Dowlut Row Scindia and the Berar rajah. It was obvious, therefore, that there was a necessity for an available surplus, and in a degree commensurate to the occasion. Without this, all plans for the reduction of our Debt must be chimerical. No ingenuity of plan could relieve that man whose expences were greater than his income. This was not the time to enter into a discussion of the means of reducing the Debt, but it was clear that an economical spirit was essential; and this being presupposed, of which indeed the recent proceedings of the Bengal government give fair promises, he thought that the reduction was practicable, perhaps even without resorting to an increase of the Company's capital; though he did not conceive the objection of an hon. gentleman (Mr. Francis) to this measure to be sufficient, because, if money could be employed to advantage, as it was clear it could in the present case, it was immaterial whether the advantage was to be in the way of commerce or gain by interest. There were, however, other objections to increasing the capital at present; for, during war, it must be raised on terms comparatively unfavourable, and the public might object to the increase of the capital on such terms, for the purpose of paying off Indian Debt.—As the hon. general had enlarged on the improved state of the Company's credit in India during the administration of lord Wellesley, the hon. gent. said, he felt it necessary to make some remarks on that subject: and, first, with respect to the Sinking Fund established in Bengal. That fund, although it had indeed bought up a considerable sum of the Debt, had in fact given no extraordinary aid to the reduction of it; for it differed essentially in its principle from the Sinking Fund established in England, which with every new provision for the payment of interest on loans, laid an additional tax on the subject to form a fund for the reduction of the principal; here was an addition to the income of the state. But the Bengal Sinking Fund was formed by no such addition of income. It had only a part of an income existing before, appropriated to this particular object of buying up Company's paper, and an equal reduction might have been effected by the same sum in directly paying off debt, without any establishment of a Sinking Fund, the establishment of which, as all the available surplus of the Bengal revenue was pledged to the public to be primarily applied to pay off debt, seemed to trench on the faith of Government in respect to that pledge, and if it were true, as he had heard, that the advances to the Sinking Fund were even anticipated by loans from the treasury, this was certainly a direct violation of the pledge that had been given. On the other hand, it was to be admitted, that the purchases of Company's paper, by the sinking fund, served to keep up the credit of that paper. It was true, also, that the new optional loans, being given on far better terms to the lenders, than the earlier loans, did contribute to give an increased value to one description, at least, of Company's paper; but it was because the thing was really better; but there were several weighty objections to these loans: they frustrated the old remittance plan, for liquidating the Company's debt; they might be productive of very serious embarrassments to the Company's finances at home; and, above all, they were a dangerous instrument in the hands of any government, by enabling it to undertake schemes of conquest and ambition unsuitable to the intrinsic powers of our Indian government, and our true line of policy.—As to the merit that had been ascribed to lord Wellesley, for the reduction which had taken place in his time, in the rates of discount on the Company's paper, it would be found, on investigation, to result from causes distinct from increased confidence in the government, or increased prosperity in the public affairs. The sinking fund, as already observed, otherwise a measure liable to objection, had raised the value of the paper. The new paper issued, being of a better description than the old, was not only at a lower discount itself, but served to diminish the discount on the rest.—The property of the community in India was much increased; for, as the government became poor, the subjects became rich; and, therefore, more money was brought into the market to purchase paper, which enhanced its value. Great part of the nine millions sterling, paid for interest on the Debt, in the last 7 years, had, doubtless, gone for the purchase of new paper;—and, as the old loans, on which the discount had been highest, drew, in the course of time, nearer to the turn of payment, they, of course, became more valuable; whilst new paper, bearing the same disadvantageous conditions, was not again issued; all which will account for an improvement in the rates of discount, without ascribing it to the merit of government, or the confidence reposed in it; though it may be also true, that the éclat of victories and conquests might have raised sanguine expectations of future prosperity, to those who looked no farther.—As to the general influence of the late wars in India, on the affairs of the Company, he would not take this occasion of going into a digression, on a subject deserving of direct and serious discussion; but he thought it right, just to observe, that those wars had enormously increased the expenses and the Debt of the Company, without adding any security necessary to us; without even adding, permanently, much to our revenues; and at the expense of our reputation, for justice and moderation, in the eyes of India.—Before concluding, he wished to say a few words on the treaties lately concluded by sir Geo. Barlow, which had been censured by an hon. gent. (Mr. Francis), as precipitate. Mr. Grant said, they were conducted according to the general principles established by the legislature, and the orders of the Company; according to the positive instructions lord Cornwallis had carried out, and the opinions and commenced measures of that ever-to-be-lamented nobleman; that they were also to be justified by financial propriety; for, if, as an hon. general had said, there was no financial necessity for them, (which he (Mr. Grant) did not admit,) there was, at least, great financial expediency; there was no just object for carrying on the war; every thing was against it; and, therefore, the sooner it was terminated, consistently with our credit, which these treaties have preserved, the better.—As to the severe censures which the same hon. gent. (Mr. Francis) states the court to have passed on sir G. Barlow, they were confined to an expression of the court's great surprise, that the members of the board should have submitted to a virtual exclusion from their official functions, by the assumptions of the governor-general; but as to sudden change in the conduct of sir G. Barlow, with regard to the line of policy he had acquiesced in under lord Wellesley's government, it was not to be ascribed to a mean compliance, but to his sense of duty, on learning what he had not distinctly understood before, the positive determination of the authorities at home to change the system of foreign policy which lord Wellesley had followed. Sir G. Barlow had conducted himself, in the late negociations consequent of the views entertained at home, with great vigour and ability; his general merits were acknowledged, even by administration; and he was in high esteem with the Company, although they had not, on account of his acquiescence in the measures of lord Wellesley, at first nominated him provisional successor to lord Cornwallis; and, indeed, although they had been strangely censured for sending out that nobleman in a dying state, Mr. Grant solemnly declared, that he had no idea of his being in ill health when he went out; otherwise, neither he, nor any one who loved that most amiable man, would have contributed to his going out. But, in fact, sir G. Barlow, by standing next to lord Cornwallis, had all the benefit, and so had the service, of a provisional appointment, saving only the exercise of the extraordinary powers of governor-general at the presidency, which was not likely to be of any importance.—As to the question, that had lately been very warmly agitated, concerning the removal of sir G. Barlow, and the appointment of a successor to him, Mr. G. said, he should, for different reasons, then abstain from entering into it. It had already taken a determinate shape. The body with which he was connected, had followed a line concerning it, in forbearing to bring it before that house, which he should acquiesce in; and he himself, who had, in the earlier proceedings, been, as chairman, a party concerned, had, he understood, been misrepresented in some things, though he did not know by whom, nor, exactly, in what terms; but, he had endeavoured to bring what had been whispered into light; to bring it into a tangible shape, in order to its refutation; of which he was most confident; for, he solemnly declared that, in the whole of the transaction alluded to, as far as he was concerned, he had acted uprightly and conscientiously, as his friend (Mr. Smith) the deputy-chairman, than whom a more honourable man did not exist, had also done; and they were most anxious for an opportunity of vindicating themselves; and should be obliged to any gentleman in that house, or out of it, to aid them, in bringing any thing alleged against their conduct into light.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* rose in reply to the hon. gent. (Mr. Grant), and observed, that he knew not how far the speeches and statement of the hon. ex-chairman had tended to dispel the gloomy apprehensions which must have arisen from the result of the candid and perspicuous detail of the noble lord (Morpeth) on a former night. He knew not how far he might venture to calculate upon the impression he should endeavour to make on the committee, by the totally different view he should take of the magnitude and the causes of the Company's present distress. But he felt it his duty, first to apprise the committee of the nature and extent of the responsibility imposed upon the house and the country, by the act of the 33d of his present majesty. No man, after reading that act, could entertain any other idea than that of direct partnership. By the 111th clause of that act, disposing of the profits of the company, it appeared that "during the continuance of the exclusive trade, the net proceeds of the Company's sales of Goods at home, with the duties and allowances arising from the private trade, and *all other profits* of the said company, in Great Britain, shall be applied and disposed of (after other preferences) in the payment of a sum not exceeding 500,000*l.* per annum into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, to be applied as parliament shall direct." Here, after quoting these words of the act, the hon. member proceeded to observe, that, however equal this partnership might be in responsibility, the profits had been by no means equally divided; for whilst the proprietors had been receiving 10 and a half per cent. on their nominal capital, the country had been disappointed of every half-yearly payment but two of its stipulated proportion; and, at the same time, an enormous debt had been accumulating by the company, and an enormous expence constantly incurred by the state in the protection of their commerce and dominions.—It had been admitted by the hon. gent. who spoke last, that a responsibility for the India Company of 17 millions hung over England at a time the most critical in her own financial affairs; a demand, infinitely beyond the company's faculty of answering. The house and the country would, therefore, soon be called upon to make it good. A fresh minute investigation was, therefore, now become absolutely necessary, and this at a time when the government ought to be wholly occupied in its own more immediate defence and support. The noble lord, it was true, had declared it to be the duty and intention of the commissioners for India affairs to call the attention of parliament to this subject at an early peiod of the next session. In the mean time the hon. member conceived he was doing his duty to his country, however irksome and ungracious the task might prove, to dissect this anomalous mixture of imperial commerce and commercial dominion; to separate the capital actually absorbed by this commerce, from the mass of debts, payments, and assets, comprehended in the Budget statement annually laid before the house. For, if it should appear, that any thing like his estimates of its amount was drawn from a capital wholly borrowed at interest, it would be utterly impossible to reject the conclusion he had so frequently pressed upon the house, that the trade had been a losing one to an immense amount; and this fact would do away all the arguments of the hon. ex-chairman, which he had again adduced from an irrelevant statement of the interchange of property between India and Europe. The hon. gent. had endeavoured to prove, by this statement, taking three different views of the subject, that the company's trade was not indebted to the territories, or to the India debt. He should, however, now beg leave to distinguish what they had always been studiously endeavouring to confound; and to separate the trading capital from the resources of dominion, and, as far as the documents before the house would allow him, the capital required by the India trade, from that of China.—The hon. Alderman then proceeded to read an extract from the Budgets of 1804 and 1805, reciting, as he proceeded, the points of reference in each. The advances for trade in the three Presidencies, and Fort Marlborough in 1802-3 were, he observed, upwards of two millions. While these cargoes were coming home, others were collecting at the Presidencies which employed 2,300,000*l.* more.

The Cash Balances abroad on the 30th of April, 1804, were nearly - -	£.600,000
So that taking these Sums, as they stood, of - - -	2,100,000
	2,300,000
	600,000
	£.5,000,000
The India Imports employed an active capital of five millions.	
At this period there were at home, of goods sold and not paid for -	£.1,150,000
Goods in England, unsold, partly China, and partly India produce, £.6,440,000, of which he should charge the India trade with one half - - -	3,220,000
This made India commerce amount to upwards of nine millions.	
With regard to the Exports, the amount of the cargoes from England, not arrived at their destination, at the date of the quick stock account, was -	3,580,000
Exports paid for, exclusive of Bullion - - - - -	1,200,000
Silver exported and remaining -	820,000
Impress and war allowances on ships out - - - -	450,000
Which gave, according to stock, by computation, in the whole - -	£.6,050,000

Half of which belonged to India: the whole India concern, therefore, absorbed twelve millions.—The China cargoes, homeward bound, he should estimate at three millions; those providing abroad were no-where stated, but on an estimate of 1803 and 1804, he should assume 3 millions, making together, 6 millions; if, to this, he added 3 millions, being the moiety deducted from the India account before-mentioned of 6,050,000*l.*, it made the sum of 9 millions, which, added to the 12 millions, already mentioned, formed a mass of 21 millions sterling, of active capital, absolutely employed in the joint commerce of India and China. The hon. ex-chairman had next stated, as part of the dormant capital, the value of East-India house, warehouses, &c. - - - - £.992,200

Dead stock purchased 100 years since, and still remaining in the Company's accounts £.400,000

The total of these items, which, however, were not all that might be charged to the trade, the committee would perceive, was upwards of 21 millions: he was aware that some of the items might probably be subject to dispute; he would, nevertheless, take what had been repeatedly acknowledged, and, he rather thought, by the noble lord near him (lord Castlereagh), that the commerce of the East-India company required four capitals, or about four-and-twenty millions sterling. For although India goods were paid for before manufactured, he believed many of the English goods exported, were bought upon credit, and the bills drawn from India and China; the latter particularly supplied the capital to a very considerable extent.—The alderman then proceeded to complain of the very small portion of the manufactures of this country, which this immense capital enabled the Company to export to India, and the inconsiderable British tonnage employed in this trade. The number of tons, he stated to be, not more than 20,000 out, and the same home; and the merchandize for the last 11 years, by referring to the papers on the table, 5 millions; or, on an average, below 500,000*l.* per annum:—Was this small and contemptible proportion of the national exports our natural share of the trade to British India, to acquire and defend which, the mother country had made such sacrifices; and was now in danger of being soon called on to make a sacrifice of 17 millions more? Was this a consideration sufficient to justify the exclusion of the rest of his majesty's subjects from a free intercourse with the immense and populous regions, within the limits of the Company's charter, extending

from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn; while neutral flags could range at large throughout the Pacific and India oceans, and derive encouragement and support to their rising and rival commerce and navigation, from a free and unlimited access to every one of the company's establishments, whither they carried and sold, unmolested, not only the produce of their own, but the manufactures of this country, and brought away, in return, the productions of India, to meet us in every market of Europe and America? Not that he disapproved of their admission into the ports of India; the silver they carried there, had afforded considerable relief to the circulation. All he had ever claimed, was, a right in British subjects, to a fair competition with foreigners in that part of the trade, which the company had neither faculty, nor inclination to carry on.—It next became necessary to enquire into the fact: he had asserted on a former evening, with regard to the means which the Company possessed, of carrying on this limited commerce, from funds of their own; a commerce which must, from its very nature, prove ruinous, from the expensive manner in which the merchandize was conveyed in ships larger than necessary; expensively fitted up, and constructed on principles, which diminished their capacity for stowage of merchandize, on the plea of enabling them the better to act as ships of war. —Four-and-twenty millions he had assumed as the capital required to carry on this commerce. This capital he looked for, in vain, in the account of stock by computation, where, instead of finding any capital, he repeated, and with regret, the balance, if fairly taken, was considerably against the company. In this account, exclusive of the Company's capital, a balance was assumed of - - £.6,181,267
The Company's capital actually cost - - - - 7,780,000

So that the balance - £.1,598,733

was the amount which, upon their own statement, the Company were minus.—The hon. ex-chairman had argued at considerable length against this mode of stating the account, and wished to compare the joint stock of a great public and chartered company with the capital of a private partnership or individual trader: but was there any analogy between them? The one was a public and joint stock, in which the subjects at large held transferable shares, always at market, and fluctuating in value, according to the price of money, and the estimation or credit of the Company. In the instance before the committee, this Company enjoyed privileges, guaranteed by parliament, and possessed territories, producing a princely revenue; their stock, therefore, partook of the nature of the public securities of this country, pledged for the national debt, and was as much a public claim, as the India debt, or the bond debt of upwards of 2 millions at home. It came, by no means, under the description of the capital of tradesmen, which must always be applied to the payment of debts, before they can be deemed insolvent; and is, therefore, properly excluded, when a statement of their affairs is laid before their creditors. In this view of the subject, he would, therefore, ask, where he was to find the 24 millions, required for trade? where else but in the general assets of the stock account, in which a debt of 30 millions, mostly at India interest, made so prominent a figure. The interest of that debt was a charge upon the whole concern of revenue and commerce; and to exclude a proportion of that interest from the charges of the trade, was, he contended, contrary to the common sense and reason of mankind, whilst the admission of it totally abolished all the profit so vauntingly assumed upon the commerce at large.—Here he would ask the hon. ex-deputy chairman behind him (Mr. G. Smith), who was, besides, a banker of the first eminence, his candid opinion of the stock, by computation, taken without the capital, according to the hon. ex-chairman's statement; and which, therefore, might be considered as the exposition of the affairs of one of his customers in embarrassed circumstances, and calling on his banker for assistance: it was only considering millions as thousands, and the analogy would be complete. Before the hon. banker advanced any considerable sum, such as 17 millions, he meant 17 thousands, he was perfectly sure the hon. banker would sit down, and minutely scrutinize the items on the credit side of this account. All the debts, he would know, must be answered, and probably to an amount beyond the statement; but he would naturally enquire what was the nature of the assets to answer them.—Here the hon. member discussed several of the items of the stock account up to March 1805. The first was a sum of 1,207,560*l.*, alledged to be due from government to the Company: this, he contended, was not the case; it was a part of the national debt, consisting of consols, and standing in the name of the Company, for which they had taken credit at par, valuing them at 60: this item was overcharged in the sum of 483,024*l.* Another debt of government for stores and supplies, which stood at 4,460,192*l.*, had been, by a special commission, curtailed in the sum of 2,089,392*l.* Another item, which must come against the general assets, was a charge upon the Carnatic estate, of 5,630,838*l.*; under investigation, it was true, but substantiated abroad under the register of the late nabob's creditors; and, as he believed, still running at interest: to avoid much cavil on this item, he would strike off whatever should appear reasonable to any member of the committee; he would, therefore, call it only 4 millions. Here he must thank the noble lord (Morpeth) for his candour in producing a prospective estimate of the revenues and charges in India, for 1805 and 1806, by which it appeared that the debts abroad on the 1st of March last, would be increased in the sum of 2,655,957*l.* (and this without any provision for investment). —The next article was, it was true, a matter of estimate and opinion: it regarded the actual value of an item, which appeared, in the quick stock abroad, under the title of Debts Outstanding, and included advances for Investment, arrears of Revenue, Loans to Rajahs and Zemindars, (the Guicuwah Rajah among the rest), to no less an amount than 9,168,000*l.*: but, would any man of business in the house, either financial or commercial, deny the hon. banker's claim to a considerable allowance for bad debts under this article? Would 2 millions be too much to deduct from this item? The sums, therefore, to be deducted on the whole account, were - - - £.2,000,000

483,024

2,089,392

4,000,000

2,655,957

Forming a total of - - £.11,228,373

Which, when set against the balance, in favour, in the account before him, of - £.6,181,267

Left a balance against the Company, of - - - £.5,047,106

There was, indeed, as the last speaker had stated, a memorandum at the foot of the stock account, by which a sum of no less than 9,994,208*l.* was stated as the cost of Buildings and Fortifications, of Plate, Furniture, Vessels, and Plantations, since the year 1702; which sum the hon. ex-chairman had considered as an available asset, against the alledged deficiency.—He was very much surprised, indeed, to find this item adduced in the manner it had been: were it even valid, this sum, though nearly ten millions, would not square the account, when the Company's capital, and the deficiency he had just proved, should be set against it. But, really, a single glance at the title of this account, would remove every idea of considering it as a claim upon government, when the lease should expire.—One column, amounting to nearly two millions, consisted of Household Furniture, Farming Stock, Pleasure Boats, Plate, and Table Linen, of which articles, the wear of an hundred years had not much increased the value: of what nature were the Buildings? Some of them forts upon the great rivers, dismantled by time, or swept away by the changes of currents. Others, either absolutely levelled with the ground, and rebuilt, or, if standing, repaired at an enormous expence.—Others of the buildings had given place to the new (and, if they pleased, splendid) palace lately erected for the accommodation of the governor-general, which, however it had been reprobated, the hon. member thought highly necessary and becoming. Would such items as these be admitted in a final adjustment between the Company and the state, that state which had expended so many millions, in effecting the acquisition, and protecting, by its marine, these commercial dominions? Was it nothing that the country was now actually deprived of the services of 25 of its own regiments; that two squadrons were maintained in the Indian seas; that Ceylon once, and the Cape of Good Hope had been twice conquered and retained, at an enormous expence; that a sum of 3 millions and a half had been paid to the Company on this account since 1804, and a further sum of 2 millions was now under liquidation?—If there must exist an *imperium in imperio*, while it did exist, the subordinate empire ought, at least, to bear its own expences, of which these ought to form a part. The hon. alderman, therefore, totally rejected this item of ten millions.—Would an exposition, he asked, such as this now appeared, if made by an individual, induce any banker to enable him to continue the concern? The hon. member, for his part, declared, that he could not see how it was possible to continue this system, cumbrous and unprofitable as it was: time would, perhaps, shew what was to be done; or, he might learn, from the noble lord who had lately presided at the India board, how the Company were to go on, without having recourse, as on a former occasion, to the aid of parliament, its partner in this concern. For himself, he could see no other justifiable mode of affording that relief, than a previous examination into their affairs, and a resolution to separate the revenue from the trade. As to the hope expressed by the hon. ex-chairman, that their affairs would recover, during a long period of peace in India, it was with regret, he stated, that the best-informed men on the spot, were by no means sanguine in this particular.—By an hon. general's calculation of the immediate savings on a peace establishment, 740,000*l.* were expected to be saved in the first year: but would that keep down, even the interest of their enormous debt? Would it afford any resource for investment? Might not that balance be absorbed by unforeseen contingencies; or arrested to pay off unstated claims, in the winding up of the last war accounts?—The noble lord, and the committee, must see, by this statement of facts, deduced from documents on the table, and authenticated by the Company themselves, how utterly impossible it was, any longer to support this anomalous mixture of trade and dominion, unprecedented, except in a solitary and calamitous instance, that of the Dutch East-India Company, whose fate he need not recall to their recollection.—The hon. member observed, that he was utterly at a loss to suggest any remedy to the distress already existing, much less to point out the means of continuing the Company's trade, even on its present contracted scale; for, he would state to the noble lord an important fact; and, he hoped it would convince him it was high time to check the present system. The faculty of borrowing abroad was at an end, and the ships of the Company were actually loading home with private goods at 29*l.* per ton, for want of the regular investment; while the Company, for this very tonnage, were paying 60*l.*, making this prodigious and unnecessary sacrifice for the sake of prosecuting their favourite plan of excluding the ships of individuals, who could gain, by navigating on still lower terms, than what is exacted upon private trade.—In this way, neutrals were suffered to encroach upon our natural intercourse with India, and to nourish, at our expence, their maritime power and commercial importance.—How long was the merchandize of the private trader to be reluctantly brought home at this immense loss; and a fair competition between Imperial commerce, and the exertions of the British merchant withheld? So confined was the trade of the Company, that it visited no shores but their own, while the neutral flag, as he had already remarked, ranged, unmolested, and even encouraged, from the Pacific to the Indian ocean; and from these to every other part of the globe.—But what pressed immediately on the committee, was, the present distress of the Company, and the inevitable call on parliament for relief. How far the country was bound to answer that call, would appear from Mr. Dundas's Letter to the Directors, at the discussion respecting the renewal of their charter; wherein he expressed his opinion, that the debts of the Company must accompany the territory into whosesoever hands it might fall. Whether the debt had accrued, from losses in trade, or from territorial expences, the committee would now judge; for his part, he agreed perfectly with the hon. general (Sir Arthur Wellesley) in his statement of the subject; and that investment, and not war, had swelled the debt to its present magnitude.—His own chief object, in this long detail, was, to warn the noble lord of the responsibility of the country. At present, he would make no motion, but would content himself with the promise of the noble lord, that an investigation would soon take place. Certainly, such was the situation of things, that strong and decisive measures were become necessary. When the disorder was violent, strong remedies must be administered. With regard to the right and extent of interference on the part of government, he should merely quote the authority of a great statesman (the earl of Liverpool), just leaving the world, distinguished for having asserted the rights of the British flag; and who now, after a long and illustrious career, and already sinking into the grave, had yet vigour enough to compose, by his expiring lamp, an Address to his Sovereign on the intricate subject of Coinage, which work would add to his already acquired fame, as a political economist. The words were to be found in a pamphlet on the Conduct of Great Britain towards neutral Nations.—"The rights of mankind admit of various degrees; and whenever two of these come into competition, the lowest in the scale must give place to the higher. Each man hath a right to perform certain actions; but if the destruction of another should follow from them, would not this be a just cause of restraint?" How far this high authority applied, in the present case, he must leave to the noble lord to determine; certain he was, that it would have its due weight, in the consideration of this important subject. The hon. Alderman concluded, by observing, that he felt grateful to the committee for their indulgent hearing; and would no longer trespass on their attention.

Lord *Castlereagh* was fully aware of the difficulties under which the East-India Company at present laboured. He nevertheless was very far from entertaining in his mind that gloomy view of the Company's affairs which had been drawn by the worthy alderman who had just sat down. On the contrary, he was well convinced that if the Company's affairs were vigorously conducted, it would not be long before they would reach as great a state of prosperity as the most sanguine wishes of any friend to the interests of the Company could reasonably entitle them to expect. For the accomplishment of this great object he would recommend that the general state of the Company's affairs should undergo the most ample investigation before a committee. The result, he was confident, would be highly favourable to the Company. But, at the same time that he was convinced, from his knowledge of the affairs of the Company, that a committee which had it in view to obtain a correct statement of the debts, assets, and revenue of the Company, must necessarily draw inferences favourable to the Company, as he had before stated; still he most clearly saw that something was wanting for the present to be done for the assistance of the Company. To attain this great and most desirable object, he would recommend that a loan should be raised under the sanction of parliament; not that he could by any means suppose that there could be any hesitation or doubt of the solvency of the Company, but that he saw how much more advantageously a loan would be raised under such circumstances, than if the Company itself was to go into the market for that purpose. Before Ireland was united to this country, it was the uniform practice ith the English parliament to include the loan for Ireland in one general vote along with that which was given for this country. By the adoption of such a system, the Company would gain what they most particularly wanted, an extension of their capital; and the public would have considerably better security than they could now possibly have, as, from the profits to accrue from such an extension of capital, there would be a sinking fund for the total and speedy extinction of the whole debt.

Dr. *Laurence* caught the Speaker's eye, and was entering into a consideration of the subject, when

Mr. *Robson* rose to order. He observed, that on so important an occasion, an occasion that required the fullest attendance, not one of his majesty's ministers was present, to guard the purse of the public: and as he observed by the order-book, that little business stood for to-morrow, he should move an adjournment.—The gallery was then cleared, and there being only 31 members present, the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 16.

[MINUTES.] The royal assent was given by commission to the Scots Distillery bill, the Vote of Credit bill, the Irish Customs bill, the Irish Prizage bill, the Greenwich Chest bill, the Greenwich Hospital bill, the Portsmouth and Dover Works bill, the Training bill, the Militia Ballot bill, and the Irish Road bill. The commissioners were the lord Chancellor, earl Spencer, and lord Walsingham. The Slave Ship Restriction bill, the Irish School Commissioners bill, and the Nabob of Arcot Creditors bill were read a third time and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 16.

[MINUTES.] The Land Tax Redemption Amendment bill, the Warehousing Goods bill, the Woods and Forests Surveyors' bill, the Windsor Forest bill, the Irish Hops Importation bill, the Grenada Loan bill, the Lottery bill, and the Stage Coach bill, were read a third time and passed. Upon the latter, sir John Sinclair took occasion to observe, that the provisions of this bill did not appear to go far enough to satisfy the wishes of the public. But yet it formed an additional arrangement to those already existing, which he hoped would operate to diminish the evils complained of, as to the number of passengers, particularly outside, upon stage coaches, and the general conduct of the drivers and guards of such vehicles. The hon. bart. added, that this bill was only meant to be temporary, and that he would, very early in the next session, call the attention of the house to this subject, in order that endeavours should be made to establish a more eligible system.

[Mr. Pitt's Debts.] The house having resolved itself into a committee upon the Consolidated Fund bill, Mr. Vansittart moved a clause of appropriation.

Lord *Folkestone* observed upon that part of the account in which it appeared that 41,010*l.* 6*s.* had been paid for the discharge of Mr. Pitt's debts, although the words of the address voted by the house upon this subject contained these precise words, "a sum not exceeding 40,000*l.*"

Mr. *Vansittart* remarked upon the insignificant amount of the difference alluded to by the noble lord, and stated, that this difference might be considered the result of the order, that no deduction for fees should be made upon the sum originally granted.

Lord *Folkestone* said, that to overlook such a difference would be to establish a precedent, tending to justify the minister in exceeding the grant of that house, in applying a sum of the public money beyond that which parliament or that house might authorize. The noble lord also noticed some incorrectness in casting up the accounts upon which this bill was founded.

Mr. *Vansittart* referred the noble lord to the journals, in which he would find a similar difference to that of which he now complained, and that in the case of the illustrious Chatham; which difference was afterwards sanctioned by the house of commons.—The resolutions were then agreed to, and the report was ordered to be brought up to-morrow.

[Barrack Abuses.] Mr. *Robson* rose, pursuant to notice, to call the attention of the house to the accounts on the table, with respect to the expenditure of the public money in the barrack department. In times like the present, when the national expenditure was no less than one million and a half weekly; when the national burthens were rapidly increasing, and likely to increase still farther, he did not think it necessary to make any apology to the house for attempting to occupy its attention upon the subject of the flagrant abuses, which, he had no doubt of being able to shew, existed in the department to which his motion would refer. It was now nearly two months since he had felt it his duty to mention this subject in the house; but, at that time, he was by no means so well acquainted with the mal-practices which prevailed for these ten years back, as he had since become. He was now fully satisfied, that the statement he before made was even below the fact. The house would recollect, that, when he brought the business forward, many gentlemen seemed to doubt the correctness of his information; and that, in consequence of such doubt, he received a check that was calculated to discourage the prosecution of his object; but no such check should ever avail to restrain him from the performance of his duty, or damp his feelings in the pursuit of the public good. However, notwithstanding this check, it turned out immediately afterwards, that the rectitude of his pursuit was recognised even by those from whom the check proceeded. For the noble lord (H. Petty), whom he now saw in his place, but a few days afterwards brought forward precisely the same motions, which, when proposed by him, were rejected. But, at the time of that rejection, he was fully persuaded that the noble lord was not at all aware of the enormous abuses that were going on; and, it was but justice to that noble lord to say, that he immediately afterwards applied himself to a diligent investigation of the subject; and the result of that investigation was, that the noble lord found the case much worse than it had been described by him; in consequence of which discovery, the noble lord took the course already alluded to, and did him the honour of copying his motions. Now, it turned out, that the rent of the barns which he before referred to, and which were hired for the use of the soldiery in the Isle of Wight, were some time since reduced to one half of that for which they were originally let; yet such was their value, that he could assure the house, that were a farther reduction of one half their present rent to take place, as it must, there would still be paid for them even double more than they were worth. But he had to state, that a great many more buildings, of a similar description, let on similar terms, had undergone no reduction whatever. If the house would turn their attention to this matter, they would meet, in every step of their enquiry, circumstances equally calculated to excite their surprise and indignation. Gentlemen would hardly believe that the sum of 200*l.* a year had been paid for shells of barns in the Isle of Wight. In referring to this part, he took merely a single speck of the barrack accounts; for, in order to avoid confusion, he did not mean, at present, to extend his investigation to the whole of the barrack accounts, which were confessedly the most confused in Europe. Therefore, he should confine himself, in illustration of the cause of his motion, to Sandown Bay barracks, respecting which, he was possessed of the most satisfactory information. But yet the communications he received were such as impressed him with the propriety of extending his motion to all temporary barracks; and, it would appear astonishing to the public, that many of these barracks, although hired and paid for by the week, were often actually unoccupied for a considerable part of the year. To expose such improvident conduct, such scandalous waste of the public money, and to prevent its continuance, was the object of the motion which he should have the honour of submitting to the house. The hon. gent. concluded, with moving—"That there be laid before this house, a return of all the buildings, of every description, rented or hired by government, and used as barracks or places for lodging, or containing officers and soldiers of the army, or of persons and horses attached to the army; that the said return do embrace every building which has been so rented, or hired, and so used, in the whole of G. Britain, between the 1st day of Jan. 1793, and the 24th of June, 1806: That the said return be exhibited in 15 columns, placed in the order, and containing the several heads here following, viz.—1st, The date of the year and of the month and day when each building respectively was taken; 2d, The county and parish in which the building is situate; 3d, The name or phrase describing the building; 4th, The number of officers that are, or have been, generally quartered or lodged in the building; 5th, The number of non-commissioned officers and men, and of horses, that are or have been generally quartered or lodged in the building; 6th, The name of the proprietor of the building; 7th, The name and rank of the officer or person by whom the building was taken on the part of government; 8th, The weekly rent or hire of the building; 9th, The yearly rent or hire of the building; 10th, The name and rank of the officer or person, or officers or persons through whose hands the rent, or hire, has been paid to the proprietor of the building; 11th, The time when any alteration (if any) in the rent or hire of the building was made; 12th, The weekly rent or hire of the building, subsequent to such alteration; 13th, The yearly rent or hire of the building, subsequent to such alteration; 14th, The time when the building was given up, if not now occupied by government; 15th, The account of the whole of the sums which have been expended in repairs upon the building: and the said returns do exhibit all the names and descriptions of the said buildings, following one another in due chronological order, the building first taken by government standing first, and the building last taken standing last."

Lord *H. Petty* said, that when he first interfered in this business, in putting the previous question on the hon. gent.'s motion, it was because he was convinced, that very considerable abuses prevailed in the barrack department; and the only objection he then had to the motion of the hon. member was, that a military board was now sitting, especially appointed by parliament, for making an enquiry into this very department. From this committee, a report was expected to be received, he believed, to-morrow; and were he in the place of the hon. gent., he should defer his motion till he had seen that report. If, however, the hon. gent. thought fit to persist in his motion, he should certainly make no objection to it.

The *Secretary at War* wished to know of the hon. gent. whether he meant to ground any enquiry on the papers he had moved for? As he thought it not quite candid to move for voluminous papers, in which the characters of individuals were implicated, which papers went abroad, and those characters became injured, without having any opportunity allowed of defending themselves; he thought, that as there was a board of commissioners now sitting, which was expressly appointed by parliament, for investigating the accounts of the barrack department, the house should not suffer any other enquiry to be entered upon, till that commission was closed, without repealing the act by which it was constituted.

Mr. *Robson* said, the right hon. gent. who just sat down, must surely have forgotten what passed about 3 weeks ago, when he was asked by that right hon. gent. himself, whether he meant to go on with the barrack enquiry? He said, he thought the business had been taken out of his hands by the right hon. the chancellor of the exchequer; but if he did not pursue it, he (Mr. Robson) would make a motion on the subject. The right hon. secretary wished him to name the day, as he meant to move for other papers, that would throw more light on the subject. Thus had he been goaded to come forward with the business, and now he had done so, he was told he ought to wait for the report of the commissioners. These commissioners had now been sitting 13 months, and, in all that time, had only produced one report, which might, with ease, have been made in 3 weeks; for it was only an account of the one per cent. which had been overcharged by gen. De Lancey, from his first appointment to the office of barrack-master-general. A Mr. Standbank had said, that it might be 3 years before this commission was closed; and yet he was told, he was to wait for the report of commissioners who had only made one report in 13 months, respecting one office, and they had five offices to enquire into. He looked upon such commissioners to be more maskers of enquiry, than unfolders of it. Those abuses, he well knew, were at this moment going on to as great an extent as ever; and as these commissioners were so slow in their motions, he was determined he would not forego his privilege of a member of parliament, of pushing forward an enquiry as speedily as possible. The house would recollect what good had been produced by the naval enquiry. He proposed to enquire into the state of the canteens, and asserted, that the rent of the canteens would pay the expenses of the barracks. He should then be glad to know what had become, or been done with all the money that had been received from canteens; on which subject he wished to fish for some information.

Mr. *Martin* said, he wished to see an enquiry instituted in that house, rather than by commissioners; because the latter, from the slow progress they made, seemed to look on the people of England as able to bear peculation, in the same way as cooks did the skinning of eels; because they were so well used to it, they felt nothing from it.

The *Secretary at War* wished to know what farther measure the hon. gent. meant to ground on his present motion.

Mr. *Paull* then made some observations with regard to a Mr. Atkins, the late barrack-master, who had been dismissed. He stated him to have been formerly an honourable character, and recommended by Sir R. Abercromby to the situation which he held. It was not found out that he was a pilferer, till he had discovered certain peculations of others, and had given information of them to the war-office. Till then he was never found out to be dishonest. Sums had been given by way of rent that were perfectly incredible; and in consequence of his information, they were reduced from 1100*l.* to 500*l.* He had been told, also, that these barracks were first furnished by government, and then immediately gutted. When Atkins gave information of those abuses, he was immediately dismissed, without even being confronted by his accusers. He concluded with cordially supporting the motion of the hon. gent., whom he was proud to call his friend.

Mr. *Canning* observed, that it had been asserted for a fact, that this Atkins was dismissed on the affidavit of a man who had suffered by Atkins' giving information of his peculations. He had no reason to suppose that the dismissal was not right, but he could wish that the matter should be stated to the satisfaction of the house.

The *Secretary at War* denied that the barrack-master had been dismissed on account of any information he had given, but merely because there were inaccuracies in his accounts.

Mr. *Paull* considered it very extraordinary, that this man, who appeared now to be the most improper of all persons, should be so long continued in a situation of trust and confidence, that none but an honest man should be placed in.

Mr. Secretaty *Windham* said, that he knew nothing of this barrack-master when he was first appointed, and had only heard that he was an officer somewhat distressed, and that there was nothing then said against his character. It was not surprising that the discovery should have been made in the manner it was; for the fact was, that there was so little public spirit generally going, that it usually proceeded from the irritation of some private quarrel, that transactions of this sort came to light. He did not see how parliament could take the business into its own hands, or do more than generally recommend it to the commissioners to enquire diligently into abuses of this nature. If these commissioners did not do their duty, other commissioners should be appointed; but he did not see how that house could examine into every separate abuse that might be complained of.

Mr. *Bastard* thought it was the duty of the house to look diligently into abuses, when they were stated, and, as guardians of the public purse, to be generally distrustful of them. He did not expect much good from one set of commissioners being appointed to supersede another. The military commissioners had cost the nation the sum of 10,000*l.* for their labours the first year. He thought the punishment of the individual, by removal from his office, would do more good, in the way of example, than ten commissions. Common fame reported, that there were most enormous abuses in the barrack department: that the nation was often charged for pulling down stone buildings, convenient for lodging men, as much money as was spent in building wooden barracks in unwholesome situations. He thought the whole system ought to be examined accurately.

The *Secretary at War* observed, that the dismissal of any barrack-master was only done upon the report of the barrack-master-general.

Mr. *Robson* then said, that he never thought the right hon. secretary at war capable of discharging Mr. Atkins upon any improper ground, for it was not in his nature; nor did he intend introducing the name of that gentleman into the debate, as his enquiries had proceeded a great way before he ever heard of him. As it was thought right to ask him, what his objects were in this motion? he would honestly answer, first, that he meant to save the money of the public; and, secondly, that he might save to the amount of 500,000*l.* a year in the barrack department only. At present these accounts were scarcely settled in the course of two years; and he saw no reason why they should not, like those of the board of works, be audited and passed quarterly; and why they should not, in the same manner as that board, have a comptroller and auditor to themselves. Another of his objects was, to make the rents of the canteens pay the rents of the barracks, for which they were amply sufficient. He said, it was now intimated to him, that a report from the commissioners might be expected to-morrow or the day after; but though that might assist him, it was not likely to embrace all his objects. There was an unfounded report abroad, that out of the 658 members of that house, there was not one who was careful, or capable, to attend to the public accounts; but it was his intention to shew the contrary; and that it could be done by the bare knowledge of the four rules of arithmetic. It was not his wish or intention to state, at this time, aggravating things, but he would mention a report, that the persons concerned in this department had interest enough to have barracks made in the most unhealthy situations; and that, in consequence of it, so great a mortality had prevailed amongst the king's troops and prisoners, that the inhabitants of the parishes would not suffer them to be buried in the church-yards. As to the present commission, he observed, that when it was appointed on the 5th of January, instead of going back in search of old abuses, they should have immediately stopped those that were then existing. The consequence would have been, that a great expenditure would have been saved, and we should not now be paying 474*l.* a year for buildings not worth 170*l.* If the house chose to employ him in this enquiry, he would set about it to-morrow morning, and soon make them a report which would produce an important saving of the public money. The hon. gent. then moved, "That there be laid before this house, a return of the canteens or houses for vending beer and liquors, which have been set up at the several buildings, rented or hired by government, and used as barracks, or places for lodging or containing officers and soldiers of the army, or of persons attached to the army. That the said return do include every such canteen, in the whole of Great Britain, existing between the 1st of Jan. 1793, and the 24th of June, 1806. That the said return be exhibited in distinct columns, placed in the order, and containing the several heads here following, viz.: 1st, The parish, place, or station, in alphabetical order; 2d, The date of the year, month, and day of letting each canteen respectively; 3d, The name and rank of the person or persons who let the canteen; 4th, The name of the person or persons who rent, or rented the canteen; 5th, The weekly or annual rent of the canteen; 6th, The name and rank of the person or persons through whose hands the rent has been received, on the part of government; 7th, The name, or phrase, descriptive of the building so let as a canteen; 8th, The number of non-commissioned officers and men, generally quartered, or lodged in the several buildings used as barracks, to which such canteen is, or has been attached."

Mr. *Paull* seconded the motion; and was proceeding to remark upon some misrepresentation of what he said before; when

Mr. *Windham* reminded the house, that such a course was disorderly.

The *Speaker* said, that it was certainly irregular, in seconding a motion, to go into the subject of a preceding one.

Mr. *Paull* thought himself entitled to explain a circumstance on which he had been misrepresented.

The *Speaker* repeated, that he was proceeding in a disorderly manner; and if he wished to correct a misrepresentation, the fit mode would be to take another occasion of doing so.

The *Secretary at War*, supposing himself to be alluded to, wished, that if the orders of the house admitted it, the hon. gent. might be allowed to afford the explanation he wished for.

Mr. *Paull* said, that if he was not allowed to explain, he must withdraw his seconding the motion. He thought, that in seconding a motion, he was entitled to give his reasons for doing so.

Mr. *Rose* said, he never knew that the canteens were made private property, but were always accounted for to government.

Mr. *Robson* replied, that though some of these canteens produced a rent of 1500*l.* a year, very little of the money was accounted for to government. The brewers often gave money to the barrack-master, for permission to sell their beer in them, by which the public were defrauded in the revenue; and it was farther increased, by the sale of nothing but smuggled spirits in them, not only in the Isle of Wight, but even in the county where the right hon. gent. (Mr. Rose) resided!—This motion as well as the former were agreed to.

Mr. *Robson* next observed, that the subject of his next motion was of great importance to the public interest, as he would, if permitted, prove at their bar, that the rent of the canteens, and the sale of manure alone, would, if properly accounted for, defray the whole of the rents paid for the barracks. Some parts of the information which he had received, were almost too bad to mention to the house. Amongst the abuses in that department, he would state, that a Mrs. Parker, who, it seemed, was a favoured friend of major Lewis, had hired a house of a tailor for 30*l.* a year, and through his interest let it for barracks at 70*l.* When questioned on the subject, she said, "As I find every one robbing government, I do not see why I may not have a little in the scramble." He then made a detailed motion relative to the dung, ashes, broken straw, &c. &c. sold; which motion was negatived.

[MILITIA OFFICERS' BILL.] Mr. Secretary Windham moved the third reading of the Militia Officers' bill.

Mr. *Perceval* observed, that the reason why he had given notice, the preceding day, of his intention to take the sense of the house on the third reading that day, was, with a view to have a fuller attendance; the material objection to the bill, which he had before stated, was the lateness of the period to which it was brought. Considering that the militia had till now been on the same footing, as to pay, with the army; that most of the militia officers were now absent on other duties; that none of those who remained had voted with ministers on this question, while several voted against them; and that two servants of the public, the one paymaster of the forces (lord Temple) and the other a person belonging to the ordnance, both officers of the militia, had opposed the bill, he thought the house ought to pause before it assented to it. He was sorry that he did not see those persons now present. But still he must give as much opposition to this impolitic measure as he could. He had already stated the inexpediency of bringing forward such a measure at this late period of the session. The only argument which was urged for departing from the established system, was, the point of economy, which, in this instance, was quite paltry; and setting the lateness of the period out of the question, it was not such as to make it worth while, on this account, to run the risk of giving dissatisfaction to the militia officers. But when we were at war, and in possession of the services of these men, it was impolitic to give them dissatisfaction; and we had it from the militia officers themselves, that this increase would do so, not on account of being refused the additional pay, but on account of the invidious distinction made between them and the line. He thought the objection of an hon. colonel (Bastard) very strong, when he stated that injustice was done to the militia; for when they entered, they might, as the law stood, take it for granted, that they should always be kept on a footing with the line, and might, in justice, now claim their discharge. When the prize-money was taken from the seamen, it was said, they had no right upon this to claim their discharge, as they had been pressed. He did not think that the engagements even with them should be violated on that account; but this, however, did not apply to the present case. He then went on to state, that he saw no reason why the sevenpence a day given to the soldiers in the line who had served seven years, should not be extended to the militia. At all events, it ought to be extended to the non-commissioned officers, who were on the same footing as those in the line. He also objected to the bill, because it gave ministers the power of doing as they pleased on this subject, either to give or withhold pay at their option, and this was the reason why an honourable colonel had said, that it put the militia more in the power of the crown. This measure totally altered the nature of the militia system, and was a breach of parliamentary faith. The right hon. gent. seemed, indeed, to admit this to a certain degree. It was a breach of faith, but a little one. He was somewhat like the lady who owned that she had had a natural child, but then it was a very little one. This measure ought, at least, to have been proposed in time of peace. He concluded by moving, that the word "now" be left out, and that the words "this day three months" be substituted.

Lord *Folkestone*, though he supposed it would be a material objection to the gentlemen on the other side, that he was not a militia officer, must still assert his opinion on the subject. He maintained, that there was no reason whatever for any dissatisfaction on the part of the militia officers, for they suffered no injustice. The field-officers and captains were, by law, required to have certain qualifications, which rendered this additional pay unnecessary. Besides, they could not reasonably expect to be put exactly on a footing with officers of the line, who gained rank through toils and dangers, while they immediately attained their rank, on account of their property. The old mistaken principle had been departed from already; and, besides, it was a quite different service. He would, therefore, support the bill.

Mr. Secretary *Windham* said, he was not sorry that the gentlemen on the other side had taken an opportunity of renewing this discussion, as he felt convinced, that the more the subject was discussed, the more it would be generally approved of. The lateness of the session was, to be sure, an argument that told well in so thin a house; but it should be recollected, that this was not a substantive argument, and there ought to be some other reason assigned for opposing any measure. If it were contended, that there was any great constitutional principle, which required that the two services should be exactly placed on the same footing, he must deny that doctrine. There were already distinctions between the services sufficiently marked. The regular officers had half-pay, when the militia had not; and the militia officers were required to have qualifications, which the regulars had not. The militia officers might, perhaps, have some reason to complain, if any regulation, extending benefits to every other branch of the service, were to be withheld from them. That was not, however, the case in the present instance. A distinction was also made between the infantry and the cavalry, and the distinction was founded on the same reason, merely that the latter description of officers did not stand so much in need of the addition, and that if an addition was to be made to the pay of those who were not in need of it, there must be a diminution to the allowances, which the liberality of the house was called upon to give to those officers who were in need of the addition. This was the principal reason for making exceptions, and the exceptions did not extend merely to militia field-officers, but to those of the cavalry and the guards, who certainly could not consider this distinction meant as a slight to them. As to the alleged breach of faith, it was the strangest thing he had ever heard asserted, that the legislature was so bound by any one of its own acts, that it would be a breach of faith even to alter it. Would any person consider it a breach of faith to make an alteration in the mutiny law, even to make it more severe, if necesary? Would any body suppose, that it would be a breach of faith to the army to alter the discipline of one part of it, and not of another? As the militia was always to subsist in some shape or another, therefore, on those grounds it might be argued to the end of time, that it would be a breach of faith for the legislature to make any objections. It would be a breach of faith to do it in time of peace as well as in time of war; and yet the hon. and learned member (Mr. Perceval) was himself the person to propose its being done in time of peace, and not in time of war. If, then, he considered that it was a great breach of faith in time of war, and only a little one in time of peace, the story of the lady and her "little natural child" was only applicable to the argument of the hon. and learned gent., and he might have done better to have kept it to himself. The exceptions were not so much made upon the ground of economy, as on the ground of justice. It was but justice to the regular officers to give what was absolutely necessary for them. If this increase was not considered so necessary to the militia, they should rather consider it as an honourable distinction, than any sort of ill treatment.

Mr. *C. Wynne* observed, that the principal argument on the other side of the house, that the militia officers were injured by the arrangement prescribed in this bill, was a total mistatement, and a complete inversion of the fact: for how could the militia officers, who suffered no diminution of pay, be injured by a small increase of pay to the officers of the line? They, in fact, would sustain no injury whatever, and he was confident, would feel none, notwithstanding the arguments of gentlemen, who assumed to advocate their cause; but whose arguments reminded him of a petition of the celebrated lord Chesterfield to his majesty for a pension, professing, "that it was purely for the honour of it, and not for any pecuniary consideration."—The question being now loudly called for, on the third reading of the bill, the house divided; Ayes, 35; Noes 24; Majority for the bill, 11.

[India Budget.] Lord Morpeth rose and moved to postpone, till Friday, the further consideration of the India Budget.

Mr. *Robson* felt it his duty to call the attention of the house to this most important subject; and to express his astonishment, that affairs of such vital importance to this country, as those of India, were to be discussed in such thin houses as this business had hitherto been. Whether the India Company were to be continued by a renewal of their charter, or not, their affairs ought not to be treated with so much levity, with so thin an attendance of members, and, more especially, without the attendance of his majesty's ministers. Their affairs, as he was taught to understand, were in a most embarrassed and deplorable situation, almost, indeed, upon the brink of ruin. It was declared in that house, that a loan, to an inconceivable amount, would be requisite to support them; but, whether this was to be a loan of 7 millions, or 17 millions, or what not, he thought the subject was one of too much importance to be discussed in that house, without a full attendance of members; and, by the blessing of God, as he never would leave it in the power of his majesty's ministers to say he did not attend, he would make a point of taking some measure to stop the proceedings in every stage, unless there was a fuller attendance, and, more especially, of his majesty's ministers.

Lord *Morpeth* wished to know, upon what authority the hon. gent. stated, that a loan would be wanted for the India Company? He certainly had made no such statement, in bringing forward the Company's affairs: nor did he hear any such thing mentioned by any of his majesty's ministers in that house.

Mr. *Grant* also disclaimed, on the part of the Company, the representation of their affairs made by the hon. gent., and which he could not suffer to pass uncontradicted. He knew nothing of any loan proposed or desired by the Company: they stood not in need of such assistance; nor did he hear any thing of any such proposition, with which their authority or wishes were connected: a noble lord, indeed, near him (Castlereagh), in his speech, the preceding night, had thrown out a suggestion, that a loan of 5 millions might be desirable for the accommodation of the Company; but this was a mere suggestion in the course of a speech, wholly unauthorised by the Company.

Mr. *Paull* defended the conduct, and approved the determination, expressed by his hon. friend (Mr. Robson); and hoped, he would persist in his endeavours to obtain a full attendance of members upon every discussion on India affairs: for, notwithstanding the declaration just made by the hon. ex-director, it certainly had gone forth, that the Company's affairs were in a desperate situation. It had been said, not by himself, but by a worthy alderman opposite to him (Prinsep), that they were in a state of bankruptcy; and, although the noble lord's suggestion of a loan, in his speech, the preceding night, might not be admitted by the hon. ex-director, as an official authority upon the point, yet his hon. friend had a right to consider such a declaration, coming from the noble lord, as good authority upon a subject, namely, the situation of the Company's affairs, in which the noble lord's own character and safety were so deeply interested: for it was no secret, that the noble lord's conduct in those affairs was likely to become the ground of very serious charges from an honourable member of that house, who now filled an extensive space in the public eye.—The question being put, was agreed to, and the house adjourned.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, July 17.

[AMERICAN INTERCOURSE BILL.] On the order of the day for the 3d reading of this bill,

Lord *Hawkesbury* rose. His lordship deprecated any departure from those principles on which our navigation laws were founded, and to which we were indebted for our maritime superiority, and our greatness as a nation. He did not mean to contend that there might not be cases in which, from necessity, the general principle of our navigation laws must be departed from; but the present was not such a case; and, if an investigation was allowed to take place, he pledged himself to bring forward merchants of the highest respectability, who would declare, that such a measure as the present was wholly unnecessary. He objected, that this bill was brought forward, and all investigation refused. He thought also, that the measure was rendered worse, by enacting it for an indefinite period; it would be, in his mind, much better, to limit the period of its duration to the 1st of July, 1807, as, in the mean time, an investigation of this important subject might take place, and parliament become acquainted with the real state of the question.

Lord *Holland* contended that nothing more was meant by this bill than to vest that power in the privy-council, which had heretofore been exercised, contrary to law, by the governors of our West-India islands. That the power of allowing our West-India islands to be supplied from America, should be lodged somewhere, was demonstrable from the fatal effects which a contrary policy, that of restricting our colonies to a supply from this country had produced in those islands, when resorted to soon after the termination of the American war. This power, he contended, could no where be better lodged than in the hands of his majesty's privy-council, who were responsible for the exercise of it, and who were more likely to be influenced here by British interests, than the governors in the West Indies, who, from their situation, were necessarily subject to be operated upon by local influence. He was astonished at the opposition this measure met with in all its stages, particularly from those who had sanctioned the governors in the West Indies, in continually violating the law from necessity, for the purpose of admitting a supply into the West Indies from America, and who thought this of so little consequence, that they neglected, for three or four years, to pass any bill of indemnity.

Lord *Eldon* maintained, that there was a material difference between indemnifying the governors in the West Indies for those acts, and passing an act of parliament to legalize the principle. The great object of our navigation laws, was to preserve our maritime superiority, and they should not lightly be departed from, as it should be remembered that when our shipping and mariners were decreased, those of other nations would be increased; and that if, in the event of a peace, there was not employment in our mercantile shipping for the numerous seamen who would be discharged, many of them might enter into foreign service.

Earl *Spencer* defended the bill, which, he contended, had nothing to do with the general principles urged on the other side, it being only to give a power to the privy-council, to allow the importation of certain articles from America to our West-India islands, in case of necessity; and, in order to prevent any ill effects arising from the precarious nature of a supply, restricted wholly to this country. It did not, however, prevent supplies from being sent from hence in British shipping.

Lord *Hawkesbury* moved an amendment to limit the duration of the bill to the 1st of July, 1807.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* thought the amendment extremely inconsistent with the arguments urged on the other side. After some further observations from lord Eldon and lord Holland, the amendment was negatived, and the bill read a 3d time, and passed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, July 18.

[BARRACK ABUSES.] The *Secretary at War* rose to move for some papers in the barrack department, in order to disprove the assertions made by an hon. member (Mr. Robson) the evening before last. He accordingly moved for an account of the disposal of the sums received by the barrack-master-general for rent of canteens, at the several temporary barracks, and also for manure sold therefrom since 1793.

Mr. *Robson* thought it most extraordinary, that it happened of late, that the papers which his majesty's ministers opposed and refused, when called for by his motions, should, in an evening or two after, be moved for by themselves. He had another motion to bring forward on this subject on Monday, preparatory to which it was his wish, with the indulgence of the house, that the report of the committee of military enquiry, laid this night upon the table, and ordered to be printed, might be allowed to lie upon the table for another day, that he might have an opportunity of perusing it. If not, he must bring forward his motion in the best way he could without it. If the report was sent to the printer's, it was of such voluminous extent, that it could not be finished before the house would break up, and would not, of course, be seen by the members until the next session. But his object was to put as speedy a stop as possible to the system of peculation still going on, instead of suffering it to proceed, and turning to retrospective considerations in the first instance.

The *Speaker* informed the hon. gent. that the report had been ordered to be printed, and it was not customary, when such an order was made, to interpose any delay, without a special order of the house.

Lord *H. Petty* hoped the hon. member would have no objection to signify the nature and object of his motion for Monday.

Mr. *Robson* answered, that, as he never wished to bring forward any matter of this nature without being grounded on statements made to him upon affidavit, he was not yet prepared to explain particulars. His object, however, was to detect and expose a system of the most flagitious peculation, still going on in the barrack department.

The *Secretary at War* laid on the table some copies of affidavits produced at the war-office, in vindication of the conduct of Mr. Atkins, late barrack-master of Sandown, in the Isle of Wight, pursuant to an order made on Mr. Robson's motion on Wednesday.

Mr. *Paull* hoped those papers would be printed for the perusal of the members, in order to vindicate the conduct and the honour of a much-injured gentleman, of whom though he knew nothing personally, yet he knew his character; that he was a gallant officer, and had served, with high distinction, in the West Indies last war; that he had received his appointment as barrack-master at the Isle of Wight, in consequence of a very high recommendation of his character and services to his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham); that he had conducted himself without the slightest blemish to his conduct or character in that department, until he had disclosed to the head of it the peculations he had discovered, and solicited to be removed from Sandown to some other place, when he would make still more ample disclosures of delinquencies which came to his knowledge; then, and not before, charges were made against him by the party who had been injured in consequence of the discovery he had made; and he was dismissed without any opportunity being allowed him for his vindication, without being heard in his defence, or confronted with his accusers, as he had intreated. [Here Mr. Paull read a copy of a letter from Mr. Atkins to the secretary at war, acknowledging the receipt of his letter of dismissal, expressing his astonishment, and requesting to be confronted with his accusers; and the secretary's answer, declining that proceeding, and alleging it not to be the usage of the office.] Mr. Paull added, if this gentleman was to be dismissed for only making a disclosure which he conceived to be his duty; if others were not also dismissed upon the same ground, it must be considered a severe hardship and injustice inflicted upon an unfortunate gentleman with a family of six children, and to whom he thought some reparation ought to be made.

The *Secretary at War* answered, that it was to the barrack-master-general, and not to him, that Mr. Atkins ought to have appealed; and that the papers produced would contradict almost every word which had been alleged by the hon. gentleman.

Mr. *Robson* thought it extremely severe and unjust to have punished Mr. Atkins upon the affidavit which was alleged as the ground of his dismissal, without hearing him in his defence, and when there were three other affidavits in direct contradiction to that upon which he was dismissed.—The papers were ordered to be printed.

[FINANCIAL PROPOSITIONS.] Mr. *Johnstone* moved the order of the day for resuming the debate upon the subject of his Financial Propositions; which order being read, the hon. gent. observed, that the resolutions which he had to move upon this subject differed so little from the state of the public debt, as laid down by the noble chancellor of the exchequer, and agreed so closely with his statements in all the general results, that it was hardly worth troubling the house by going into a minute detail on the subject. There were, however, one or two points which called for observation. On the commencement of the present war, a hope had been pretty strongly stated on the other side of the house, by a right hon. gent., that the war might be carried on without any new increase of the public debt; and yet it now appeared, that, notwithstanding the ample increase of revenue which had been voted as war-taxes, and the new heavy burthens imposed upon the country, the public debt had been increased 70 millions within the last four years, although the product of the war-taxes, within that time, had exceeded their estimates by two millions. He did not wish to expatiate farther upon this subject now, in the absence of the right hon. gent. (Mr. Vansittart), who had held out to the house and to the country this flattering hope, which he (Mr. J.) foresaw at the time was not likely to be verified. Another subject for observation was, that, notwithstanding the productive success of the war taxes, and the very advantageous loans that had been made since the commencement of the present war, yet, comparing the four years of the present war with the last four years of the preceding, it would appear, that the loans made in both were very nearly equal; for in the former, the sum borrowed in four years was 69 millions, and in the latter, 67 millions, while the quantity of stock at market remained still pretty much the same.—The hon. gent. then proceeded to move his resolutions, which will be found in p. 1126.

Lord *H. Petty* felt it unnecessary to say any thing on the subject of the general resolutions of the hon. gent., as they so nearly accorded with the statement he had himself made; and, with respect to the accumulation of the public debt, in consequence of the exceedings of the war expenses beyond what was originally conjectured, he had only to say, that it must have been impossible to state more than mere conjecture, as to what might be the probable expences of a war, in the outset of which the possible chances and events, and, consequently, the true expense at which it must be impossible for human foresight to calculate upon any scale of accuracy: added to this, however accurate such calculations might be, they must be founded upon the rate of things as they stood at the time; but, every one must know, that the extraordinary and unexpected rise upon every necessary of life, and almost every article of supply, since that time, and the total change of character the war had assumed, especially in the late unfortunate campaign upon the continent, expenses had accrued to an extent which it was equally impossible, in the outset, for human wisdom to foresee, or to avoid.

Dr. *Laurence* made a few observations to the same effect; and said, the objections of the hon. gent. would be best answered by the reply quoted in a classic author, upon a similar occasion, "that war was a devouring animal, and would be restrained by no prescribed regimen."—The first six resolutions were then agreed to, and the debate on the Resolution respecting the Unfunded Debt was adjourned to Monday.

[INDIA BUDGET.] On the motion of lord Morpeth, the house, in a committee, resumed the debate on the India Budget.

Mr. *T. Jones* asked, if there had been an adjustment of the sum of 2,672,440*l.* thus described, and in a paper moved for by him in 1801: "By what due from government for stores and supplies for his majesty's troops, &c. &c."

Lord *Morpeth* replied, that this account, blended with another, amounting to nearly 4 millions, was in a way of settlement, and some part of it had been allowed.

Mr. *T. Jones* then asked, how much of the 500,000*l.* per annum, as settled by the charter bill of 1793, had been paid by the Company to the public.

Dr. *Laurence* spoke to order. He thought it contrary to the rules of the house, that, when the question for their determination was only respecting a single year, any member should think himself at liberty to ask all manner of questions. When the debate was disposed of, he certainly might find opportunities enough of asking the noble lord any questions he might think proper.

Mr. *Hobhouse* (the chairman of the committee) considered that it was the custom upon India budgets, for the member who brought them forward, to take a very wide range into the general situation of the affairs of India, preparatory to moving his first resolution; and that, therefore, it was allowed to other members, to take a considerable latitude in speaking upon that question. As to the right of asking questions, he believed the rule was this: every member had a right to put questions; but the person to whom they were put, might answer them, or not, as he thought proper.

Mr. *T. Jones* said that, if the learned doctor wished to make a speech upon the subject himself, he should sit down with pleasure. He was prepared to meet him on every point which he had stated; and, as the learned doctor was so famous for brevity, the house would, no doubt, be very much delighted with hearing him. If this was not the proper time to put his questions, he should take another opportunity.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he might take whatever opportunity he pleased; and he need not expect that he would meet him on any of his points.

Mr. *Paull* said, that having, last February, found himself under the necessity, from a paramount sense of duty, of calling the attention of the house and the public, to the state of the Finances of India; and, as his sentiments, on that important topic, were now before the house, in the form of a specific charge, he would forbear, on the present occasion, from entering fully into the subject; though the hon. general (sir A. Wellesley), and the noble lord (Castlereagh), had given ample room for discussion, by statements the most fallacious ever produced to any reasoning assembly; but, said the hon. gent., to refute such statements is the less necessary, as the noble lord, who brought forward the business, had done ample justice to his (Mr. Paull's) sentiments, and had confirmed every assertion he had ever made on the melancholy state of India, rendered still more melancholy and desperate, by the immense sums shortly to be provided for in that unhappy country.—The hon. gent. paid the noble lord (Morpeth) some well-merited compliments, for the honest, honourable, and fair manner, in which he had brought forward the Budget: he had scorned deception; and his candour was as conspicuous as his talents were acknowledged. The noble lord had given the only fair statement that had been exhibited of the Finances of India for upwards of 20 years; and, for the whole of his conduct, he merited the thanks of every man in the kingdom. The noble lord had looked the prospect, dark and gloomy as it was, boldly and fairly in the face; and had scorned to delude the house with promises that were never to be fulfilled, and prospects of prosperity that never were to be realized. But, said Mr. Paull, the noble lord has still, most unintentionally, omitted some most important items. On his own shewing, including the defalcations in the ceded provinces, the actual deficit, even on sanguine estimates, exceeds 3 millions sterl., the deficit, in the course of the next year, 1807, cannot be less; and, added to these two sums, making 6 millions, the decennial loan, amounting to 3½ millions; and two other loans, contracted for two years, at 10 and 12 per cent., and amounting to nearly a million, all become payable in 1808; so that, in that year, even taking the most favourable circumstances into account, the debt will be increased nearly 9 millions, and that in the 16th year of the Company's charter; and where is the man sanguine enough to say, that we shall then be on the peace establishment? But the fact is, we can have no peace establishment; from Cape Comorin, to beyond the walls of Delhi, our troops must be kept up, and scattered, to keep our subjects in awe, even if we have no enemy to contend with. An hon. gent. (Mr. Johnstone) has indulged himself, lately, in making frequent attacks on his majesty's ministers, for the removal of sir G. Barlow. Would that, instead, he had turned his attention to the state of the Finances of India, which no man knew better than he did; and had fairly and candidly admitted, that to measures acquiesced in by sir G. Barlow, for 8 years criminally acquiesced in, was to be attributed the present deplorable state of the East-India Company! As to the removal of sir G. Barlow, the hon. gent. can hardly be serious in his loud complaints on that subject; no man, either in India or in Europe, ever looked to sir G. Barlow's being permanent governor-general. The hon. gent. himself never could have imagined it even probable, that sir George would be allowed to continue; for he must know, that sir George, though an excellent revenue officer, had none of the qualities to fit him for governor-general; and that, to insure the respect of the foreign courts, a nobleman from England was indispensible for the good government of India. The hon. gent. had indulged in these attacks, from his hostility to ministers; and had neglected ever looking into the accounts which, perhaps wisely, he had not even touched upon, although the only subject regularly before the house.—This, Mr. Paull said, he the more deplored, as no man in England understood the real situation of the Company better than the hon. gent. Mr. Paull concluded with again sincerely thanking the noble lord (Morpeth) for his clear, able, honest, and candid statement; and was sure, his lordship would feel that, by the line he had adopted, he had justly raised himself in the opinion of every honest man in the kingdom.

Mr. *T. Jones* hoped, that he should not be thought pertinacious; but he trusted, he should be allowed to make a few observations, as he stood pledged, in some degree, to the house, on this subject. He had, in 1801, stated, that the debt of the Company was 20 millions. This had now clearly turned out to be the fact. He had then met with a great deal of opprobrium, and was asked to have patience. He had had patience; and the result was, that the Company, as had been stated by an hon. Alderman (Prinsep), was on the eve of bankruptcy; and that their debt was nearer 40 millions than 30. He was, therefore, fully justified in what he had said; and the persons at the India board, whether they were called comptrollers or any thing else, would soon, it appeared, be only the assignees of bankrupts.

Mr. *Johnstone* said, that there was no danger of a bankruptcy. He would not enter upon the particulars of the accounts, however, as it was painful to him to look at the situation of the Company. But that situation was still not so gloomy as had been represented by the hon. gent. As to the loans, he hoped the persons who held them would renew their engagements. But he deprecated the transferring them to this country; and warned the directors, not to ask such a thing of parliament, for the minister of the day would be strongly tempted to grasp at a share of the patronage, which would be dangerous to the liberties of this country. He begged the house to consider, what would be the consequence of a patronage over 3,000,000*l.* sterling, in addition to what was already possessed by the government. Any inconvenience of trade was better than that the minister should acquire such an extraordinary power. He meant this as no particular reflection, but mentioned it as applying to any minister. As to the case of sir G. Barlow, his opinion was unaltered. Even though what the hon. gent. (Mr. Paull) had said should be correct, still his observations were proper. Ministers had gratuitously appointed him, on the 26th of February, and removed him 14 days after. Now, why was he appointed at all, if it was in contemplation to remove him so soon? All the powers of governor-general would have remained with him, by devolution, till the appointment of a successor, except the power of exercising the highest functions of the office without the consent of the council—a power so extraordinary, that it had never been exercised. The charge, therefore, remained in full force.

Sir *A. Wellesley* considered the hon. member (Mr. Paull) was completely wrong, in supposing, that so large a sum as 10 millions was to be due in 1807. He shewed, from a variety of calculations, that the greater part of this sum would not be due until the years 1809 and 1810. If there was a large floating debt at the end of the war, there were, also, floating securities in the hands of the Company, which balanced it. He denied, that the loans in India had been contracted for on such unfavourable terms as the hon. gent. had represented.

Mr. *Paull* said, that the reason that the loan appeared to be contracted on better terms in India than it really was, was, because above two-thirds of it was contracted at Lucknow and Benares, where the value of the rupee was considerably less than the Calcutta rupee. The interest of the debt being paid in Calcutta rupees, and the principal contracted in the rupees of Lucknow and Benares, it made the real interest from 12 to 14 per cent., instead of 8. He contended, that the Company actually owed 6 millions to the country, on account of the 12 years arrears of the half million annually; for which consideration their charter was renewed. India had, ever since, been a drain to this country, both in men and money; and not a single advantage had been derived from the possession. He was sure that, at the time the charter was last renewed, no one had the most distant idea, that it would ever be renewed again, except on terms much more advantageous; but, if they could not pay half a million, they could not pay more, and Great Britain would be the only country prohibited from trading to India, and this without any sort of consideration.

Mr. *Grant*, in general, vindicated the accounts which he had brought forward on the second night, see p. 1153. With respect to the amount of the Indian Debt, he continued of opinion, that considerable arrears of the expences of the two wars, in which we had recently been engaged, remained still to be brought to account. The experience of former wars, carried on upon a less extensive scale, justified this opinion; and he was, upon the whole, persuaded, that it was reasonable to estimate the Debt, on the 30th of April, 1806, at 30 millions sterling, after allowing for the purchases made by the Sinking Fund. As to the Sinking Fund, he had admitted it to have aided in improving the credit of the Company's paper; but maintained, still, that the establishment of that scheme, constituted as the fund was, circumstanced as were the affairs of the Company, and pledged as the Company were, to apply every valuable surplus of their revenues to the discharge of Debt, was liable to objections which outweighed any incidental benefit resulting from it. That no considerable part of the Indian Debt was to be charged to the commerce of the Company, he contended to be satisfactorily proved by the documents he had adduced on a former night; documents framed with great care, by the able officers of the India-house, and founded on fuller and more accurate materials, than those statements could well be, with which the hon. general had been furnished, and which had, by him, been quoted to the house. How to account for the great difference between the hon. general's statements and his, he was at a loss, unless the hon. general had omitted to give credit for bills drawn on England on account of Debt, on a supposition, that the payment of debt not contracted by lord Wellesley, ought not to be charged in the accounts of his administration; but the omission would not be warranted on this ground, because, in the question of accounts between India and England, the only fair way was, to charge all that was paid, and credit all that was received. The hon. general said, the bills drawn for the payment of Debt had been credited for; but admitted, that his statements did not give credit for the political charges defrayed by the Company in England; which, with the other payments made there on account of the territorial possessions, would, in a great degree, account for the balance which the hon. general thought chargeable to the commerce. At the same time, Mr. Grant expressed his willingness, that a very strict scrutiny should be made into the state of account between the revenue and the commerce, as far as it was possible to separate them, in order that this question might be determined and set at rest.—As to the prospect of future revenue and savings, which the hon. general had stated, and which another hon. gent. (Mr. Keene) carried much higher, Mr. Grant observed, that taking credit for future expectations was not the most satisfactory way of compensating for the past. Hitherto, the recently-conquered provinces were not even estimated to produce beyond a trifle more than the disbursements incurred on account of them;—provinces which had cost so much blood and treasure in the acquisition. Calculations founded on future receipts of revenue must be liable to uncertainty; and the surest dependence was, that of retrenching expence.

Mr. *T. Jones* said, that his object, in interrogating the noble lord (Morpeth) was, to save his trouble, and that of the house; but, more particularly that of the noble lord, who had given a fair and accurate, however to be lamented, Budget, and was now sitting to hear the third discussion on it, left quite alone, both by his majesty's ministers, and such directors of the East-India Company as were members of parliament: that, by getting answers to his questions, he should see what alteration, for the better or worse, had taken place since his speech and statement, delivered in that house, June 25, 1802, thereon. But, however, as he did not wish to be pertinacious, as to putting questions, he should state facts: Now, in 1800, up to the 30th of April, the India Debt was 20 millions. Out of the 6,000,000*l.* due on the charter, only 500,000*l.* had been paid; so that 5,500,000*l.* remained due to the public. In 1801, the hon. gent. said, he had stated the East-India Company to be on the eve of bankruptcy. In 1806, he was borne out by the uncontradicted assertion of a worthy alderman (Prinsep), that it was in a state of insolvency. The difference between insolvency and bankruptcy was a distinction without a difference, and not to be argued; and, therefore, he said, instead of the eve of bankruptcy, he considered the Company in a positive state of bankruptcy; and soon, very soon, the noble lord and his colleagues, instead of being "comptrollers," would be "assignees," under a commission of bankruptcy.

Mr. *H. Martin* commented on the construction of the act by which the Company held their charter; and said, that it clearly appeared from it, that when the Company were in straitened circumstances, the payment was only suspended, and they now were debtors to the public for 6 millions. The only excuse must be, their inability to pay; and he hardly thought that this excuse would be resorted to, as it would amount to a confession, that they had been insolvent ever since the year 1793.

Mr. *Hudleston* rose and said:—Sir, the strictures which an hon. member opposite (Mr. T. Jones) has been pleased to address to me on the conduct of some of my colleagues for their absence from the house on this occasion, it is not difficult to answer. My colleagues, sir, have been occupied to day for 7 or 8 hours by very important public duties in another place. They know also that the statements before the house contain full and accurate information relative to the finances of the East India Company; and they were aware that whatever further explanation might be required, no one is more able to give than my hon. friend, the late chairman, who would, in all probability, be present in his place at this discussion. For my own part, sir, I confess I came down to the house for the purpose of offering some observations on the speech of an hon. alderman (Prinsep) who the other evening entered so largely into the subject of the Company's commerce, and with views so obvious respecting it; and on part of the speech of the noble lord who so ably followed him, and I shall now endeavour to submit those observations to the house. With respect to the facts assumed by the worthy alderman, it is not necessary to dispute them. Without stopping to enquire into their validity, it may be sufficient to examine the structure he would build upon them in a fair comparison with that which he would overthrow. Such an examination, I am confident the hon. alderman can never have made, for, if he had, it would have enabled him to take a more enlarged view of the subject, and convinced him that the view he had before taken of it was narrow and fallacious. Hitherto the hon. alderman seems to have looked at the commerce of the East India Company through a peculiar sort of glass, which has possessed the property of hiding all its great and leading features, and all the benefits which it diffuses. The loss which he supposes the Company to sustain by their trade forms the grand foundation of his argument, to that point therefore I shall immediately direct my attention, by claiming of him what I am sure his candour will readily admit, namely, that the loss is principally, if not entirely, confined to the exports. I shall then remind the worthy alderman, and solicit the attention of the committee, to the momentous fact, that from the provision of those exports many thousands of the community derive their subsistence, and are enabled by it to contribute their proportion of the public burthens, instead of being themselves burthens on the state. To illustrate this, I will take that article of the Company's exports on which the ascertained loss comprises a very great part of the guilt which the alderman charges to the whole of their commerce—I mean the article of woollens; and to what is it owing that the Company sustain that loss? Why, literally, sir, to their consulting the public interests in preference to their own—to their exporting annually woollens to the enormous amount of 1,300,000l. by which the Company sustain very great loss, but the public gain in a still greater proportion; for the provision of those woollens gives employment to more than 40,000 persons: And until lately this was not all, for the Company virtually paid a penalty for rendering this benefit to the state, in the shape of a duty of 4l. per cent. which was afterwards increased to 5l. per cent. and amounted annually to upwards of 50,000l. Even before that duty was imposed, it was a losing trade. We know, that in the last 4 years, the loss on the woollens sent to China alone exceeded 100,000l. in each year; and from the progressive advance in the price of labour, and of the raw material, both native and foreign, this loss is increasing; for the China trade differs from all others in this essential respect, that the China merchants themselves fix the prices, and the same that were fixed many years ago still continue, notwithstanding the advance in the cost of the woollens here. Two points, then, are clear; 1st, that nothing but a disposition to promote the manufacturing interests of this country in preference to their own, could induce the East India Company to export woollens to such an extent; for in respect to China they could obtain a more favourable remittance in silver; and 2dly, that were the Company to seek other modes of remittance, the consequences would be dreadful to the manufacturing and the labouring poor in the counties of Gloucester, Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall, and in the city of Norwich; it would also operate the ruin of several extensive establishments in this metropolis, and deprive more than 700 persons of a respectable subsistence which they now derive from the East India Company. Now, sir, I think I have a right to ask the hon. alderman whether his trade, or that to which he is partial, cou'd bear this loss, or afford to the public this benefit. Perhaps he will have the goodness to inform the committee of the quantity of woollens annually exported to India by any private trader, or the aggregate of the quantity exported by all of them. I have stated only the benefit which the public derive from one article in one branch, of the Company's commerce; but, if the worthy alderman would take that view of the commerce of the East India Company, which I have been accustomed to take of it, it would appear to him as a vast edifice, erected on a solid foundation, which has for ages withstood the fury of the elements, and given shelter to millions of people, which through every vicissitude has been the firm and constant friend, as well as child, of the state, and made an ample return for the uniform protection it has received. In the provision of a single article, as I have just stated, it gives employment to 40,000 persons. The exchequer derives from it annually three millions sterling in duties and customs. It employs about 10,000 British seamen, and thus nourishes for the state a great portion of that force on which its safety essentially depends. It assisted in acquiring, and has assisted in preserving, our dominion in India. At a memorable and critical era, the enemy's squadron was totally defeated in the Ganges by the ships of the East India Company—an event that materially contributed to lay the foundation of all our subsequent greatness. On various occasions since, they have assisted in fighting the battles of the state, and particularly off Pondichery, in October, 1778, two of our Indiamen shared in the glory of forcing the French squadron to leave that fortress to its fate. I am sure the committee must anticipate my alluding to a more recent event in the China seas, in which the ships of the East India Company under the brave and able conduct of their commanders, furnished an argument in favor of the Company's commerce that will not soon be forgotten, and at this moment it will not be denied that the commerce of the East India Company supplies no inconsiderable portion of the force destined for the defence of this Capital in case of invasion.—Sir, the list of his majesty's navy bears testimony in favour of the commerce of the East India Company. And need I ask if the utility of this commerce is to be judged of by the balance of the head of profit and loss in the ledger? or if it be any reproach to this commerce that all which I have stated has not been accomplished without the aid of the Indian revenue? certainly I am not prepared to say that the Company's commerce could go on without that aid, on the contrary I believe the commerce and the revenue to be necessary to each other, and their continued union to be essential to the vital interests of the state. Some years ago the worthy alderman and his friends brought forward another, and very captivating argument, against the Company's commerce, and in favour of their own, but I know not if he has recurred to it on this occasion, not having been able to get down to the house the other evening until he had made considerable progress in his speech, viz. the idea of bringing all the trade of India to the river Thames, and making London the grand emporium of Asiatic commerce. This was certainly a magnificent project, and only two objections weigh with me against it. First, that it is impracticable; and secondly, that if practicable, it would be unwise to effect it. Most of the maritime powers of Europe possess, or on the return of peace will probably again possess, ports and commercial factories in India. On the coast of Malabar, and from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, are those of the French, Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese, who are all as sensible of the value of a trade with India as we are, and their merchants as eager in the pursuit of gain, only less enterprizing than ours. Is there then any rational hope that we can exclude foreigners from this trade, or prevail on them to relinquish it, and consent to receive the produce of India only through the port of London? But I have said that, if practicable, it would not be wise to effect it, and here I would entreat of the worthy alderman to forget for a moment his commercial character, and to consider this point only as a member of the state, and when in that capacity he shall have weighed it maturely, combining with it our present situation, and acquisitions in India, I would ask him, if no considerations occur to his mind as adverse to our obtaining for ourselves so invidious a preference? I would beg of him to state how much he thinks we can afford to lose of the reputation we possess with foreign powers for moderation and liberality in what relates to our commercial, and naval interests, and preeminence.—Sir, there is one other consideration which I shall merely glance at: some persons I know are not sufficiently aware of its importance, but no reflecting mind not warped by views of private or pecuniary interest, will overlook it, or deem it visionary: it applies equally to the system of Indian commerce favoured by the worthy alderman, and to the late system of conquest and extension of territory in India. At present I shall confine myself to the former. The system desired by the worthy alderman, would substitute in the Indian trade, ships built in India for ships built in England; Teak ships for Oak; the Lascar, or Indian sailor for the British tar; and the Ganges for the Thames. The home of his trade is India, and it would soon make India the home of thousands of artificers, agents, and adventurers of all descriptions. At every outport and subordinate factory, there would be a European public, and in the space of 60 or 70 years the number of Europeans in India, would exceed the number of British Americans in north America when that country declared its independence. Can there be any doubt then of the direct tendency of such a system, if established in regions so much more distant from the mother country? The opinion entertained on this subject by a late truly illustrious person—illustrious for his virtues even more than for his services, may be collected from the following short passage in one of his letters dated in November 1794; "I am strongly "impressed with a conviction that it will be "of essential importance to the interests of "Britain that Europeans should be discou"raged, and prevented as much as possible, "from colonizing, and settling in our pos"sessions in India." Whether the utmost human wisdom can do more than delay the event against which the noble marquis meant to guard, is a question beyond our reach; but it requires no gift of prophecy to be able to pronounce with conscious certainty, that the laying open the trade to the public would accelerate it by at least half a century, and under that conviction, I should have felt it my duty to submit to the committee these observations on the speech of the hon. alderman, even if there had been no other objection to the system which it is his object to recommend, and without alluding to an argument that I am sure would of itself be sufficient to secure its rejection, viz. the injustice it would operate on the East India Company; but if I differ from the worthy alderman in almost all his deductions, and inferences, from the facts he laid down, I am as little able to concur with the noble lord who followed him in the debate, I mean in his limited view of the existing evils, and his mode of accounting for the vast increase of our Indian debt, and the sole remedy which he has suggested for the consideration of the committee. The noble lord seems to consider our present financial difficulties as the only evil we have to overcome, and war as the only cause, and the remedies he proposes are of course equally confined; whereas, in my view of our present situation in India, were our debt to be this moment extinguished, very serious evils would still remain; but, even adopting the noble lord's view of the subject, and supposing it only necessary at present to advert to the immediate cause, or causes of the deranged state of our finances in India, it would still be impossible for me to acquiesce in the noble lord's statement of 13 years of war as the cause of that derangement. Two years ago I heard a similar argument from the right hon. gent. whose loss is so justly deplored, and I heard it then with equal surprize; because I well knew that during 5 or 6 of the 10 years which he spoke of, the continent of India had not been in a state of war, and that correctly speaking the war in India commenced in 1798, after the arrival of marquis Wellesley. The noble lord I am sure has too much candour to contend, that the march of a detachment to take possession of Pondicherry, where there was not a shot fired, nor an enemy capable of making the least resistance, constituted war in the only sense in which the argument could apply. Several other expeditions were projected, in which the East India Company had no more interest than any other corporate body: such expeditions indeed, by withdrawing their troops from the continent of India, and carrying them to unhealthy climes, are worse than useless to the Company; they occasioned however a large expenditure, for the whole amount of which the Company have a just claim on government, as I shall at all times be prepared to prove, but the amount, large as it is, forms but a small part of the enormous increase in our Indian expenditure and debt.—The peace of Seringapatam concluded with Tippoo Saultaun by lord Cornwallis, was signed the beginning of March 1792, and from that period till the year 1798, the peninsula of India was undisturbed by war; but when the noble lord spoke of 13 years of war, as if the Indian debt had been progressively encreasing each of those years, he must have forgotten the decisive fact, that, in 2 of the first 6 years, the Indian debt, instead of encreasing, diminished; viz. that in 1794, it was less by upwards 700,000l. than in 1793; and in 1795, upwards of 500,000l. less than in 1794, and that in 1796, tho' a little more than in 1795, the debt was still nearly 900,000l. less than in 1793, when, as is well known to the noble lord, its amount was 8 millions; from that year (1793) to 1798, the increase was only 3 millions; if then we suppose with the noble lord, that the 5 intervening years were years of war, what does that fact express with regard to the expenditure of the succeeding 7 years; viz. from 1798 to 1805; during which, according to the estimate on the table, the Indian debt has accumulated from 11 millions to 26½ millions? for although the noble lord spoke of 13 years, which must include the present year, I imagine his meaning went to no later period than to April 1805, which is the latest to which the usual estimate of the Indian debt is brought up but if the noble lord wishes to bring it up to the present time, I fear several millions must be added to that estimate. The committee will judge therefore whether the present embarrassed state of the Company's finances can with accuracy be ascribed to 13 years of war, and it is at least highly important and just that the committee should be aware, that of the 18½ millions added to the Indian debt since the year 1793, three millions only, were contracted before the year 1798.—That this enormous increase in the Indian debt has been principally occasioned by the late war in India, there can be no doubt, but if war alone could produce so great a change in the state of our finances, what would have been our situation after the war which began in 1779, and ended in 1784, in which we had to contend in India with the French and the Dutch, the Marattas and Hyder Ally? between which too and the late war there was this striking difference, viz. that our own districts were the seat of war, and by far the greater part of the Carnatic for a considerable time in the possession of the enemy; yet, at the conclusion of that war, the Company's debt in India, I believe, amounted only to 6 or 7 millions. Whereas the late war in India was carried on in the territories of the enemy, and our own felt none of its calamities, except that during a few weeks an adventurer, named Dundeah, committed depredations in some of the Mysore districts. This is well known to the hon. general opposite (sir Arthur Wellesley) who himself so ably conducted the war in the Deckan, and to whose military prowess is most essentially to be attributed its successful issue, and its not having been carried into our own districts. Doubtless there are expences incident to a state of war, although the troops may not be actually in the field; and the war in Europe by giving birth to the maritime expeditions I have alluded to, contributed essentially to the reduction of the surplus revenue; but it made no other very considerable addition to our Indian expenditure, for, owing to the vigilance of government, and the vast superiority of our navy, not a French soldier landed in India. If then I were to be asked, to what causes the present state of our finances in India were to be attributed, I should answer, that they might be traced to a system of policy which sought the aggrandisement and extention of the British empire and influence in India, through the medium of what is called the system of subsidiary alliances, or the bringing all the native states into subjection to, or dependence on the British power, by means of large bodies of troops stationed in their respective capitals, with agents or ministers, on the part of the Company, to watch and direct their political conduct. This system became the fruitful parent of an extended war, on an extended scale of expence, and a corresponding system of finance and general expenditure; in both of which economy was overlooked, or perhaps did not seem necessary; for one of the effects of this system was a vast nominal increase of revenue by the necessity of exacting from each native prince a subsidy for defraying the expence of the troops stationed in his capital. These subsidies, whether in money, or commuted for an equivalent in territory, occasioned a great apparent increase of revenue, and every extention of our territory or revenue being supposed to bring with it a proportionate extention of our means of paying, produced a real alteration in the scale of ideas and expectations, and unfortunately the increased expenditure by new establishments, and new or augmented salaries and allowances, not being made conditional, or dependent on the continuance of a surplus revenue, remained after the surplus had ceased to exist. Such I believe to have been, in abstract, the combined causes of the present embarrassed state of our finances in India; but, do I therefore concur in the position which the hon. alderman has so industriously laboured to impress upon the committee, namely, that the East India Company is insolvent? No, sir, I deny that the Company is insolvent, or that our present pecuniary difficulties will make us so, unless we continue in the course which has brought them upon us. How then are our finances to be retrieved, and what is to be done? Why, sir, if there is a determined disposition to retrieve them on both sides the Atlantic, they may and will be retrieved by measuring back our steps to those systems, both political and financial, from which we ought never to have departed; in a word, the system and principles of Cornwallis; by disavowing all views of extending our dominion and influence in India, and in proof of the sincerity of the disavowal, relinquishing the acquisitions both in territory and alliances, which have been made under them; and lastly, by contracting the number of our vast and expensive establishments, and the scale of those which it may be necessary to continue. The work, both in respect to policy and finance, we have reason to believe is already begun, and if persevered in with firmness and decision, will effect the re-establishment of a surplus revenue, and the gradual reduction of the Indian debt; but it will be in vain to hope for such effects from any other means than those which I have stated: other measures may be resorted to in aid of those means, but if attempted without them, will only aggravate the existing evils, and perhaps render them insurmountable; but least of all can those effects be produced by the adoption of the advice of the hon. alderman, for which, however, I do not presume to censure him, as it is the result of opinions which he has long habitually cherished; with the view which he takes of the subject I am not surprized that the annihilation of the Company's commerce, and the substitution of the private trade in the place of it, which to my mind present the most ruinous consequences to the East India Company, the public, and even the traders themselves, should to him seem fraught with benefits to all of them; but, differing so widely as I do from the worthy alderman, I have felt anxious to submit to the committee my impressions on the whole subject, and I have now to assure them that nothing but my sense of its extreme importance could make me venture on so long an intrusion on their time.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* rose to reply. He began with observing, that after the long indulgence with which he had been honoured in a former part of the debate, he felt it his duty to abridge as much as possible, what he had to say further on the subject; and here he must acknowledge his obligation to two hon. members (Mr. Paull and Mr. Robson), and also to another hon. member (Mr. Francis) who had volunteered in his support. For himself, he had long fought this battle single handed, and had thrown himself alone into "the imminent and deadly breach," with truth for his standard, facts for his buckler, and the powerful and never failing auxiliaries of cause and effect: What but a reliance on such auxiliaries, could have sustained him against the influence and resentment of the most powerful public body upon earth, or induced him to sacrifice personal ease, and perhaps the interests of a large family, to the prosecution of a great public object, the assertion of national right to a natural share of the British trade with its Indian dependencies.—The causes of the Company's situation, which he had so long and so often exposed, had now produced the fatal consequences he had predicted, and dire distress and necessity were irresistibly forcing a change of system and a call for relief.—It had given him much satisfaction to hear the hon. director, who had just sat down, admitting without reserve, all the facts he had stated on a former night, although the hon. gentleman had differed as much with regard to the conclusions drawn from them, as he had misunderstood the views and objects of their exposure. The hon. director had represented him to have contrasted the present system, with the probable consequences of separating trade and revenue; with no other view than that of obtaining the abolition of the Company's charter from selfish and personal motives, when in fact he had merely stated the four active capitals requisite for conducting, even on its present scale, the Company's trade, and the total want of any such commercial resource; in order first to prove that Indian interest attached to every operation, and if it did attach, the hon. director well knew, that all alledged profit on the trade was done away.—The next object was to shew the necessity of allowing British subjects to carry on that trade, which the Company had no faculty of embracing, not to confine it to a few old commercial houses on each side the water, but to enable all the merchants, manufacturers and ship owners at home and in India, to compete with foreigners in carrying it on, not in the wild and extravagant idea of rendering Great Britain the emporium of all the products even of British Asia, but in the sober contemplation, of securing to the mother country that natural proportion of the traffic, of which she was deprived by the impolitic restrictions under which the private trader to and from India had laboured and continued to labour.—The hon. alderman next observed, that he had been charged with expatiating widely on the little value of an item of 10 millions, stated by the company themselves, as composed of bad debts, old buildings, old furniture, and other articles, which sum their own accountant had struck out of the balance sheet, and estimated at only 400,000l.; was it unjust, as he had observed on a former night, to scrutinize such an asset, when adduced as a probable future claim upon government, and as part of those resources, on the security of which a noble lord had proposed that the house should advance 17 millions of money? Was it invidious to suppose a case possible, in which government might be obliged to resume its lease of the territories, and dissolve a partnership ruinously unprofitable to both parties of the firm? Would his majesty's ministers, or would they not, be justified in opposing to such claims, the 5 millions and a half they had and were to pay for defending India since 1804:—the expences of the Cape and Ceylon, the charge of two squadrons in the eastern seas, and the pay of 25 regiments employed in acquiring and protecting the dominions in question?—But the Company, it was asserted, had estates abroad of great value, of which they could not be deprived: how far it would be politic to retain them, would appear by looking at the expence of these estates; at that of the island of Bombay, for instance, where 764,994l. had been expended beyond the product of farms, licences, and quit rents; at that of St. Helena, which exceeded in the sum of 47,628l. as appeared by the accounts of 1802-3; at the value of the villages round Madras and Masulipatum; at their factory charges of Bencoolen, and above all, at their more recently purchased island Penang, where half a million was likely to be squandered on the wild project of making an arsenal, that could never be defended; of keeping a garrison where there were no provisions, and erecting docks where there was neither tide to float the vessels, nor workmen or materials for their construction or repair. As well might the Company resume their possessions at Balem, Bangam, and the Andamans, and call them profitable estates, as retain any thing of landed property, after they should lose the revenues at large. The Dutch and French retained indeed their factories in our territories, the one for the sake of patronage, for a few favoured families of the Aristocracy, the other from a political motive of disturbing our influence: neither were profitable, on the contrary, the Dutch Company had become bankrupts, from the expences they had thus incurred, and the French would never resume theirs, but from a determined enmity to our prosperity in India. These estates therefore, were no addition to the amount of their assets, in the stock by computation.—But this Imperial Company, it was said, exported from patriotic motives, vast quantities of woollens, at an enormous loss. The hon. director, who as well as the hon. ex-chairman, always carefully blended the India and China trade together, had vauntingly boasted of this immense export of woollens, and stated the heavy loss thereon as a sacrifice to the manufacturers of this country; the former had asked, what would become of the 40,000 British hands now employed, were the Company to throw up that trade. In the first place, the Alderman observed, that no idea had ever been entertained by him, of invading the exclusive trade to China; it was, if any national trade could be, the properest of all subjects for monopoly. In fact, no great quantity of woollens were, or ever would be, consumed in British India, none were exported thither, except for Sepoy's cloathing, and the limited wear of Europeans. The argument therefore in this point of view fell to the ground. The fact was, that China was super-saturated with the Company's woollens, and that this circumstance had kept down the price. A reference to the director's own report on this branch of the trade, would set right the noble lord and his colleagues respecting the cause and extent of loss on this item.—But, granting that British subjects did interfere, would that interference lessen the exportation if there were any demand? would it not rather occasion a greater employ of the manufacturers of Devon, Yorkshire, and Gloucestershire? This thread-bare topic had long ceased to convince men of the policy of shutting out British subjects from India, and allowing neutrals to rival us in our own natural colonial trade; to load their ships under our noses at every port of the united kingdom; to range unmolested from pole to pole; and even to buy and sell at our Indian factories, on the same terms as the Company's privileged captains and officers of the regular ships. Here the Alderman desired the committee to look at the total export of the Company to India, for the 11 years past. He had moved for this important paper, separate from the China exports; it was presented on the 5th June, and would be seen in page 94 of the Budget accounts. During the 11 last years the total export of merchandize in the first column, instead of the immense sum the last Speaker had asserted it to be, the committee would be surprised to find amounted, as he had correctly stated on a former night, to no more than 5,044,960l. little above 450,000l. per annum. (In 1794-5 it was only 133,000l.) The Company's tonnage for their India trade was only 9,822 tons on 12 ships; and, including that for private trade last year, was only 25 ships, or 17,081 tons. He compared this with the tonnage of Barbadoes, and that of a single Dutch colony, Surinam, which loaded home last year 16,493 tons. Was this, he repeated, the natural share of India trade, which the mother country was entitled to? observe, he said, the striking contrast between imperial and individual energy; by the document on the table it appeared, that in 1799-1800 the whole of the Company's export to India was only 463,578l. and this exceeded the average of the 11 years to which he had before alluded. In the same year, by an authenticated paper, laid before Mr. Dundas, and to be found in an able publication of a gentleman deceased (Mr. Henchman) it appeared, that 20 India built ships, wisely licenced by the noble lord (Wellesley), an act fully justified by him in a dispatch to the directors, actually carried back merchandize from London to the amount of 615,247l. 12s. 6d. and expended here in repairs and disbursments 202,877l. although two of the number were laden back by government, and this besides wine taken in at Madeira from British merchants there. Who then, he emphatically exclaimed, are the enemies to the manufacturers, ship-builders, and ship-owners, to the traders and merchants of these kingdoms? himself and those who thought with him, or the directors of the India company? Were the people of Sheffield and Birmingham more likely to starve, if a freer intercourse subsisted with the millions of people in our own Indian territories, and a trade were opened with the myriads who inhabited regions within the Company's limits; regions which they never had it in contemplation to visit, much less to supply with their instant demands, and with the growing wants, which a knowledge of our manufactures would create.—The honourable director had re-echoed against him, the charges of personal motives and attachment to a favourite project of introducing India shipping to the injury of the British artisan; but, would opening the India trade, that trade which the company could not carry on, would giving facility to that trade be likely to confine it to half a dozen established English houses abroad, and himself and four or five India agency houses in London? certainly not, on the contrary it would open India to the British merchant, trader, and ship-owner, without distinction or preference, whether at Liverpool, Bristol, Leith or Glasgow, Dublin or Cork; it would injure, not the Company, as was dreaded, but only the privileged neutral rivals, whose operations he had already in part developed, and should farther expose in the next session.—So much with regard to any selfish object on his part; he should next proceed to notice the danger of removing our artizans, (ship-builders he presumed were meant,) out of this kingdom to our dominions in Asia. But did there, he would ask, exist any want of ship-builders abroad? At Penang (Prince of Wales' Island) it was true, there were neither workmen, nor materials, neither revenues, nor provisions, but was that the case at Bombay, on the Malabar coast, or at Calcutta? were not ships built there by British subjects? were none built at Pegue or Demaun, by Burmaks and Parsees? was it not a notorious fact, that ship-building materials of every kind super-abounded in our own territories? that they no less abounded in artisans, and master-builders of the first eminence to put them together? was it not then sound policy for this government to encourge the extraction of these materials, and indeed of every other resource, which dependencies dearly acquired, and of such precarious tenure, would furnish to the mother country? would it not be sound policy to build ships there for government, which might partly pay for their construction by a freight home, and to compel the Company to build there for their own commerce, and leave the oaklings of our home forests to acquire their natural growth? Would the ship-builders of Blackwall, or of any other yard, complain of such a necessary expedient? did they not candidly acknowledge, and every ship-owner feel, that the expence, and of course the profits, of refitting and repair, exceeded those of original construction; that materials were grown so scarce and dear at home, that no merchant vessel could be built to sail against neutrals, nor any Indiaman be allowed to arrest the inefficient and scanty supply of our own timber for the royal navy? was not the contract price of building for the king's service more than doubled within these few years? Could the commissioners obtain contracts at all to the extent required?—These facts made most completely against the Director's assertions.—The honourable Director had next brought forward, the Company's trade, as a nursery for British seamen, and deprecated the employ of India shipping, as injurious to that object. In the first place, he would ask, by whom are the Company's ship's now manned, and likely to be both in peace and war, while our enemy was attempting to rival us on the seas: By foreigners mostly when outward bound, and back principally by Lascars, natives or subjects of British India. Which of these classes deserved most to be encouraged he need not ask; our commerce was now become too much the nursery for seamen of other countries, and unless care was taken hereafter, most of our British sailors would become Americans.—It was not interest, but necessity that ever induced the employ of black sailors on board the merchant ships, the greater number of them required, in proportion to the tonnage, made it always cheaper to navigate with European, and most of all with British seamen. But, if any preference was due, the British Lascar ought in policy to be preferred to Danish or American sailors.—The honourable Director had paid a just tribute to the skill and gallantry of the men who navigated the Company's ships, and of those who commanded them. No man, said the Alderman, had an higher opinion of them, than himself, they were the best seamen and the first navigators in the world; they had distinguished themselves against Suffrein under Watson in 1778, and the last glorious instance of gallantry in the China seas, under captain Dance, would for ever endear them to their country. But how that establishment was supported, or merit and seniority regarded, he would not stop to enquire. In nothing, he said, was there any design to deprive the Company of their shipping, nor of that trade they were able to carry on, which trade ought to maintain its own maritime establishment.—The noble lord had fairly stated the expansion of the double system of trade and dominion, to have called for a greater amount of fixed and floating assets, than had formerly been requisite, but where among them was to be found any capital applicable to trade? In all the Budget speeches, the surplus revenue and the product of exports were expressly mentioned as the amount applicable to investment, the rest at any rate was borrowed for the purpose, as the noble lord himself had confessed in his last Budget statement (page 35) "The question" says he "that will naturally be suggested on this occasion, is, as to the prudence or propriety of investing so large an amount in goods, when the surplus from the revenue is estimated so low; as the system of providing funds for this purpose by new loans has been often objected to."—Mr. Dundas in 1801 had made use of these words: "The question must naturally arise, from whence funds could be derived to meet demands to so considerable an amount, to which I shall merely now reply, that, in whatever amount the supplies from Europe in bullion and the cash received for bills on the court of directors were found deficient, money was raised on loans, as will appear in the increase of the Indian debt."—The Alderman here affirmed, that notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary, much the greater part, if not all that debt, had been created by the trade. The exclusive system, according to the honourable Director, embraced great political objects, it ought not therefore to be judged of on the narrow principles of a profit and loss trade; this the Alderman observed might possibly be rational doctrine, if the revenues were able to make good the deficiencies in trade; but, had that been the case? on the contrary, the Indian debt had encreased as the commerce extended, nor had the hon. ex-chairman, the noble lord, the hon. general (Wellesly) nor the Director himself been able to show any solid capital on which the trade had been supported; the fact was, a trade on money borrowed at Indian interest had ruined the Company; the Company, as he had repeatedly asserted, never had an active capital applicable to the purpose of commerce. He would state their capital: the united Company were incorporated in the year 1702, by an indenture between her majesty queen Anne and the two East India Companies, which had previously existed on separate establishments. In 1698 the 10th of king William, there had been raised for this purpose by subscription, in virtue of his letter patent, on a capital of

3,200,000l. at 87½ per cent.		£.2,800,000
Of which there had been lent to government at 8 per cent. interest	2,000,000	
They had also paid for dead stock under lord Godolphin's award	400,000	
which made from the first capital a deduction of		2,400,000
So that the active capital amounted only to		400,000
To which a fresh subscription was made in 1701 upon 800,000l. at 155 per cent. of		1,240,000
So that the capital was then		1,640,000
But of this sum, there was lent to government the same year		1,200,000
So that the capital then remaining for trade was but		440,000
(At this time interest was reduced to 5 per cent.)		
In 1729, a douceur was paid to government of		200,000
Unless therefore the trade had encreased their stock beyond their dividends, the capital was reduced to		240,000
In 1741, they lent however to government, at 3 per cent. without any call on the proprietors		1,000,000
which exceeded the funded subscription afloat		760,000
At this time their loan to government amounted to		4,200,000
In 1750, the interest on this loan was reduced to 3 per cent.		
In 1789, a new subscription of one million stock at 174 per cent. added to the Company's resources the sum of		1,740,000
In 1793, the capital becoming more inefficient, 1,000,000l. of stock was added, though not all subscribed till the year after, and this produced		2,027,295

Upon this capital and the surplus revenues, had the Company conducted their complicated system of conquests and commerce, with what success, the committee were now the judges.—One source of loss, however, he ought to state, and that was the sale of three of the four millions which their necessities had compelled the Company to dispose of, at the market price, after the whole loan to government had been converted into Consols at 3 per cent. and the remainder, which was of no greater value than the Consols of the day, was still a resource, though at the decreased value he had before stated, in examining the stock by computation. Upon such slender means had the machine been conducted; how far they were adequate he would not detain the committee to enquire, but a reference to the annual balances of their stock account would, in a moment, shew the progress of their affairs.—The ex-chairman had broadly admitted the Company's present distress, and indeed to have denied the fact, would have been strangely inconsistent with his declarations in another place. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had also made a similar confession, but the prospect of a long peace in our provinces, afforded, in their opinion, ample confidence in the resources of the Company to surmount its present difficulties. The noble lord admitted that the India debt had afforded the capital for its commerce; he had also corroborated the elaborate statement of the hon. general (Wellesley) for a peace establishment, in which he was able only to exhibit the hope of a saving of 740,000l. per ann. and this without any allowance for the unliquidated arrears of the war, the encreasing interest on the bond debt, or the funds constantly required for investment on the present footing; both however had denied the insolvency of the Company, or that India was now more likely to become a burthen, than a relief to the mother country. The noble lord's illustration of the grounds of this confidence, was in unison with the declarations, so often officially made by him and his predecessors in the board of controul. It was only a stronger dose of that sweet nepenthe, annually distributed in their budget speeches, "Hope travels on, nor quits us till we die." The fate, however, of a certain other great monopoly, framed upon extravagant speculation, ought to be a warning to this country, as well as to the India Company. In a large building, between Leadenhall-street and the Royal Exchange, was there not at this day an evidence of the country's being compelled to pay a composition upon the capital, as well as the debts of a privileged corporation? The Mississipi bubble had ruined French credit, and so would the South Sea project have ruined that of England, had not government stepped forward with the public purse, to pay a part of the corporate deficiency. But, the Company, as was asserted by the noble lord and the ex-chairman, and after them by the Director, who had just sat down, possessed ample resources to prevent ultimate loss to the state. They had their claim of ten millions for buildings and fortifications; this, the alderman said, he had completely disposed of. The noble lord had indeed stated, that they were, it was true, 1,598,000l. deficient of their capital, assuming all the items in the stock by computation to be valid; but admitting this fallacious statement, were they not still without the capital for trade, or the means of raising one? If, however, the committee adopted his (the alderman's) deductions, this deficit would be found nearer 14,600,000l. But the relief which the noble lord himself had suggested, sufficiently proved what his own real opinion was of the Company's situation—"We are in no danger of becoming burthensome to the state, or of calling for any fresh trading capital;" only, says the noble lord, "allow us to raise four or five millions by the sale of fresh created stock, and lend us seventeen millions more, to be raised on parliamentary security, for our corporate use and benefit!" Sweet, indeed, and large must be the dose of nepenthe; copious the opiate draught that would any longer lull the house and the country into such dangerous security. Better far would it be, the alderman observed, to go first into the committee, which the noble lord now recommended; for himself, he was persuaded, that the extent of the disease was not yet discovered, and therefore no adequate remedy could be applied till a fresh report was made to the house, upon a full investigation of all the branches of the India system—a firm conviction in his mind of the magnitude of those embarrassments, and of the extreme difficulty of finding a remedy; and not any of the personal or party motives, which had been again ascribed to himself; not any resentment for disappointed ambition, nor envy at the Company's power and influence, but a just sense of his duty, as a representative of the commons of England, and as one of the magistrates of the first commercial city in the universe, the greatest that modern or ancient times beheld; these were the stimuli which had urged him to enter thus largely into the wide detail of the Company's affairs, and which would continue to support him, in the further prosecution of the subject, next session, of which he had given notice in the house.

Mr. *Hudlestone* in explanation said, it was impossible for him to imagine where the worthy alderman had gotten the statement which he had made to the committee of the amount or value of the Company's exports to India, or who had furnished it, but that fortunately he (Mr. Hudlestone), happened to have brought with him to the house a document on that head, for the accuracy of which he would pledge himself to the committee. Mr. Hudlestone accordingly read from that document, that the Company's exports to India from the season of 1797, to that of 1804, amounted to 12,368,402l. giving an average of 1,546,050l. in each year.

Lord *Castlereagh* said, that the share he had borne, and the interest he must always continue to feel in the administration of India, made him desirous of troubling the committee with such observations as the course of the present debate, and the general state of the Company's affairs at this period, suggested.—It was not necessary that he should detain them upon the detail of the accounts, which were the immediate subject of the committee's consideration. The different results had been very fairly and clearly opened by the noble lord, and so far as the statement related to the actual accounts for the year 1803-4 abroad, and those in estimate for 1804-5, he had the satisfaction of entirely concurring in the view his lordship had given of those accounts.—Owing certainly to no omission for which the noble lord could be responsible, but from the documents not having been received in due course from India, the committee had only now before them what ought more properly to have constituted the Budget of the preceding year, and had to regret that the information was still so much in arrear, as to deprive them of the means of forming any very precise judgment of the present state of the Company's finances.—Notwithstanding the defective nature of the materials, he was glad that the present discussion had taken place. It was not likely that gentlemen reasoning upon results that can only now be given on estimate, and drawing their inferences from combinations of accounts intricate in themselves, and such as cannot be easily reconciled in a single discussion of this nature, should frequently find it impossible to agree in any very precise conclusion. At the same time, the debate served to bring into view, and into discussion many leading points connected with the management of this important concern, with sufficient accuracy, to be productive of practical advantage to the administration of Indian affairs. He had always considered the publick service much indebted to those gentlemen who provoked enquiry and discussion upon Indian subjects, from an intimate persuasion that it was attended with beneficial consequences both abroad and at home. Under this impression of duty, he should state to the committee his sentiments upon the leading points which had been adverted to in the course of the present debate, and more particularly on the probable state of the Company's affairs at the winding up of the Indian war, and the measures which he deemed it requisite should be taken thereupon, with a view of enabling the Company effectually to avail themselves of their general resources, in meeting the pressure of the heavy debt which had grown up abroad.—He could not but regret that in discussing the situation of the Company's affairs, gentlemen so frequently neglected to take the obvious distinction (which they never failed to do as a matter of course, when speaking of our affairs at home) between a period of war and peace. When they ventured to speak of the insolvency of the Company, and attempted to prove it by a comparison of their annual means, independent of loans, with their late expenditure, it would be well they would consider, whether the insolvency of the government at home, or of any government in the world might not, in time of war, be established by the same mode of reasoning. It would be as untrue with respect to an individual to bring forward a year of extraordinary outgoings as the measure of his expenditure, and to conclude him ruined, because he could not meet such an extent of charge, without having recourse to loans.—Another mode in which it is attempted to establish this theory of insolvency, is, to suppose the Company dissolved, and called upon like any common banker, at a moment's warning, to pay, not only all just demands upon them, but also to repay themselves, their capital stock subscribed. It is then said, where are your means? can you turn your wealth into money? must not the Company acknowlege itself bankrupt?—It is hardly necessary to observe on the absurdity of resembling a great body of this description, created for the double purpose of trade and government (in which capacity it was to be hoped, for the sake of the constitutional liberties of the country, they would in all times, under proper regulations, continue to endure) with an ordinary trader; but if this very inappropriate comparison is to be made, would not a manufacturer, who had sunk much of his capital in machinery, not in itself of a description to be easily turned into money, though productive to him of considerable annual profit, be as open to a sentence of bankruptcy, upon these principles, as the Company? It is hardly fair of gentlemen who wish to throw open the Company's trade, or to carry forward any other speculative project with respect to India, to endeavour thus indirectly to attain their ends, by holding out to the publick exaggerated and gloomy representations of the affairs of a commercial body, whose credit, and consequently whose interests must, if these statements are believed, be thereby materially injured.—But, even upon the grounds of their own reasoning, their conclusion may be disproved. They set out by very unfairly considering the entire Indian debt as a sole and absolute charge upon the Company's funds, distinct from the territories. Now, assuming the day arrived when parliament should think fit to vest the government of India in other hands, can it be supposed that, upon an equitable settlement between the Public and the Company, the latter upon the expiration of their charter, which may be considered in the nature of a lease for 21 years under the state, would be ultimately saddled with these loans, so far as they have been contracted, not for any temporary or commercial interest of the Company, but for the permanent defence and security of those valuable possessions? It is obvious that an adjustment must be made on this head, the extent and nature of which must depend on a variety of considerations.—It is enough at present to point out the fallacy, in any general balance of the Company's affairs, of considering the Indian Debt as wholly chargeable upon them, as a trading company.—But, even on this supposition, the result is not so discouraging, when the Assets, Dead Stock, and absolute rights of the Company, are set off against the Gross debts.

India Debt, April 1804 - - -	22,536,207
Debt in Europe, March 1805 -	6,012,196
Total -	£. 28,548,403
Capital Stock - - - - - -	7,780,000
Total Debts - -	£. 36,328,403
Assets in India, April 1804 - -	14,452,343
Assets at Home, March 1805 -	20,442,659
	£. 34,895,002
Debts, including Capital - - -	36,328,403
Assets - - - - - - - -	34,895,002
Balance against - - - - -	£. 1,433,401

This balance will certainly stand less favourably, when the accounts are received, bringing down the expences abroad to April 1806, before which time the peace reductions could not begin materially to operate, and a considerable reduction must be made, though by no means to the extent gentlemen are disposed to push it, from the Assets for bad Debts and Demands on government not allowed; but, on the other hand, the Company have a considerable claim on any final settlement for their Dead stock amounting to 9,994,208l. They would also still stand possessed, if the charter was terminated, of considerable revenues, arising from territories to which they long since became entitled, by grants and not by conquest. Of this description are Bombay, Fort St. George, Fort William, with their dependant territories, St. Helena, the northern Circars, subject to a question, and other possessions, the annual revenues of which in 1793 were estimated at 520,000l.—Upon a mere balance then of their capital wealth, compared with the claims upon them, after making all due deductions from the Assets for such claims as may be insolvent, and striking off the proportion of debt that must in equity follow the territories, and remain secured upon them till finally liquidated, the balance of such an account would, he had no doubt, leave the company in possession of ample means to discharge all demands upon them, including their Capital Stock.—But the productive wealth of the Company ought to be measured, not merely by their capital, but by the ordinary produce of the concern in years of peace. In 1802, their net proceeds arising from Surplus Revenue and Profits of Trade were estimated at 1,500,000l. after defraying all charges, an estimate which, from subsequent experience, it appears would have been fully realized, had we remained at peace.—If we were, then, to look at this question as a mere matter of account, without reference to the more enlarged functions the Company were intended to perform, it would be impossible to contend, upon any fair view of their wealth in point of capital, or upon their presumeable clear income in time of peace, even after their own immediate profits have been secured in the shape of dividends, that the Company can be considered in a state any thing approaching to insolvency; however their affairs may at the present moment severely experience the pressure of war, and the extent and nature of their debt require, in sound policy, the most vigorous measures for its reduction.—There were a few other points that had been touched upon in the course of the debate, which he should wish to notice, before he proceeded to state what, in his conception, would be the state of the finances abroad at the winding up of the war, and the course which ought to be pursued for the effectual relief of the Company's affairs. They might be classed under the following heads: 1st. The extent and nature of the Company's trade, whether profitable or not? 2ndly. Whether the commercial capital of the Company had become insufficient for carrying on their trade, and if so, from what sources the extra funds had been supplied? 3dly. Whether in the general management of the Company's affairs for a period of years, India stood indebted to Europe, or Europe to India? and 4thly, as connected with, and arising out of the preceding points, to what purposes, whether of commerce or government, the produce of the various loans made abroad since the renewal of the charter, had been applied?—And first, as to their Commerce, he conceived an hon. alderman (Prinsep) in endeavouring to lead the attention of the committee to a collateral question: viz. that of the Private Trade, one certainly of great moment in itself, but much too extensive in its bearings to be mixed with propriety or advantage in the present debate, had given not a very true or candid picture of the Company's commerce, either as it related to their own immediate profits, or to its effects upon the manufacturing prosperity of the empire at home. Their trade, but more particularly that with the continent of India, he had described as a losing commerce, in order to found upon this assumption the inference, that their monopoly ought to be put an end to, and their trade, at least with the continent of India, thrown open. That the trade either with India or China was carried on to a loss, he must be permitted to doubt. He held in his hand an Account, prepared at the India house, of the clear profit on the prime cost of both the Indian and China investments for 15 years from 1787 to 1801, both years inclusive. By this it appeared, that the average of profit on the Indian Investments for the period in question, was 22l. 8s. 6d. per cent. for the whole period, and proportionably much higher in the later years since the shipping system of the Company was opened to a free and unrestrained competition.—The average Profit on the China Investment calculated upon the same principles and for the like period, is stated to be 37l. 14s. 4d.

per cent. The committee would observe that this was the profit upon the entire commercial transaction, from the dispatch of the goods or funds from hence till the return and sale of the investment, and that in order to determine how far the operation is commercially profitable, the above per centage must be compared with the amount of capital employed and the extent of time which is required in the ordinary course of business to complete this revolution, which may be taken at about two years and a half upon an average, the return from India being somewhat quicker than from China.—Another mode of looking at this question might be had recourse to, by reference to an account then on the table, which he had himself moved for in 1803, viz. of the actual annual Proceeds at home of the 4 years ending in March 1802, which were on an average 366,000l. per annum, after paying all charges, in this account, previous to the balance being struck, the dividends were included, which must be considered as in the nature of commercial profit, being in truth the return to the proprietors upon their capital stock employed in trade. This account, subject however to some adjustments, would go to prove the Company's commerce eminently productive; but before we can consider this large annual surplus a clear commercial gain, in addition to the ten and a half per cent. the proprietors receive in dividends, we must first be satisfied, (and he would subsequently state his reasons for holding a different opinion), that no more capital was really employed in carrying on this trade, than that which was visibly assigned to this purpose; namely, the Capital Stock, the company's Bonds, and the other floating Securities for which an interest was paid. Whatever additional funds had actually found their way into the commercial concern, must be considered as part of the capital employed, and the return must provide for the interest of such funds, before the clear profit can be precisely ascertained.—It seemed, however, unjust to describe the Company's commerce as carried on at a loss. To what precise extent it might be profitable, after providing a liberal dividend to the proprietors, might be a matter of more difficult calculation, and must, like all commercial results, be in its nature fluctuating; but, in reasoning upon this branch of the Company's affairs, the worthy alderman must establish several preliminary facts, before he can expect to persuade parliament that the commercial existence of the Company is to be considered merely on grounds of mercantile profit. He must be prepared to shew that individuals would be as likely to carry on steadily the commerce of India, under all the fluctuations to which such a trade is liable, where the outgoings are great, and the returns distant, as a great trading corporation. He must be prepared to dispel the apprehensions which must be entertained with respect to the injurious influence on the prosperity of India, which may be the consequence of an unsteady and unequal demand for their produce, before he can expect to satisfy parliament that an intercourse, perfectly unrestrained, is preferable to that qualified intercourse, partly free and partly restricted, which now prevails. If he assumes, that individuals by using an inferior description of tonnage, could carry on the trade at less expence, and consequently at greater profit, he must be prepared to shew, that this is not merely by throwing the difference of the expence on the publick, by rendering numerous and expensive convoys requisite to protect their feeble vessels in time of war, whilst the Company's ships, with a comparatively slight aid from our navy, are competent to protect each other, and to set the enemy's ships of war, even when in considerable force, at defiance. He must be prepared to shew, that such an establishment as that of the Company, could be kept up without the protection of a qualified monopoly; or that such a system is in itself unnecessary to the political existence of the Company, and the management of large territorial revenues, when both in peace and in war Funds must be transferred through the medium of commerce from India to Europe and from Europe to India. He must also shew, before he can establish that the interest of the manufacturer at home is interested in such a change, that individual speculators would be disposed to send out British manufactures, even at some loss, as the Company have frequently done, or that there is any other limit to the amount of this description of Export, on the part of the Company, than the utmost quantity the Indian market can take off, which they have not hitherto been able, with their most strenuous efforts and some sacrifices, to carry beyond 2,000,000 a year. These, and many other important doubts must be solved, before any satisfactory or sound conclusion can be come to, on the great practical question, to which the worthy alderman, somewhat out of time, had been solicitous to point the attention of the committee. With respect to his position, that the commercial capital of the Company, properly so called, has in progress of time become inadequate to its purpose, that an accession of funds has been found necessary, and that the requisite encrease has been supplied by loans raised abroad, he had the satisfaction to agree with the worthy alderman, though by no means to the extent of his statement. Where the worthy alderman found his principle, that it required four capitals, or 24,000,000l. to carry on the Company's trade, he knew not; certainly not from any thing he had ever said. He never had himself heard it before stated higher than two capitals and a half, or at the utmost three capitals; but without being able to trace the precise extent of the actual increase, he was persuaded that some considerable increase had taken place, partly from tracing the funds borrowed abroad to their probable destination, partly from a general but intimate persuasion that the Capital itself, even with the increased amount of the Company's floating securities, has gradually become unequal to the extent of their commerce; under the progressive increase of charge at which from the effects of war and other causes it has latterly been in common with all other operations necessarily conducted; but still more from a detailed examination of the extent and situation of the funds themselves, as distributed throughout the various branches of their trade. If he was right in his general position, it could not well be disputed, indeed it would be rendered less doubtful from some statements which he should subsequently refer to, that the funds requisite for this purpose had been raised abroad, and so far disadvantageously from the high rate of interest at which they were obtained, a practice which certainly nothing but a case of extreme necessity could in a commercial point of view justify.—This naturally led to the 3rd point of enquiry, which had been gone into at some length by his honourable friend the late chairman (Mr. Grant) and also by another hon. friend of his (sir A. Wellesley) viz. Whether upon the Balance of Funds passing between India and Europe for a series of years back, India stood indebted to Europe, or Europe to India? The former had stated the account between Europe on one side, and India and China on the other, and upon three several periods of years; viz. of 15 years, of 10 years, and of 7 years. From these statements the result was, that in the 15 years the accounts nearly balanced; on the 10 years the balance was about 2,400,000l. in favour of India, and upon the last 7 years, there was a balance the other way of about 536,000l.—The hon. general had taken somewhat a different view of the question. He had stated the same sort of balanced account between India on one side and Europe and China on the other, from the commencement of lord Wellesley's government in 1798; in order to shew, that India had supplied considerably more than she had received, and that down to April 1804 the increase of Assets, and the excess of her Supplies to Europe and China beyond the value received, nearly balanced the extraordinary funds raised. These two statements seem to lead to opposite conclusions. The first to establish an inference that the commercial treasury at home derived no aid of any consequence from abroad during the period in question, and the latter to establish a different inference. The two lead at once to the main practical question; namely, for what purposes were the loans raised abroad, and to what have they in point of fact been applied? It could not be expected that in a discussion of this sort, any very precise analysis could be given of so intricate an enquiry. He should, however, state generally his impression to the committee on that important point.—The first obvious fact that attracted attention upon an inspection of the Company's affairs, was the great increase of the Debts since the renewal of the charter:

Indian Debt, April 1804 - - -	22,536,207
1793 - - -	8,074,863
Actual Increase - - - - - -	14,461,342
Estimated Increase to April 1806, about - - - - - - - - -	6,000,000
Total Increase - - - - - -	£. 20,461,342
Debt in Europe, March 1794 -	7,006,500
1805 -	6,012,196
Total Decrease - - - - - - -	£. 994,304
Increase in India - - - - -	20,461,342
Decrease in Europe - - - - -	994,304
Net Increase - - - - - -	£. 19,467,038

In considering to what purposes these Funds have been applied, it has already been stated that during the 4 years ending in 1802; no loss, but on the contrary a profit, took place on the Company's trade. The same fact is corroborated on a more extended period of years; viz. from 1795 to 1804 by an account now before parliament presented in 1804,* by which the Surplus Proceeds at home in the 10 years, amount to 981,781l. From these documents it would appear, that no part of the produce of these Loans has been dissipated in the commercial transactions of the Company. Whether they may not have been employed in certain branches of them, and been invested in goods or other articles for which a value remains, is a separate consideration, and will be examined hereafter. Neither is there any reason to suppose that any considerable proportion of the produce of these Loans have been sunk and expended on the defence and management of the territories. By the accounts above alluded to, it appeared that the Revenues realized in 10 years to April 1803,

Amounted to - - - - - -	£.	94,756,281
Actual 1803-4 - - - - - -		13,273,044
Estimate 1804-5 - - - - -		13,558,509
Estimate 1805-6 - - - - -		14,279,533
Revenue, 10 years - - -	£.	135,867,367

The Charges abroad for the same period, including Interest of Debt, and deducting Expence of Bencoolen, St. Helena, and the other settlements extra the continent of India as being rather connected with the commercial than the territorial charges, were as follows:

Ten Years to 1803 - - -	£.	91,416,635
Actual, 1803-4 - - - - -		14,748,872
Estimate, 1804-5 - - - - -		15,005,013
Estimate, 1805-6 - - - - -		16,664,672
	£.	137,835,192
Interest paid to Commissioners of Sinking Fund - - - - - -		730,000
Net Expenditure abroad - -		137,105,192
Revenues, 13 years - - - -		135,867,367
Charges, 13 years - - - -		137,105,192
Deficiency - - - - - - -	£.	1,237,825

During the above period certain expences immediately appertaining to the territories were paid in Europe, which ought to be added to the charges. They amounted, on an average of years, to about 300,000l. per annum, or for the entire period 3,900,000l. On the other hand, the Revenues are entitled to have credit for whatever sums included in the Charges abroad were disbursed on account of government, and for which the Company either have or will receive payment with Indian interest thereupon, perhaps to the amount of 3,500,000l.—Upon the whole, it appeared, that during the period in question, which was one of nearly uninterrupted war, the territories had nearly maintained themselves, and consequently but a very small proportion of the sums raised by loans had been sunk in their defence.—Where, then, did the great mass of the 19,467,038l. Extraordinary Funds raised by loans since 1793, go? By referring to the Account of Assets abroad to April 1804, and March 1805 at home, it would appear that a very large increase had taken place in both since 1793.

Assets in India, April 1804 - -	14,452,343
Assets in Europe, March 1805 -	20,442,659
	£. 34,895,002
Assets in India, April 1793 - -	8,339,362
Assets in Europe, March 1794 -	9,888,836
	£. 18,228,198
Assets 1804-5 - - - - - -	34,895,002
Assets, 1793-4 - - - - - -	18,228,198
Total Increase - - - - - -	16,666,804

This sum was liable to be increased by whatever proportion of the funds expended in the two subsequent years, viz. previous to April 1806, to which the debts have been stated on estimate, had been realized in the Assets. The amount would probably be considerable, though inferior to the Increase of Debt within the period.—It then appeared, that an increase had taken place in the Assets since 1793, to an amount nearly corresponding to that which had been made to the debt. It was plain such an immense increase could not have grown up from the Commercial Profits. It was as clear, that during the period in question it could not have arisen from the Surplus Produce of the Revenues, absorbed as they had been by war: The only other possible source from which it could have arisen, was from the loans contracted within the period; with which in amount (without then inquiring how far it had been invested in a description of value which could be realized or not) it in some degree corresponded.—If, then, the greater proportion of the 19,467,038l. added to the debt since 1793, was to be looked for in the Assets of the Company, it remained generally to be ascertained how far those funds had been appropriated to purposes connected with the commercial or territorial interests of the Company. That could only be done in a very general way, but he conceived with sufficient precision for any practical purpose. He apprehended, that to neither of these sources could its application be exclusively traced, but to both in their respective proportions. The Increase on the Home Assets was greatest. It amounted to 10,553,823l., that on the Assets abroad to 6,112,981.—If the committee would inspect the items of which the Account of Assets consisted, they would perceive that of 20,442,659l. at home, with the exception of what was stated to be due from government to the Company, the whole was strictly of a commercial description. The Charge against government within this period was stated at 4,460,192l. which deducted from the increase of 10,553,823l. seemed to leave the increase strictly commercial to be 6,093,631.—If the Assets abroad, amounting to 14,452,343l. after deducting the securities in the hands of the commissioners were similarly analized, the greater proportion would certainly be found to be connected with the management of the territories; but still a considerable share must be referred to the commerce, viz.

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* See Vol. II. p. 1167.

Export Goods - - - - -	£. 1,022,007
Import Goods - - - - - -	1,156,228
Commercial Advances - - - -	2,131,172
Stores, in part - - - - - -	2,061,593

To which might be added some allowance for the share the trade might have in rendering large Balances of Cash necessary, in the various principal and subordinate treasuries abroad for the convenient conduct thereof. Supposing the same proportion to prevail between the commercial and political branches with respect to the 6,112,981l increase in the foreign Assets since 1793, which is observable in the general account; there would then be assignable within the period of increase,

To Territories, about - - - -	4,112,981
To Commerce, about - - - -	2,000,000
	£. 6,112,981

If, then, to the increased Commercial Assets at home, viz. 6,093,631l. were added the proportion of the increased assets abroad, which might be deemed commercial, viz. 2,000,000l. the whole commercial increase would be 8,093,631l. since 1793, which might be taken to be about the proportion of the Debt which had been contracted for purposes directly or indirectly connected with the commerce, and to have been gradually invested in a larger and more valuable stock of goods and stores on hand both abroad and at home; in a commerce more enlarged, as well as necessarily conducted at a considerably increased advance of capital; and also in an extension of the buildings and other establishments connected with this branch of the Company's service.—Deducting the amount which appeared to have been thus realized in the Commercial Assets from the gross Increase of Debt, there was some reason to presume that the residue had been raised and applied to services either connected with the territorial government or the service of the state at home,

Gross Increase of Debt since 1793 - - - - - - -	£. 19,467,038
Assignable to Trade - - - -	8,093,631
Remains - - - - - - - -	11,373,407
Deduct Claims on Government -	4,460,192
Remains - - - - - - -	£. 6,913,215

The latter sum, liable to be increased by whatever proportion of the Claim on government is disallowed, may be deemed, upon grounds of general reasoning, the proportion of the Debt incurred since 1793 assignable to the territories, about 4,000,000l. of which may be found in the territorial assets abroad, having been invested partly in increased Cash Balances, partly in larger sums floating between the presidencies, as well as between the sub-treasuries within each presidency, partly to advances to native powers, or their creditors, as for instance, the advance on account of the Carnatic Debt, the Loan to the Guicowar, &c. The advances on account of the public, he did not consider as a debt belonging to the territories, as the sum, when repaid, whatever it was, ought to discharge an equal amount of debt.—If this statement were sufficient correct for the purposes of reasoning upon, of which he thought no doubt could well be entertained, however the detail might, on a closer inspection, be varied; two observations naturally suggested themselves which it was important to remark; not only with regard to the past but the future management of the Company's affairs: First, the extent of Debt which had been contracted, and Secondly, that the entire increase had taken place abroad.

The obvious disadvantage of providing those extraordinary funds abroad, which either the political or commercial service of the Company might require, at an interest nearly double that paid for money in Europe, at first sight might seem to call in question the prudence with which the Company's affairs during that period had been conducted; but, it was due to the Court of Directors, and to those who then presided over the Indian administration, to state, that the most serious obstacles stood in the way of their raising any considerable sum in the market at home, nearly throughout the entire of that period. He dwelt the rather on this point, as it, in principle, connected itself immediately with the remedial measures hereafter to be recommended. With respect to the past, there was every reason to presume (to such a degree was the market at home preoccupied by the publick loans,) that the Company had then no other option but to borrow abroad. The serious evil however of raising money at 10 and 12 per cent. exclusive of a bonus to the subscribers, ought to suggest, for future consideration, if the requisite loans cannot, either in the whole or in part, be raised in time of war in Europe, and remitted to India; whether the amount of the money borrowed abroad ought not to be kept down as much as possible, even at the inconvenience of some reduction of the usual extent of the investment. He was fully aware of the importance of giving at all times the utmost support to the industry and prosperity of India, by the purchase of its manufactured produce; and of the objections to any check being given to the full employment of the company's Shipping; but, if the funds for both the commercial and political services cannot be found at such a period, on terms less ruinous, it was of the last importance that the amount raised by loans abroad, should be kept within the narrowest limits possible.—He was aware that the extent of Extra Funds which he was led to suppose had found their way into the commerce, more particularly in Europe since 1793, did not quite accord with the account of value transmitted to, and received from India during that period from which his hon. friend (Mr. Grant) had made his statement. He was not able to follow the items of the account so far as to judge whether it gave India credit not only for its ordinary advances on account of Europe, viz. to Ceylon, to the navy, to the Company's ships, &c. but also for the very large advances on account of government, with interest due thereon, which had been a subject of enquiry and settlement in the course of last session, or whether it gave credit for the commercial charges abroad not added to the invoices, and also for the funds remitted to Bencoolen, St. Helena, &c. which must be considered chiefly as commercial advances. It would require much pains and attention to reconcile these several accounts, and from the whole to deduce a consistent and satisfactory result. With this view, he was of opinion, that it would be desireable to charge a special committee sitting above stairs, with the task of investigating and reporting upon the present state of the Company's finances in all its details. If such an enquiry was instituted, not with any hostile or indirect view of shaking the Company's rights, or of innovating on their existing constitution, but with a sincere and candid desire to remove doubt, and to throw light on such points as were disputable in their financial system, he was persuaded the result would be highly advantageous to their general credit, and that a report coming from such authority would go far to prevent the publick mind from being hereafter misled with respect to the true state of the Company's affairs.—He was the more desirous that such an enquiry should be instituted, as he did not conceive, upon any grounds less grave and satisfactory than an investigation before a committee of their own members, that parliament would feel itself authorized to lend its aid to the Company in carrying into effect those vigorous measures which could alone, in his judgment, afford an early, adequate, and effectual relief to their finances, the nature of which relief he should now lay before the committee; first, however, shortly explaining the actual state of their affairs, as calling for and recommending such a measure.—The Company's Debt in April 1802, to which debt the plan of liquidation which he had the honour of opening to parliament in March 1803 was applied, amounted to 18,654,381l. of which about 16,000,000l. bore interest. The Debt up to April 1806 was estimated at 28,500,000l. of which about 25,000,000l. might be considered as bearing interest. The annual Interest in the former period was 1,394,170l. In the latter, it would somewhat exceed 2,000,000l. The Surplus Revenue was estimated in March 1803 at 1,053,000, exclusive of 80,000l. interest payable on debt redeemed. By the actual accounts of 1802-3 the surplus, notwithstanding 500,000l. additional charge occasioned by assembling towards the close of the year the armies on the Mahratta frontier, amounted to 797,000l. which would have given a surplus of 1,297,000l. in that year, had this armament not taken place.—Calculating upon some further military reductions then in contemplation, and about 120,000l. a year which had since accrued to the revenue of Fort George from the fund antecedently appropriated to the Carnatic Creditors, had we remained on a peace establishment, the Surplus at this day, independent of savings from reduction of interest, would probably not have fallen short of 1,500,000l. Out of this Surplus, the Charge of Interest on Debt since incurred, must be defrayed. Taking this at 700,000l. the surplus likely to be forth-coming upon our return to a peace establishment, might then be estimated at about 800,000l.—This corresponded pretty nearly with the view which his hon. friend (sir A. Wellesley) had taken of this part of the subject; in which, after estimating the revenues from the late conquests and cessions at 1,200,000l. and the additional Charges of the same at nearly a like sum, he reckoned upon an annual surplus of 700,000l. when all the reductions were completed, exclusive of the interest payable on debt redeemed amounting to about 250,000l.—It would certainly be too sanguine to estimate the Surplus, upon the most favourable hypothesis, at more than 1,000,000l. It would not be necessary to waste many arguments in order to satisfy the committee, that to contend successfully against a debt of 28,000,000l. a more effective surplus is indispensable, and they must at once perceive that the Plan of Reduction which was framed in 1803 to meet a debt of 18,000,000l. must be comparatively feeble and inadequate as applied to the debt augmented as it now is by ten millions additional.—It was obvious, that the system of liquidation now to be pursued should be of a description to be rapidly operative in peace, else the Company, in case of an early recurrence of war, might be exposed to have its Surplus Revenue absorbed in defraying the charge of new loans, and thus find itself deprived upon a peace even of the existing means of liquidation.—The past intervals of peace since our connection with India, have not been found such as to justify us in being satisfied with paying off debt only at the rate intended in 1803, when the gross amount of debt did not exceed 18,000,000l. Under these circumstances, the natural remedy and resource for the Company to look to, was, on the return of peace, to repair, with the least possible delay, the misfortune of having been obliged to raise since 1793 all their loans abroad. For this purpose, he would recommend that not less than 20,000,000l. of the debt owing in India should be transferred to Europe, with as much rapidity as its transfer could be arranged, or funds remitted from hence for its liquidation. The immediate saving of interest on this transaction alone, would be nearly 4 per cent. at once adding about 800,000l. a year to the Company's surplus.—Some gentlemen had spoken with alarm of the proportion of the Indian debt, of which payment was demandable in Europe: the amount was stated to be 17,000,000l. He believed the securities which gave an option to the holders to transfer their debts to Europe, might not fall short in the aggregate of this sum, but from the terms of remittance to which they were entitled, the amount which would really come home, he believed, was not likely to exceed 7,000,000l. He was not, however, disposed to draw any consolation from this circumstance. He should deem it rather desirable that the whole 17,000,000l. should come home, as it would additionally impel the Company to make arrangements for converting so much of the Indian into a European debt. He was satisfied that they had the means of doing so with great advantage to their affairs; and if he was desirous of seeing this measure thus in some degree forced upon them, it was from an apprehension that, where the inconvenience was operating at a distance, men were always less disposed to make an effort out of the ordinary course of management, than when it was directly pressed upon their attention.—The means of giving complete effect to this plan, he admitted to depend in a great measure on the return of peace. During war, the Company could not, with the same advantage, add to their capital, nor could they, without some inconvenience to the state, add materially to the amount of the loan, which the market was called on to supply for the public service. To a certain extent he was however of opinion, even in war it should be attempted; reserving till the peace the execution of the measure in its full extent.—The amount of funds required for this conversion of debt was much beyond what the Company, without great inconvenience, could obtain merely by an extension of their capital stock, as money thus raised was procured by creating a debt in its nature not redeemable. He was of opinion that the sum to be raised in this manner, ought not very materially to exceed what the Company were at present entitled by law to borrow, namely, 2,000,000l. which being subscribed for at 200l. per cent. and upwards, that not being too high an estimate of its peace value, would produce above 4,000,000l. sterling.—The remaining 16,000,000l. he should propose to borrow upon the security of the territorial revenues guaranteed by parliament, in such proportion as it might be required for remittance to India. The money to be raised in the first instance like any other public loan, and paid over to parliamentary commissioners, charged with its application to the reduction of the Indian debt, who should be authorized to receive the annual interest, together with the one per cent. sinking fund payable on account of the same, out of the Indian revenues, to be strictly set apart and paid over to them, or their order, in the precise order of payment, (that is, immediately after the Military Charges are provided for, and in preference to all other civil or commercial demands whatever) which is now by law provided in favour of the creditors of the Company.—This proposition might at first sight appear open to many objections, and seem to realize at once the prophecies of some gentlemen, that the distresses of the Company were become such as had at length compelled them to come to parliament for relief; but he denied that it was at all open to such a comment any more than the system which had been acted upon uninterruptedly for the last ten years with respect to the loans raised for the service of Ireland, even before the union. The amount annually required being invariably comprehended in the British loan for the year, was in the first instance secured upon the British consolidated fund. It was then paid over by the British to the Irish treasury; the Irish treasury being bound to remit to the British treasury in each year, the Interest and Sinking Fund, till the whole capital thus created on account of Ireland was paid off.—In proposing a similar arrangement with respect to the Company, the committee would hold in mind, that the proposition in no degree originated with the Company; that it was merely the suggestion of an individual, not founded upon any existing failure of means in that body to meet, without the aid of parliament, every claim upon them, but offered for consideration as a measure calculated without loss to the public to add 800,000l. a year to the Company's income, and thereby obtain with more certainty for the public their annual participation of 500,000l. to which in the event of an adequate surplus existing abroad, they are entitled.—It really appeared to him that the public were even more interested than the Company in this measure, as their prospect of participation would be thereby at once improved so much, as to be placed nearly beyond the reach of failure; whereas the dividends to the proprietors were already secured, but both the public and the Company would largely feel the benefit of it, in the effect it would have in ameliorating the finances of an Empire in which they have a common interest, which is the only British possession that has never yet in war been a charge on the mother country, except so far as its naval protection is concerned, and which has ample means of sustaining itself, in all future wars, from its own resources, if wisely administered, and upon principles not less enlarged and liberal than those which have been already acted upon with respect to other leading branches of the empire.—That the general inducements in the present case were not less strong, and the risks not greater than in the precedent of Ireland, he thought might be successfully contended. As to the extreme case of either Ireland or India being lost to the British crown, he thought it one not to be contemplated in regulating one's decision upon a financial question of this nature. Parliament had not formerly suffered such a consideration with respect to Ireland, nor would they now suffer it with respect to India, to divest them from an important and beneficial measure of general policy. Short of the case of our absolute expulsion from India, it was impossible to call in question the nature of the security which the publick would have for the regular discharge of these loans. They would have revenues in the first instance mortgaged to them, the produce of which was not less than 14,279,000l. a year, out of which this payment would be set apart, next in order after the military charges of the government, which in the most expensive year of war did not exceed 8,970,000l. The charge for Interest and Sinking Fund, suppose on a loan of 16,000,000l. amounting annually to less than 1,000,000*l.* would be received out of a residue of above five millions sterling. They would have not only the same security as the creditors of the Company have lent their money on, but the same security in fact much improved by there being 800,000*l.* less to be paid out of the same means. They would also have, if possible, better security than the publick had in the case of Ireland, as the large sums applicable in time of peace to the reduction of the Indian debt would in this case over and above the ordinary sinking fund of one per cent. be payable to the commissioners, to be by them applied to the more rapid extinction of the capital created for the service of the Company.—It might be said, if the security of the Company was really as good as had been described, why was it necessary to come to parliament to negotiate a loan for them? why did not they at once raise it for themselves? The answer to this was, that the Company were not in the habit of borrowing in Europe to such an extent. Their security might be unexceptionable, yet individuals being unable, amidst so much controversy as to the nature of it, to form a decisive opinion of their own, might be disinclined to lend to them on the same advantageous terms as they would to the publick. In short, the same reasons for adopting the measure applied in this case, as did in the case of Ireland, and the publick had even a more direct interest than they had in that case to facilitate the execution of the measure.—But the obtaining the money on more advantageous terms in the first instance was not the only benefit that would accrue from its being raised as a publick loan. Being included in the general mass of the Funded Debt, the capital would be redeemable at the precise value of the funds at the time, whereas, were this sum funded in a three per cent. separate stock, although no corresponding advantage in the original terms would probably be allowed to the company by the subscribers, the magnitude of the sinking fund applicable to its reduction in peace, would force up the value of this particular stock to par much sooner than the other funds, and thus the Company would have to redeem it on much less favourable terms.—Whilst the advantages, then, were clearly in favour, not only of the transfer of a large proportion of the debt to Europe, but also of its transfer in this mode, he did not see any solid grounds of objection which could be urged on the part of the publick to the proposition. Ireland was not the only instance in which the credit of the publick had been interposed for the purpose of promoting and protecting the general prosperity. When the commercial credit of the country was embarrassed by temporary causes, parliament voted five millions of exchequer bills to be advanced by commissioners to individuals upon security to be approved by them. This measure relieved the prevailing distress, and cost the publick nothing. Loans of the same description had been extended to sufferers by the calamity of seasons in the West Indies. These seemed but two considerations in such a case to be weighed; first, whether the security was adequate, and secondly, whether the exigency, and the advantage likely to result, were such as justified an extraordinary interference? If the interest of the India Company was alone concerned, he thought parliament would have a very strong inducement to lend its aid to an arrangement by which the prosperity of so great a commercial body must be materially promoted, but in the present instance the publick were in truth themselves direct parties, not merely in the more limited pecuniary sense, as entitled to share in the surplus profits, but in the larger though more remote view of the Company being the instrument by which India was to be governed and preserved to the British crown, in failure of whose resources the charge of defending those possessions must in fact fall on the state.—The great object to look to in the management of the Company's finances, was, to have such a surplus in peace, as should make an effective progress in reducing the debt. If the suggestion which had been made added at once 800,000*l.* a year, to whatever the surplus might otherwise be, it was an augmentation of resource which, even in the more extended scale of the publick finances, could not but be attended with the most important and beneficial consequences. Those who had looked at the Company's finances with hope and confidence, as he had done, must feel disposed to promote a measure which was obviously calculated to accelerate and secure all the advantages which the public had been taught to expect from them, and in which expectation they would not have been disappointed under any other circumstances than those of a continued War Expenditure; but those who had been led to form more gloomy conclusions, and to persuade themselves that India would yet prove a burthen to the publick, ought to be the more eager, by these means, to postpone at least the evil day; the saving to be effected by this transfer of debt being in itself sufficient, without adding to the existing charges, to enable the Company to borrow not less than from eight to ten millions, if the exigency of their affairs should require it, and consequently operate proportionably to defer any possible demand for direct aid from the publick.—The noble lord concluded by saying, that he thought it natural and proper that his majesty's ministers should not be prepared till the actual accounts were received from India down to the close of the Mahratta war, to submit any conclusive plan to parliament upon this subject. He trusted however it would not be long delayed. It was to be presumed that the accounts which ought to have been before this time on the table, would arrive so as to admit of their being opened to parliament at the commencement of the next session. He should then hope that those immediately entrusted with the administration of India would be prepared to state the system upon which it was proposed to act. He trusted it would be one of energy proportioned to the necessity of rapidly reducing the debt abroad. He thought it ought to be preceded by a parliamentary enquiry. Whatever course his majesty's ministers might, upon full communication with the court of directors, think fit to pursue, provided it was founded upon enlarged and operative principles, it should have his cordial support. He only deprecated postponing the necessary effort too long: if made in due time, the debt might be kept within bounds; if not, it might hereafter, under the accumulating expenditure of war, prove fatal to the prosperity of the Company, and highly injurious to the general interests of the empire.

Dr. *Laurence* said, he should not attempt to follow the noble lord through the long statement which the house had just heard, but there were some points on which he wished to make a few short observations. If the Company could pay the 500,000l. annually, they should come and state to the house that they were capable of so doing. The noble lord (Castlereagh) had annually told the house, that the Company were in an absolute state of prosperity, and now he ventured to come forward with a proposition for this country to relieve them by guaranteeing their loans! Mr. Dundas too, said, that it was more likely that India would come in aid of this country, than that she would become a burthen to her. All these fine predictions were however reversed, and there was now as decided a change as ever was known in this world. This was the jet and issue of all the fallacies that had been stated to the house from year to year! Such, said the learned gent. were the statements made in this little snug party! [only 27 members were present]. The noble lord called upon ministers to institute an enquiry; but why did he not make such an enquiry while he was in office? With respect to the question of exclusive trade; when that came before the house, the learned gent. said, he should look at it as a whole, and not as the hon. alderman (Prinsep) had done. The house had lately been told, that the government of the country had been guilty of a breach of faith towards the army, but yet we were not permitted to say that the Company were in a state of insolvency. What was insolvency but an inability to pay debts? And that he insisted, was the present state of the India Company. The Dead Stock, every stick and stone had been put together, and set off against a debt that might come upon them at a day's notice. In the name of common sense, how could this be the case, unless there was a deficiency of the means of the Company? Something must be done, he ventured to say, and that speedily. Whether what the noble lord (Castlereagh) proposed, or whether what had been suggested by the hon. alderman, he did not say, but he could not put his trust in the noble lord, after the many years fine prospects that had been held out by him.

Mr. *T. Jones* said, that he concurred (notwithstanding his interrupting him as to putting questions) with the learned doctor in the opinion, that the Company ought to give some account of the payment of the six million charter-money due, which at best (as stated by him and another member Mr. Martin) was a sum suspended, and as such could not be done away with, and it amounted to a sum, which, if paid, would relieve the public from that grievous and grinding tax, the Property Tax, which had been increased in bitterness and oppression by the ungracious mode, *per saltum*, of laying it on. He had often heard the late president of the board of controul (now lord Melville), state amidst his lavish praises of the Company's affairs, (while the figures told a different story) the immense sums which the mother country might soon expect from India. Has it ever come? Will it ever come? Must not (for that is the dread) the mother country bleed to support her offspring? The learned doctor observes, this is a "snug party" to discuss topics in, a snug party of pleasure with all his heart, said the hon. member, but this was a disgraceful party, twenty-seven members (alias creditors) met to adjust a debt of nearer 40 than 30 millions! and this he should prove on summing up. Where are his majesty's ministers, said the hon. member? Where are the directors [one only present, Mr. Hudlestone]? Why do they not attend and assist the noble lord (Morpeth) in settling their own accounts? The Company is in a state of insolvency, and the noble ex president (lord Castlereagh) says, he considers them in the view of wanting "prompt and vigorous amelioration;" so that he, whatever he may think of his majesty's ministers, certainly does not imagine the directors lay on a "bed of roses." The noble lord says, he compares them to manufacturers in embarrassment, who give in a list of their assets, &c. So do I, said the hon. gent.; but honest manufacturers labouring under misfortunes call their creditors together: for instance, a coach-maker, who says "Here, I am in a bad way, take an inventory of all I have, barouches, landaus, gigs, tandems, telegraphs, &c. and come to some understanding." But have the directors of the East India Company done any such thing? The hon. member then proceeded to state, that lord Castlereagh had not succeeded, during his presidency, in getting a loan for some expedition (Egypt) and on that had recommended an enquiry into their affairs, —It was a matter of indifference, whether the debt was a commercial one or not. The noble lord had insisted much on that advantage; but the hon. gent. observed, that it was partly commercial and partly military, consisting of expensive staffs, and various expeditions as stated by him on the 25th of June 1801, and since considerably increased; and here he observed, that ever since the taking of Seringapatam, and the subsequent wars and acquirements, India had gained in aggrandisement of territory, but had improved only in poverty. Moreover, said the hon. member, to whom do these conquests belong? to the government or to the country? The hon. gent. then quoted, in proof of his assertions, Mr. Alderman Prinsep's speech, who had given an historical account of the Company, and in his asserting that they had always dealt in credit, Mr. Jones observed, that hitherto he had supposed them only as dealers in tea, nankeen, &c. He appealed strongly to the house on the comparison which had been made between the India and South Sea House. He agreed with the hon. alderman, that the East India Company were in a state of insolvency, as they could not go on? They must borrow; they must die— "die all, die nobly," as in the Dramatist, "die like demi Directors."—Then to the hon. gent. (Mr. Grant) who would not proceed until he had asked a question as to the amount of the debt, Mr. Jones made this statement, 31,000,000l.; the granted debt 6,000,000l. Sub-judice, at best, 2,672,440l. comprized in an account of above four millions with government, of which only part had been allowed to the Company, and consequently this sum might (as it was so in fact) be added, making the debt of the Company nearer forty millions than thirty. The hon. member then emphatically said, "All that the grand defender of the Company (Mr. Grant) can say is, that he thinks theirs "an extricable case." These are two very remarkable words, and all I shall say further is, I think (and I believe the world thinks with me) theirs—an inextricable case.

Mr. *W. Keene* thought, that the excessive military charge of nearly 9 millions had caused the embarrassment of the Company's finances, and that prosperity might now fairly be anticipated.

Mr. *Johnstone* thought the prosperity of India was calculated on estimates never to be realized, and he thought it too much for human patience to hear the arguments urged in their support.

Mr. *Grant* in answer to Mr. alderman Prinsep said, that after having already engaged for some time the attention of the house, he would decline following the hon. gent. through all the details of his extraordinary speech, which contained the most extravagant and most unfounded views of the Company's affairs. It had little or no reference to the ultimate object of the discussion now carried on by the house, which was the improvement of the Company's state; its aim was evidently not the amendment but the abolition of the whole of the present system of the Company, and indeed the Company itself. For this he had pressed into his service facts altogether irrelevant, and had employed them in the most unfair and hostile manner. He was the professed advocate of another system, that of enlarging or rather entirely opening the Private Trade, a question not simply commercial, but involving one of the greatest state concerns which could engage the attention of parliament, namely, on what principles India should continue to be held and governed by Great Britain. All that he had said respecting the loss with which he alleged the Company carried on their trade, amounted to mere assertion, and was disproved by the statements he (Mr. Grant) had submitted to the house. The Company's Profits had, indeed, been diminished, but it was owing in part to the competition of the private traders, who had thereby injured both themselves and the Company. He had equally failed in his attempt to shew that the Company traded on a Revenue Capital. Nothing could be more loose and fallacious, than the data on which he endeavoured to support this idea. But the most surprizing of his assertions was, that the Company required 24 millions sterling to carry on their trade, that is to say, according to him, 21 millions for active capital, and 3 millions for dead capital. Whence did this enormous capital come? It was impossible for the hon. gent. himself to maintain that it was derived from the revenue; the hon. gent. affirmed that the Company possessed no property of their own—"that they had not a single shilling of their stock;"—it was evident that their debts in England never amounted to any thing like this sum; how, then, was the existence of such a capital to be accounted for? The fact was, such a capital did not exist. The investment of one year out and home, amounted on an average of 10 years ending with 1802-3, to little more than 5 millions, and the trade did not require an investment of four successive years before the returns of the first year were ready to be employed again. Nor would the allowance of 3 millions which the hon. gent. was pleased to make for Dead Stock or dead capital, added to all the circulating capital, bring the aggregate amount to nearly the sum of 24 millions. But, according to the hon. gent.'s mode of stating things, the Dead Stock, which he had been pleased to reduce in value from 9,900,000l. to 3,000,000l. must be taken at its full amount, because, whatever it may be worth, it actually cost the Company the sum at which it stands, and therefore he ought to compute the capital invested in their trade at 30,990,000l. instead of 24 millions. Mr. Grant supposed that the capital actually employed by the Company in their commerce, independent of their floating credits by India Bonds, Bills of Exchange, and goods bought on time, might, on an average of the 10 years before mentioned, be from 10 to 12 millions. Of capital to this extent, the hon. gent.'s own statement allowed the Company to be actually possessed, although he was pleased to affirm that they had no resource for investment; they likewise still enjoyed the credits just noticed, although he had further affirmed, that their faculty of borrowing seemed completely extinguished. It was the hon. gent.'s object to disparage the Company as an organ for carrying on the national commerce with India, and to extol the channel of the private trade in which he was personally interested; to supersede a tried and steady channel which had answered its purpose for two centuries, and had contributed to raise the prosperity of the country, in order to favour another channel very uncertain in its extent or permanence. This was not the time to enter into a question which could not be justly treated without taking a comprehensive view of many topics connected with it, but such vague and unwarranted assertions as the hon. gent. dealt in, could have no weight in settling this question. He had boasted of the great Exports sent from this country to India when an experiment was allowed to be made by the private merchants. The fact was, the experiment did not increase the exports of the country, but only shifted them for that time from Company's to private ships, which by sailing sooner, anticipated the exports the Company's ships would otherwise have carried out.—The hon. gent. professed to give the history of the capital of the India Company *ab ovo*, and begun with the year 1698, in which, according to him, the first capital was founded. But, unfortunately for him, he had begun a century too late, the Company, as every body knew, having been first incorporated in 1600. The Company formed in 1698, was a *second* Company, the first still continuing, and an instance very unhappily chosen by the hon. gent.; because that second Company was composed of merchants who envied the first, and the consequence was, that by the effect of rivalship and competition, raising the prices upon each other in their purchases, and lowering them upon each other in their sales, they were both brought to the brink of ruin, and at length, for self preservation obliged in the course of a few years to coalesce, which produced the United East India Company, subsisting at this day. The hon. gent. affected to consider the active capital of the Company as at all times contemptible. The detached circumstances he mentioned to prove this strange assertion, did not at all establish it, and still less the annual amount of the Company's trade which was the true question; but without entering minutely into this point, was it not universally known that the Company had carried on their trade for a century and a half without any aid of capital from revenue or government; that they had become great by their trade, and had at length acquired territory and dominion, chiefly by their own commercial resources? What more could be necessary to show that their means had been equal to the production of great prosperity and power to themselves and the state? It was with great injustice therefore, that the hon. gent. attempted to degrade their means, their profits, their solvency, or their stability, by such rash and unwarranted assertions as he had ventured to utter. They could have no weight with those who knew or would examine the subject, but they were nevertheless highly reprehensible as used in that house, because it might be supposed no member would use them without some degree of authority, and they were most of all reprehensible from such persons as the hon. gent. who was fostered under the Company's wing, and now turns his influence against that body to whom he entirely owes the fortune which introduced him into notice in this country.

Mr. Alderman *Prinsep* concluded the debate, by observing, that if the expressions he had used, of which such heavy complaints had just been made by the hon. ex-chairman (Mr. Grant), were felt to be either disrespectful to the great body whose affairs were now again under their annual investigation, or stronger than the occasion called for, (and even in this case they could not justify the use of invective as a reply where confutation was felt to be impossible,) he trusted, that in the one case, allowance would be made for some degree of provocation he had met with at the beginning of the debate, in a fresh attempt to preclude him from expressing his sentiments at all in the committee, and in the other case, that the committee would think with him, that, feeling as he did, the importance of the facts, and of his deductions from them, it became both his right and his duty, to enforce conviction, by the strongest language that the subject suggested to his mind.—The Resolutions were then agreed to, and the house having resumed, the Report was ordered to be received on Monday.—Adjourned at one o'clock on Saturday morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, July 21.

[MILITIA OFFICERS' BILL.] On the third reading of the Militia Officer's Pay bill,

The Earl of *Radnor* protested against it as a bill that offered an insult and injury to the Militia, whilst it was at the same time a breach of faith towards that valuable body of men, it having been clearly declared by parliament that the pay of the Militia officers should be equal to that of the officers of the line. He lamented that every party who came into power seemed inclined to give a blow to the Militia. The engagements that had been entered into with the Militia had now nearly all been broken; the men had been taken out of the regiments to serve in the line; officers had been appointed without the requisite landed qualifications; now the pay of the officers was to be rendered less than that of the line, and he supposed their rank would next be affected. He wished to speak against this measure in the strongest terms which his liberty of speech in parliament would allow; and viewing it in the light he did, he felt it his duty to move, that the bill be read a second time this day three months.

The Earl of *Westmoreland* also thought the bill a breach of faith towards the Militia, and was at a loss to conceive on what grounds it could be supported. On a former occasion, when discussing one of the military measures of his majesty's ministers, it had been said, do not take a measure singly, but look at the whole plan, and with this license he would take the liberty of adverting to a bill for regulating the rank of volunteer officers, which either through his mistake, or the mistake of others, had passed through the house without his having an opportunity of making any remark on it;—a bill which he conceived calculated to give offence to the volunteers, without any benefit being likely to be derived from it.

Lord *Grenville* declared himself a warm friend to the Militia, which he considered a very valuable part of our military force, not only as affording a force for the defence of the country in the hour of danger, but also as giving an opportunity to gentlemen of landed property, not chusing to enter into the regular military profession, of evincing their zeal and spirit, and of obtaining that degree of military knowledge which would render them essentially useful in a crisis of public danger. There was not the slightest intention on the part of his majesty's ministers to give a blow or offer any insult to the militia; nor could he conceive how this bill could be so construed. He denied that there was any breach of faith: all that had formerly been declared by parliament was, that the officers of the militia should receive the same pay as the officers of the line, that is to say, the pay which the latter then received; but it never could be contended, that from thence a principle was to arise, that the pay of the officers of the line was never to be augmented without, at the same time, augmenting, to an equal amount, the pay of the officers of the militia. It should be recollected that the officers of the line made the military profession the business of their lives, and were liable to many duties of service to which militia officers were not; the latter besides, might pursue other avocations, at the same time continuing the exercise of their duties as military officers. He could not, therefore, conceive in what way the bill could operate as a hardship upon the latter.

Lord *Eldon* objected that the bill was inconsistent with itself, inasmuch as it merely professed in its title to be a bill for regulating the pay of militia officers in England and Scotland, whilst in the body of the bill there were enactments applying to the yeomanry and volunteers of Ireland.

The Earl of *Moira* observed, that a trifling amendment would obviate the inconsistency of which the noble and learned lord complained. He professed himself a warm friend to the militia, and, coinciding completely with the arguments urged by his noble friend (lord Grenville), he could not conceive in what way the bill could be considered as offering any insult to that valuable part of our military force. He thought the lamentation of the noble earl (Westmorland), that he had missed an opportunity of debating the bill for regulating the rank of volunteer officers, was needless, as every part of the plans of ministers as embodied in the different measures brought up to that house had been most amply discussed by noble lords on the other side, who had scarcely omitted any opportunity of attacking them. With respect to that bill, however, he would observe, that not only no offence was intended to the volunteers, but he was convinced that no offence could be taken by the volunteer officers, as they must feel that, from want of experience in actual service, they were not competent to take the command of field officers of the line and of large bodies of troops in the event of their being actually called out for the defence of the country.

Earl *Fitzwilliam* likewise defended the bill, on grounds similar to those urged by lord Grenville and the earl of Moira.

The Earl of *Hardwicke* objected to the bill, on the ground of the increase of pay not being extended to captains in the militia, many of whom, he said, from having been appointed without the qualification previously required, stood as much in need of an increase as any of the others to whom it had been extended.

Earl *Spencer* thought, if the not extending the increase to captains had the effect of bringing back the militia, in that respect, to its former principle, that of only having captains possessed of the landed qualification before required, it would produce a good effect. He defended the bill on the grounds before urged, and as to the rank of volunteer officers, he, as a volunteer field officer himself, considered that bill as a boon, and he had no doubt it would be generally considered by volunteer officers as a favour, as, with all that zeal and spirit which they would doubtless evince in the hour of danger, they could not, from want of experience, feel themselves adequate to the command of large bodies of troops.

The Duke of *Rutland* expressed his entire disapprobation of the bill, which he conceived to be subversive of the constitution of the militia.

The *Lord Chancellor* contended that the former declaration of the legislature, that the pay of the militia officers should be the same as that of the line, could only apply to the then pay of the regular army, and not to any future augmentation. Those noble lords who conceived that this augmentation ought to be extended equally to the militia, might use that as an argument against the bill, but it never could be maintained that the not extending to that force an increase of pay, granted under special circumstances to the regular army, was subversive of the constitution of the militia.

Earl *Camden* opposed the bill. He thought the measures brought forward by ministers were not exactly in unison with their professions of regard for the militia and volunteers.—The house then divided on the question, that the word "now" stand part of the motion. For reading the bill a third time. Contents 13; Not-contents 8. —Majority 5. On our readmission, we found the Earl of Westmoreland on his legs, speaking on the question for reading the same Bill a third time. His lordship expressed his disapprobation generally of the measures which had been brought forward by ministers, and considered his own honour and character, as well as that of those with whom he recently acted, involved in his opposition to them.—The bill was then read a third time and passed.

[Public Harbours Bill.] On the question for going into a committee on the Public Harbours bill.

The Earl of *Limerick* complained that a bill of this importance had been brought forward at so late a period of the session. It appeared to him likely to be mischievous in its operation, as it tended to prevent persons having property on the banks of navigable rivers, as far as the tide flowed, from making the least improvement on their estates without giving notice to the secretary of the Admiralty. The penalty for not giving this notice was 200l. and many persons might thus be entrapped without being at all aware of the nature of the law. He thought it would in many cases be useless as to the interests of the public, and instanced the river Shannon, in Ireland, where the tide flowed a mile higher than vessels of any burden could come up, yet this bill would equally operate in that part of the river where it could not be of the least use.

Lord *Grenville* said the bill had been brought forward as soon as the grievance to which it applied was known; and it was a measure which he contended was highly necessary in order to preserve our public harbours and navigable rivers from obstructions. It was merely required of the person making any embankment or other work in the situations mentioned, to send notice to the secretary of the Admiralty, which could be but a very trivial hardship. Many other rivers might be in the situation of the Shannon, where the tide flowed higher than vessels of any burden could navigate, but it was, notwithstanding, important to prevent obstructions in those parts of such rivers, in order to prevent the navigable parts of those rivers from being ultimately injured.—The bill then passed through the committee, and was reported.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, July 21.

[Minutes.] On the motion of Mr. Creevy, new writs were ordered for the election of a member for Seaford, in the room of sir Richard Sullivan, deceased; for Buckingham, in the room of lord Proby, who had accepted the office of Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds; and for Enniskillen, in the room of Mr. King, who had accepted the Stewardship of the Hundred of Desborough.—Mr. Perceval adverted to a notice, which he had given some time since, of a motion on the subject of thanks to the managers of Impeachments. The vote of thanks before the judgment was given, in the case of lord Melville, struck him as extremely improper. He was still of the same opinion, and he wished by no means to be considered as having abandoned his determination to submit to the house a resolution for preventing the recurrence of such a practice. His only reason for not having already brought forward this resolution was, that he wished it to be unconnected with the consideration of any particular impeachment; and if he had brought it forward so soon after the impeachment of lord Melville, it would appear to be connected with that. He renewed his notice for the next session.—Mr. Sheridan said it would be recollected, that the notice he had on a former day given of a motion relative to the crown lands, with a view to the improvement of the capital, was conditional. On communicating with his majesty's ministers, he found that the noble lord at the head of the treasury, and another noble lord now absent (lord H. Petty), had turned their attention to the object he had in view, and had a plan which was apparently well calculated to effect it. He therefore begged to withdraw his notice, and to give way to persons by whom his wishes could be best accomplished.

[Barrack Abuses.] Mr. *Robson* rose pursuant to notice, to make a motion for papers on this subject. Since the debate, said the hon. gent. which took place lately upon India affairs, could not bring down ministers to the house, it was in vain to expect their attendance upon the present occasion. Although his majesty's ministers, however, did not think proper to come to their places, he should think it no less his duty to speak plainly of them. He had upon all former occasions submitted plain and simple motions to the consideration of the house, which if they had chosen to agree to, they would have been by this time in possession of the means of saving several hundreds of thousands of pounds of the public money. From the unaccountable conduct of the present ministers, his motions had hitherto been rejected, although he had been told by the secretary at war the other day, that if he had divided the house upon his third motion upon this subject, it would have been agreed to. Was this all the support which ministers thought it their duty to afford to the discovery and detection of abuses? He should still assert, that the motions which he had brought forward the other day were such as would have formed a key to discover all those abuses which he was convinced existed in the barrack department. The right hon. secretary at war had indeed placed him in a very unpleasant predicament on Friday last. He had previously been told that he ought to wait till the report of the commissioners was presented. Although he was generally very punctual in his attendance in the house, yet it so happened that on Friday last it was 20 minutes past 4 when he entered, and on his way he met the clerk coming out with the report which had been presented and ordered to be printed. He had followed him up stairs in order to inspect it, but returned in consequence of learning that the secretary at war intended to move for and present some papers. Finding a deliberate perusal of the report absolutely necessary for his purpose, he applied to the house to have the printing postponed to some future period; this, however, could not be complied with, so that he was now placed in such a situation that he could not be able to lay that plan upon the table which he originally wished, and which he had pledged himself to do. He should still however assert, that, with the produce arising from a saving upon the canteens and manure, he would engage to pay the whole expence of all the temporary barracks in England. He should now call upon the chancellor of the exchequer and the secretary at war to assign to him some reason why they did not consent to all his former motions, and support him to their utmost in his endeavours to provoke inquiry. He should warn these gentlemen, that if in the space of 6 months hence matters remained as they now were, a great share of responsibility would fall upon them for their unpardonable neglect. The secretary at war had, upon the day alluded to, presented some papers, stating the rents of canteens, &c. but these did not answer his (Mr. Robson's) purpose. He therein found only a bare statement of the sum received by the late Barrack Master General, but he neither found the particulars of expenditure, the period when payments were made, nor the time comprehended in the whole of such statement. He considered it therefore, as no account at all. Was it merely for the purpose of appearing consistent in their votes, that the house had granted such a document? The right hon. secretary must surely perceive that he had been only moving for a thing in an imperfect state, which had been formerly moved for in a perfect one. In short, this paper by no means came near what he wished the house to be possessed of. What he wanted was a distinct and accurate statement of the canteens employed, and the produce of manure in each county. It should be a monthly statement, or such as every Barrack Master was bound to send weekly. For this purpose he begged leave to renew the motion he had formerly submitted to the consideration of the house upon this subject, which had been formerly rejected.—After some little debate as to the point of order, the motion was made in nearly the following terms, "That there be laid before this house, an account of money received, on the part of government, for dung, ashes, dust, straw, sweepings, or other things, being articles of manure; the name or names of the persons to whom sold; the sum or sums received; the name or names of the persons through whose hands the said sums have been received, on the part of the public; the time when such sale ceased; if so, stating the cause of cessation; the number of non-commissioned officers and men, and the number of horses generally quartered or lodged at each station respectively," &c.

The *Secretary at War* said, he did not object to the motion, nor had he objected to any motion the hon. gent. had brought forward. At the same time, he thought it necessary to say, that the making out these accounts would be attended with great inconvenience, and a very heavy expence; for many additional clerks must be employed for the purpose; and it was for the house to consider whether they would authorise such an expence, after the hon. gent. had talked of throwing up the business, and it was not certain whether he was sincere in his intention to proceed with the inquiry. If his noble friend near him (lord H. Petty) had not taken the course he had done, he should himself have objected to the motion altogether, but now he certainly should not.

Mr. *Robson* said, he was aware that granting motions for papers was attended with some expence, but all he had hitherto moved for, were comprised in two sheets and a half, and therefore he could not be much reproached on that head at present. He assured the house, and the right hon. secretary, he was sincere in his intention to proceed into the inquiry, and would be ready to begin to-morrow, for the more he looked into it, the more he saw it was an absolute refinement on peculation, and could not be stopped too speedily; and he wished only that he had one of those peculators before an honest jury. The report of the military board he looked upon as a hash, seasoned up with the account of the one per cent. charged by General Delancey, by way of shewing they had noticed something at the outset; but they had begun at the wrong end. Instead of going back 13 years, so far as the year 1793, they should have begun with the present abuses. If they had begun right, a report would now have been before the house, by which half a million might have been saved; and he was determined, the system of plunder which had been so long carried on, should not continue. Every hour that was lost, was an injustice, and an injury to the public. He warned the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whom he now saw in his place, against neglecting to go into an immediate and bonâ fide inquiry, observing, that if he did so, he would have to answer to him in the next session for the loss of half a million of the public money. He had heard much of the talents of this broad bottomed administration. He wished to God he could persuade them to give up some of their enormous pensions and sinecure places, and thus bring their talents of gold and their talents of silver into the service of the public. Let them do this, and then he would allow them to talk of their sincerity. If ministers neglected enquiry, he would tell them, they had not a leg to stand on. They might, perhaps, go on for a year or two, but it was impossible they should last longer. If economy was not the order of the day, how long did ministers think that the country could go on? Would not extravagance force the people to accept an insecure peace, which they did not wish for at present? What the public wanted was economy, and a strict inquiry into the public expenditure; and covered as they were with taxes, how was it possible for them to have an opinion of that administration that did not follow up inquiry? Admiral Markham had declared that two-thirds of the money granted by parliament would pay all the expences of the navy, and yet as much as ever was taken this year. This was absolutely laughing at the people. How long, he would ask, were these things to last?

Mr. *Robson* next moved: "That there be laid before the house, a return of the sales which have taken place at the several temporary barracks or buildings, rented or hired by government, and used as barracks, or as barrack storehouses, in the whole of G. Britain. That the said return do embrace all such sales of the description aforesaid, that have been made between the 1st of Jan. 1793, and the 24th June, 1806; and that it be exhibited in nine columns in the order, and with the titles following. viz;—1. The name of the parish (or station) and the county where each sale respectively was made; the said names of the parishes (or stations) following each other in due alphabetical order. 2. The date of the sale. 3. The name of the auctioneer, or person by whom the sale was made, and if the sale was a private one, stating that circumstance. 4. The names of the purchasers, if less than six in number. 5. A general description of the things sold. 6. The name of the barrack master, or other person, under whose immediate direction and superintendance the sale took place. 7. The gross amount of the sale, as credited to government. 8. The total amount of all sums expended by government in fitting up each building respectively. 9. The number of men or horses usually quartered in each building respectively."

Mr. Secretary *Windham* observed, that ministers were placed in a disagreeable situation by the hon. gent.'s motions, since he seemed to consider persons who might on any account object to them as wishing to protect abuses and peculations. But it must be from the most gratuitous love of abuse, if ministers could object to the discovery of abuses which took place under their predecessors. In this observation, however, he could not include himself, for the present motion had some reference to him in an antecedent state. Here he could not but remark the inconsistency of the hon. gent. He had complained that all the work of the commissioners of enquiry had been retrospective, and had considered that as a most absurd way of proceeding, while he wanted to provide against present and future abuses. He had also dwelt on the expence of the Barrack Department; and yet, notwithstanding all this, he now proposed to go into a detail of all that had happened for the last 13 years, which must necessarily be attended with great expence, and would require the employment of additional clerks. Now, the proper question was, would the motion, if agreed to, produce any thing adequate to the expence and inconvenience it would occasion? All the items of an auctioneer's paper, pots, pans, kettles, trenchers, and wooden bowls, were to be made up and laid before the house, and many other things of which it was probable no record or vestige now remained. The hon. gent. brought forth his motions as a sort of nostrum or recipe, which was to cure existing abuses all at once: and, indeed, if he could produce some little scheme of accounts of that kind, he would do great service to the country. He had taken a very wide compass, and laid a broad basis; but his objections to his motions arose from their probable inefficiency, and he would not be terrified from opposing the present, by the reproach of a wish to screen peculators. But he believed it would be a warning to the house to be cautious in assenting, not to judicious and necessary motions, but to such as would be tedious, troublesome, and expensive, without producing any adequate advantage.

Mr. *T. Jones* said, he had no wish to give any opposition or annoyance to his majesty's ministers. He had every wish to respect their talents, to give them credit for the best intentions, and to be convinced it was by no means their wish knowingly to countenance or to screen wanton extravagance or peculation: but really and truly, the system of peculation of late years, in the department alluded to by his hon. friend (Mr. Robson) was so glaring, so horrid, and abominable, that he must say his hon. friend was justified in pressing his motion, with a view to establish some effectual and permanent check upon this glaring system of flagitious peculation. His majesty's present ministers had succeeded to power with the wishes and the warm approbation of the people, and certainly had shewn every disposition to follow up enquiry into public abuses, and to render the public force formidable for the defence of the country against a ferocious enemy: but he could assure those ministers, with every deference for their talents, that, without economy in the expenditure of the public money, without the most rigorous vigilance in the disbursement of every pound for the public service, it would be in vain that they possessed talents; it would be in vain that they rendered formidable their armies or their fleets, with a view to our permanent safety. Economy in public, and in private life, under the peculiar circumstances to which this country was now reduced, he considered as the cardinal virtue upon which turned all our hopes of ultimately surmounting the dangers and embarrasments in which we were involved: it was to our want of this, that our ferocious enemy looked with eager hopes of his ultimate success in subduing us, more than to any opinion of our want of a formidable force, and a military spirit of resistance. But, from the nature of some expenditures of late, it would seem as if his majesty's ministers had believed that a guinea was really worth more than twenty-one shillings: however, he could assure them, nothing but the most strict economy and vigilance of the public expenditure would do. He thought it odd, that when a proposition was made with a view to investigate defalcations and peculations in another department, which was a perfect mine of peculation, it should be resisted on the ground that it would cause an extra expence in clerks, pens, ink, and paper. The objection to the expence of these accounts, he thought came with a bad grace from the ministers so soon after the Auditors bill which entailed great expences on the public, for little more than nominal appointments. He wished to see the system of economy general. It was equally advantageous in public as in private concerns. Give us, said he, but economy, and a fig for Buonaparte!

Sir *William Elford*, with every respect for the hon. member, observed, that if he had been the first to discover the peculation of which he now complained, and had come down to the house and founded upon his discovery a motion of enquiry, undoubtedly he would have deserved much popularity for his exertion. But, as this was not the case, as the house had already taken up the subject under the general head of military expenditures, and as the commissioners appointed by the house had been actually for a year past occupied in the investigation, the hon. gent. in every endeavour to add to his own popularity on this head, sought to detract from the merit of the commissioners, and of the house, by whom they were instituted, as well as very considerably and unnecessarily to increase that expenditure of public money for which he professed so much of vigilant concern.

Mr. *Robson* contended, that the same abuses were still going on in the same manner as before, and as it seemed the commissioners could not conclude their inquiries for three or four years, he would ask, was he, as a member of parliament, to sit still all that time, and not attempt to check them? There should be in the Barrack Office, a regular account of the sale of all the articles, the names of the items, and the amount of what they respectively sold for; and it did not appear that the commissioners had called for it. There was a clause in the act, that the commissioners need not, unless they saw reason for it, inquire into any former abuses which did not still subsist, and thus the abuses escaped under this masking clause. The right hon. gent. (Mr. Windham) had talked to him of nostrums; all the nostrums he wanted, was to probe peculation to the quick, and to apply to it such a remedy as should cure it for the future. All he wished for was inquiry; but he found by the papers already presented, that the repetition of dittos, in many places were substituted for descriptions, as if there was a scarcity of pens, ink, and paper, in the office.

Lord *H. Petty* said, he had hitherto been extremely unwilling to resist any of the motions made by the hon. gent. for the papers he required on this subject, or to withhold any information which the hon. gent. or the house should think necessary; but really the document for which he now moved was of a nature so very complicated and impracticable, on a range of 13 years, as well as utterly useless towards the professed and leading object of the hon. gent. that he was inclined to oppose this motion, seeing it to be of no practical use. If the hon. gent. had any objection to the mode of inquiry by commissioners, already adopted by the house, and before whom the subject of Barracks was laid, as well as all other branches of the military expenditure, he ought to have come down to the house, and moved for a repeal of the bill under which those commissioners were appointed, in order to substitute any other plan of inquiry he should think more eligible. For his own part, he should in future be more averse to the granting of such general and expensive motions.

Mr. *T. Jones* said, that he had had the honour of seconding the motion of his hon. friend (Mr. Robson) relative to the 19l. 10s. bill unpaid by government. That motion, which was then refused by ministers, had done great good: it had given rise to the commission of naval enquiry, and this motion which he now had the honour of seconding, and which too was scouted by ministers, he would venture to say, would also be attended with great benefit to the public.—The question was then put and the motion agreed to.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, July 22.

[MINUTES] The royal assent was given by commission to the Consolidated Fund bill, the Lottery bill, the Royal Family Annuities bill, earl Nelson's Annuity bill, lord Rodney's Annuity bill, the Auditor's bill, the Warehousing bill, the Irish Postage bill, the Stage Coach bill, the Woods and Forests Regulation bill, the Windsor Forest bill, the London Additional Force Repeal bill, the Militia Officers Pay bill, the Public Harbours bill, the Irish Hops bill, the Bankrupt Laws bill, and some other public and private bills. The commissioners were the lord Chancellor, earl Spencer, and lord Walsingham.—The Customs Regulation bill, the Oak Bark bill, the Scotch Forfeited Estates bill, were read a third time, and passed.—In the appeal 'Henderson v. Ramsey,' judgment was given, on the motion of the lord Chancellor, affirming the decree of the court of session.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, July 22.

[MINUTES.] According to summons, delivered by the deputy gentleman usher of the black rod, the house proceeded to the house of Peers, and, on its return, the Speaker stated that the royal assent had been given by commission to several public and private bills.—On the motion of Mr. Hobhouse, a new writ was ordered for the borough of Bodmin in Cornwall, in room of John Serjeant, esq. who has accepted the office of the steward of the Chiltern Hundreds. A message from the Lords announced their lordships assent to the Crown Leases bill, the Customs Regulation bill, the Scotch Exchequer Chambers bill, the Scotch Forfeited Estates bill, the Scotch Canal bill, the Public Harbours Preservation bill, the Grenada Loan bill, and the Oak Bark bill.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Wednesday, July 23.

[MINUTES.] The House met about three o'clock.—Mr. Johnson, from the office of the chief secretary for Ireland, presented the third report of the commissioners of Inquiry in Ireland; which was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed. The house was adjourned during pleasure, to robe.

[THE KING'S SPEECH] About a quarter past three, the Lord Chancellor, earl Fitzwilliam, and earl Spencer, took their seats in their robes, as his majesty's commissioners. Mr. Quarme, the deputy usher of the black rod, was sent to the House of Commons, to require their attendance.

The *Lord Chancellor* then, in his majesty's name, delivered the following speech:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"His majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that the state of the public business enables his majesty to close this session of parliament.—We are, at the same time, directed to express to you the great satisfaction which his majesty has derived from your unremitting zeal and diligence, and from that attention to the most important interests of his empire, which has been so conspicuously manifested in all your proceedings.—The measures which have been adopted for the permanent improvement of the various branches of our military system, your attention to combine these arrangements with the great objects of public economy, and the regulations which you have established for the speedy and effectual audit of the public accounts, call for his majesty's particular acknowledgments.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"We have it in command from his majesty to thank you for the provision which you have made for the exigencies of the public service, particularly by raising within the year so very large a proportion of the necessary supplies; a measure in itself highly advantageous, and which must create, both at home and abroad, the most favourable impression of our national resources, and of the spirit which animates the British people. You may be assured that the utmost attention shall be paid to the frugal administration of those supplies which you have so liberally granted.—His majesty is particularly sensible of the fresh proof he has received of your affectionate attachment to him, in the provision which you have made for enabling the younger branches of his royal family to meet the necessary expences of their station.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"His majesty, being always anxious for the restoration of peace on just and honourable terms, is engaged in discussions with a view to the accomplishment of this most desirable end. Their success must depend on a corresponding disposition on the part of the enemy, and in every event his majesty looks with the fullest confidence to the continuance of that union and public spirit among all ranks of his people, which can alone give energy to war and security to peace."

His majesty's commission for proroguing the parliament was then read at the table, the same noble lords sitting as commissioners. After which,

The *Lord Chancellor* said:

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"By virtue of his majesty's commision under the great seal, to us and other lords directed, and now read, we do, in his majesty's name, and in obedience to his commands, prorogue this parliament to Thursday, the 28th day of August next, to be then here holden, and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday the 28th day of August next."—The speaker and the commons withdrew from the bar, and the lords commissioners retired from the house.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, July 23.

[MINUTES.] About half past three, Mr. Quarme, the deputy usher of the black rod, entered, and summoned the house to the house of peers, to hear the royal commission read for passing bills, and proroguing the parliament. The Speaker, with the whole of the members present, went up accordingly to the house of lords, and on his return, calling the members round the table, read to them a copy of the King's Speech; after which the members separated.—Thus ended the fourth session of the second parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

LIST OF PUBLIC ACTS

Passed in the Fourth Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and in the 46th Year of the Reign of his present Majesty, George III. with the Date of their meeting the Royal Assent.

February 7, 1806.

CHAP. 1. An act to empower the Auditor of the Exchequer to constitute a trustee for the execution of the said office in the case therein mentioned.

Feb. 12.

2. An act for continuing and granting to his majesty certain duties upon Malt in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1806.

3. An act for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates, in England; and certain duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, and Snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1806.

Feb. 28.

4. An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain Annuity to lady viscountess Nelson, in consideration of the eminent services performed by the late vice admiral lord viscount Nelson to his majesty and the public.

5. An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain Annuity to rear admiral sir R. Strachan, bart. in consideration of the eminent services which he has rendered to his majesty and the public.

6. An act for raising the sum of five millions by Loans or Exchequer Bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1806.

March 22.

7. An act to indemnify such persons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments; and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th day of December 1806, and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of Indentures of clerks to Attorneys and Solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the first day of Michaelmas term 1806.

8. An act for the regulation of his majesty's Royal Marine Forces while on shore.

9. An act for allowing, until the signature of preliminary articles of peace, vessels employed in the Greenland Whale Fishery to complete their full number of men at certain ports.

10. An act for further continuing until the 25th day of March 1807, an act passed in the 43rd year of his present majesty, for discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of Sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof.

11. An act for allowing the exportation of Corn and other articles for the use of his majesty's forces and garrisons.

12. An act to continue several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and allowing certain drawbacks and bounties, on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into and exported from Ireland; and for granting a duty upon Malt and Spirits made and distilled in Ireland, until the 29th day of September 1806; and for granting certain inland Duties of Excise and Taxes in Ireland, until the 25th day of March 1807

13. An act for settling and securing certain Annuities on Cuthbert lord Collingwood, and the several other persons therein described, in consideration of the signal and important service performed by the said Cuthbert lord Collingwood to his majesty and the public.

14. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March 1807, and to amend several acts for regulating the drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of Sugar from Ireland.

15. An act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion; and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters, within the United Kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man.

16. An act to continue until the first day of June 1807, and amend an act passed in the 37th year of his present majesty, for carrying into execution the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between his Majesty, and the United States, of America.

17. An act to permit, until the 25th day of March 1809, the exportation to the United

Kingdom, of Wool from the British plantations in America.

18. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March 1807, the operation of an act, passed in the last session of parliament, to suspend proceedings in actions, prosecutions, and proceedings, under certain acts relating to the Woollen Manufacture, and also under an act of queen Elizabeth, so far as the same relates to certain persons employed or concerned in the said manufacture.

19. An act for defraying the Charge of the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia in Great Britain for the year 1806.

20. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March 1807, and amend so much of an act made in the 39th and 40th years of his present majesty, as grants certain allowances to Adjutants and Serjeant-Majors of the Militia of England, disembodied under an act of the same session of parliament.

21. An act for making allowances in certain cases to Subaltern Officers of the Militia in Great Britain, while disembodied.

22. An act for defraying, until the 25th day of March 1807, the charge of the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of Ireland; for holding courts martial on Serjeant Majors, Serjeants, Corporals, and Drummers, for offences committed during the time such Militia shall not be embodied; and or making allowances in certain cases to Subaltern Officers of the said Militia during peace.

23. An act to extend the provisions of an act passed in the 44th year of the reign of his present majesty, for enabling subjects of Foreign States to enlist as Soldiers in his majesty's service; and to indemnify those who have advised his majesty to land such soldiers in this kingdom.

24. An act for further continuing, until the 25th day of March 1808, an act made in the 33rd year of the reign of his present majesty, for rendering the payment of Creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

March 31.

25. Act for raising the sum of 10,500,000l. by Loans or Exchequer Bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1806.

26. An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000l. by Loans or Exchequer Bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1806.

27. An act for continuing, until the 25th day of March 1811, so much of an act made in the 15th and 16th years or his late majesty, as relates to the landing of Rum or Spirits of the British sugar plantations before payment of the duties of excise.

28. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March 1813, several laws relating to the Transportation of Felons and other Offenders to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland.

April 2.

29. An act for reviving and continuing several laws of customs relating to the establishing Courts of Judicature in the island of Newfoundland; and to the prohibiting the exportation from, and permitting the importation to Great Britain, of Corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision, without payment of duty, until the 25th day of March 1809; and for continuing several laws relating to the granting a Bounty upon certain species of British and Irish Linens exported from Great Britain, and taking off the duties on importation into Great Britain of Foreign Raw Linen Yarns made of Flax, to the granting a Bounty upon the importation into Great Britain of Hemp, and rough and undressed Flax from his majesty's colonies in America; and to the encouragement of the Greenland Whale Fisheries; and for reviving and continuing several laws relating to the regulating the prices at which Corn and Grain may be exported from Great Britain to Irel nd, and from Ireland to Great Britain; and to the admission to entry into Great Britain of Oil and Blubber of Newfoundland, taken by his majesty's subjects carrying on the fishery from and residing in the said island; and for continuing an act of the 23rd year of his present majesty, for the more effectual encouragement of the manufactures of Flax and Cotton in Great Britain; and for reviving and continuing several laws relating to the permitting the importation into Great Britain of Hides and other articles in foreign ships; and to the prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of Corn or Potatoes, or other Provisions; and to the permitting the importation into Ireland of Corn, Fish, and Provisions, without payment of duty, until the 25th day of March 1808; and for reviving and continuing an act passed in the Parliament of Ireland, in the 25th year of his present majesty, for the encouragement of the Flaxen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland, until the 25th day of March 1827; and for amending and further continuing an act made in the 7th year of his present majesty, for the free importation into Great Britain of Cochineal and Indigo, until the 25th day of March 1809.

April 21.

30. An act to authorize his majesty, until the 25th day of March 1807, to make regulations respecting the Trade and Commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

31. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March 1807, an act made in the 44th year of his present majesty, for empowering his majesty to accept the services of such parts of his Militia Forces in Ireland as might voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Great Britain.

32. An act to enable the commissioners of his majesty's treasury of Ireland to issue Treasury Bills on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Ireland for the year 1806; and for making forth Duplicates of Treasury Bills lost or destroyed.

33. An act for raising the sum of 20 millions by way of Annuities.

34. An act for further continuing, until the 25th day of March 1807, an act made in the 39th year of his present majesty, for the more effectual Encouragement of the British Fisheries.

May 5.

35. An act to revive and amend so much of an act made in the 43rd year of his present majesty, for granting certain Stamp Duties in Ireland, as provides for the exempting from the said duties, Bank Notes and Bank Post Bills issued by the governor and company of the bank of Ireland.

36. An act to repeal so much of an act of the last session of parliament, as charges a duty of 3s. upon certain Tenements or Dwelling Houses in Ireland.

37. An act to declare the law with respect to Witnesses refusing to answer.

38. An act for repealing the several duties of customs upon Tea imported into Great Britain, and granting a duty in lieu thereof; and for granting to his majesty additional duties of excise on Tea.

39. An act for granting to his majesty, until 12 months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties of excise on Tobacco and Snuff.

40. An act to enable his majesty to grant a certain Annuity to vice admiral sir J. T. Duckworth, knight of the most hon. order of the bath, in consideration of the eminent services which he has rendered to his majesty and the public.

41. An act for raising the sum of three millions by Loans or Exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1806.

42. An act for granting to his majesty, during the present war, and for six months after the expiration thereof, by the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional Duties on certain Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, imported into and exported from, or brought or carried coastwise within Great Britain.

43. An act for granting to his majesty certain Stamp Duties on Appraisements and on Licenses to Appraisers in Great Britain.

44. An act for carrying to the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain, the duties on Wine granted by two acts of the 43rd and 44th years of his present majesty.

45. An act for the better regulation of the office of Treasurer of the Ordnance.

May 23.

46. An act for raising the sum of 500,000l. by Treasury Bills for the service of Ireland for the year 1806.

47. An act for raising a certain sum of money by way of Annuities or Debentures for the service of Ireland.

48. An act for continuing an act made in this session of parliament, intituled, An act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters, within the United Kingdom, and the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, and Man.

49. An act for encreasing the Salaries of the Judge of the Court of Admiralty in Scotland, and of the Judges of the Commissary Court in Edinburgh.

50. An act for extending the Annuity granted to earl of St. Vincent, to the two next persons to whom the title of viscount St. Vincent is limited.

51. An act to repeal several acts passed in the 43rd and 44th years respectively of his present majesty's reign, for the raising and establishing an Additional Force for the Defence of the Realm.

52. An act to prevent the Importation of Slaves, by any of his majesty's subjects, into any islands, colonies, plantations, or territories belonging to any foreign sovereign state or power; and also to render more effectual a certain order, made by his majesty in council on the 15th day of August 1805, for prohibiting the Importation of Slaves (except in certain cases), into any of the settlements, islands, colonies, or plantations on the Continent of America, or in the West Indies, which have been surrendered to his majesty's arms during the present war; and to prevent the fitting out of foreign slave ships from British ports.

53. An act for indemnifying all persons who have been concerned in advising, issuing, or carrying into execution any order or orders for permitting the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in Foreign Bottoms, into and out of his majesty's West India islands, and the colonies, settlements, and territories, which have been conquered by his majesty's arms.

54. An act for the more speedy trial of Offences committed in distant parts upon the sea.

June 9.

55. An act to provide for the payment, at the Bank of Ireland, of the Interest on certain Debentures now payable at the Exchequer of Ireland; and also for altering the days of payment of the interest or dividends on certain annuities in Ireland.

56. An act to amend an act of the last session of parliament for continuing and amending several acts for regulating and securing the collection of the duties on Spiritous Liquors distilled in Ireland, and the Warehousing of such spirits for exportation.

57. An act to amend an act made in the last session of parliament for the collection of the Malt Duties in Ireland, and regulating the trade of a Malster.

58. An act for establishing certain regulations in the collection and management of his majesty's revenues of Customs, Excise, and Taxes, in Ireland.

59. An act to regulate the packing of Butter in Ireland for sale or exportation.

60. An act for amending an act passed in Ireland, in the 29th year of king George the Second, intituled, An act for amending and making more effectual, the several laws relating to the First Fruits payable out of Ecclesiastical Benefices in this kingdom; and for the better regulation and management of the charitable Bequest of Dr. Hugh Boulter, late lord archbishop of Armagh, for augmenting the maintenance of poor Clergy in this kingdom, so far only as relates to the said charitable bequest.

61. An act to authorize certain public officers to send and receive Letters and Packets by the Post, free from the duty of postage.

June 13.

62. An act for granting to his majesty, until the 29th day of September 1806, certain duties on the Importation, and to allow certain drawbacks and bounties on the Exportation of certain sorts of Iron, Sugar, and Tea into and from Ireland.

63. An act to repeal several acts passed in the 43rd and 44th years of his present majesty, for raising and establishing an Additional Force in Ireland for the Defence of the Realm.

64. An act to repeal the several duties under the care of the commissioners for managing the duties upon stamped Vellum, Parchment, and Paper, in Ireland, and to grant new and additional duties in lieu thereof; and to amend the laws relating to the Stamp Duties in Ireland.

65. An act for granting to his majesty, during the present war, and until the sixth day of April next after the ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, further additional rates and duties in Great Britain on the rates and duties on profits arising from Property, Professions, Trades and Offices; and for repealing an act passed in the 45th year of his present majesty, for repealing certain parts of an act made in the 43rd year of his present majesty, for granting a contribution on the profits arising from property professions trades and offices; and to consolidate and render more effectual the provisions for collecting the said duties.

June 20.

66. An act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

67. An act for granting to his majesty certain duties upon Malt and Spirits made in Ireland.

68. An act to continue until the 24th day of June 1807, and amend an act made in the last session of parliament, for appointing commissioners to enquire and examine into any irregularities and abuses which might have taken place in conducting and managing the paving, cleansing, and lighting the streets of Dublin.

69. An act for making better Provision for Soldiers.

July 3.

70. An act to amend an act, made in the last session of parliament, for regulating Licences for the sale of Spirituous Liquors, Wine, Beer, Ale, and Cyder, by retail in Ireland.

71. An act to amend several acts for the Encouragement of finding and working Mines and Minerals within Ireland.

72. An act for enabling his majesty to permit the Importation and Exportation of certain goods and commodities into, and from, the port of Road Harbour, in the island of Tortola.

73. An act for granting rates of postage on the conveyance of Letters and Packets to and from Gibraltar and the island of Malta.

74. An act for permitting Prussian Yarn to be imported in foreign ships, on payment of the like duties as if imported in British ships.

75. An act for the better regulation of the office of Receiver General of the Duties of Excise in England.

76. An act for the better regulation of the office of Receiver General of the Stamp Duties in England.

77. An act for continuing the encouragement of persons making discoveries for finding the Longitude at Sea, or other useful discoveries and improvements in navigation, and for making experiments relating thereto; and for discharging certain debts incurred by the commissioners of the longitude in carrying the acts relating thereto into execution.

78. An act for granting to his majesty an additional duty on the amount of the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes therein mentioned.

79. An act to confirm an Agreement entered into between the commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the most noble Augustus Henry duke of Grafton, in pursuance of an Act of the 43rd year of his present majesty.

80. An act to provide for the more effectual Examination of Accounts of the Expenditure of the Public Money in the West Indies, and for the better discovery of frauds and abuses therein.

81. An act for better encouraging the manufacture of Thread Lace in Great Britain.

July 12.

82. An act for abolishing Fees received by certain officers and other persons employed in the service of the customs, in the port of London; and for regulating the attendance of officers and others so employed.

83. An act for the better regulation of the office of Receiver General of the Post Office in England.

84. An act to grant certain allowances out of the duties, under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, to persons in respect of the number of their children.

85. An act for reviving and continuing until the 25th day of March 1813, an act made in the 43rd year of his present majesty, for regulating the manner in which the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies shall hire and take up Ships for their regular service.

86. An act for enabling his majesty to grant the Castle of Norwich, with the Common Gaol, Castle Hill, and certain land adjacent thereto, in the county of Norfolk, and for vesting the same in his majesty's justices of the peace for the said county, for the use thereof; and for other purposes relating thereto.

87. An act more effectually to regulate the collection of the duties on Goods, Wares, and Merchandize imported or exported into or from Ireland; and the payment of bounties, allowances, and drawbacks thereon.

88. An act to provide for the regulating and securing the collection of the duties on Spirits distilled in Ireland, and the warehousing of such spirits for exportation.

July 16.

89. An act for consolidating and rendering more effectual the several acts for the purchase of buildings and further improvement of the streets and places near to Westminster-hall, and the two houses of parliament.

90. An act to enable his majesty annually to train and exercise a proportion of his subjects in England, under certain regulations, and more effectually to provide for the Defence of the Realm.

91. An act for the return of correct lists of persons liable to serve in the Militia, under an act passed in the 42nd year of his present majesty; and to suspend the Ballot for the Militia in England for two years.

92. An act to amend three acts, made in the 35th, 41st, and 42nd years of his present majesty, relating to the conveyance of Letters and Packets by the post.

93. An act to enable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to issue Exchequer Bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by parliament for the service of Great Britain for the year 1806.

94. An act to enable the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, to contract for the purchase of the duties of Prisage and Butlerage in Ireland.

95. An act for the more effectually regulating and providing for the relief of the Poor, and the management of Infirmaries and Hospitals in Ireland.

96. An act to amend the laws respecting the accounting for money presented in Ireland for the making, repairing, widening, or fencing of Public Roads, and the building and repairing of Bridges, Pipes or Gullets,

97. An act to permit the free interchange of every species of Grain, between Great Britain and Ireland.

98. An act for making additional and further provisions for the effectual performance of Quarantine in Great Britain.

99. An act for allowing a bounty on the exportation of Oil of Vitriol made in Great Britain.

100. An act to empower the commissioners and governors of the royal hospital for seamen at Greenwich, in the county of Kent, to make certain allowances, to old infirm, or wounded or disabled Officers in the Royal Navy, and to provide a Fund for the payment of such allowances, and for the increase of Pensions to disabled seamen and marines.

101. An act for improving the Funds of the Chest at Greenwich, and amending an act passed in the 43rd year of his present majesty, relating to the said chest.

102. An act for repealing the duties of excise on Stills used for distilling or rectifying Low Wines or Spirits for consumption in Scotland; on Worts or Wash made for extracting spirits; and on Spirits made for consumption in Scotland; and for granting and securing other duties in lieu thereof; and for better securing the duties on foreign spirits and on malt.

103. An act for allowing, until the first day of August 1807, the importation of certain Fish from Newfoundland, and the coast of Labrador, and for granting a Bounty thereon.

104. An act for continuing, until the first day of August 1807, an act of the last session of parliament, for allowing, under certain restrictions, the bringing a limited quantity of Coals, Culm, or Cinders to London and Westminster, by inland navigation.

105. An act to vest certain messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, in trustees, for better securing his majesty's Docks, Ships, and Stores, at Portsmouth; and for extending the lines and works at Dover.

106. An act to provide for the better execution of the several acts relating to the revenues, matters, and things under the management of the commissioners of customs and port duties, and of the commissioners of inland excise and taxes in Ireland.

107. An act for rectifying mistakes in the names of the commissioners appointed by an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, An act for appointing commissioners for putting into execution an act of this session of parliament, for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates in England, and certain duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, and Snuff, in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1805; and an act made in the 38th year of his present majesty, for granting an aid to his majesty by a land tax, to be raised in Great Britain for the service of the year 1798; and for appointing other commissioners, together with those named in the first mentioned act, to put in execution an act of this session of parliament, for continuing and granting to his majesty a duty on Pensions, Offices and Personal Estates in England, and certain duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, and Snuff in Great Britain, for the service of the year 1806, also the said act made in the 38th year of his present majesty; and for indemnifying such persons as have acted as commissioners for executing the said acts.

July 21.

108. An act for the relief of certain Insolvent Debtors.

109. An act for reducing the bounty payable on the exportation of refined Sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing the like bounty on the exportation of Sugar Candy, as is payable on refined Sugar.

110. An act for granting during the continuance of the present war, and until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an additional bounty on the exportation of the Silk Manufactures of Great Britain.

111. An act for authorizing his majesty in council to allow, during the present war, and for six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities in Neutral Ships, into and from his majesty's territories in the West Indies and continent of South America.

112. An act to amend the laws of excise so far as relates to prosecutions for penalties, to the counterfeiting the Stamps on the Wrappers of Paper, and to the punishing persons guilty of perjury.

113. An act to permit for and during the continuance of the present war, French Wines to be imported from Ireland into Great Britain in bottles or flasks, under certain restrictions.

114. An act to amend an act passed in the last session of parliament, for increasing the drawback on Linens exported from Great Britain to the West Indies.

115. An act to permit Raisins, Currants, and Figs to be exported from Great Britain, duty free.

116. An act to allow certain articles to be exported from Gibraltar and Malta direct to his majesty's colonies in North America, in return for British American Fish.

117. An act to permit until the first day of January 1809, the importation of Masts, Yards, and Bowsprits, or of Timber fit for naval purposes, from the British colonies in North America, duty-free.

118. An act to extend the time for purchasing the legal Quays and Warehouses in the port of London, and for authorising the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury to purchase Somers and Lyons Quays in the said port.

119. An act to prohibit for two years after the conclusion of the present session of parliament, any ships to clear out from any port of Great Britain, for the coast of Africa, for the purpose of taking on board Negroes, unless such ships shall have been previously employed in the African trade, or contracted for, for that purpose.

120. An act to continue several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and allowing certain drawbacks and bounties on Goods, Wares, and Merchandize imported into and exported from Ireland, until the 5th day of July 1807; and several acts for granting duties upon Malt and Spirits made and distilled in Ireland, and for the better collection and security of the revenues of customs and excise in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein, until the 29th day of September 1807; and to amend several of the said acts.

121. An act to repeal so much of an act, made in the 1st year of king James the Second, as prohibits the importation of gunpowder, arms, and utensils of war, from Ireland.

122. An act to revive and amend an act made in the parliament of Ireland, for enabling the lord lieutenant to appoint commissioners for enquiring into the several funds and revenues granted for the purposes of Education, and into the state and conditions of all Schools in Ireland.

123. An act to amend several acts for the sale of his majesty's Quit Rents, Crown, and other Rents, and of certain lands forfeited and undisposed of in Ireland.

124. An act to enable his majesty to accept the services of Volunteers from the Militia of Ireland, under certain restrictions.

125. An act for regulating the rank of officers in the Yeomanry and Volunteer corps.

126. An act for increasing the Rates of Subsistence to be paid to Inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

127. An act to amend and extend the benefits of an act made in the 35th year of his present majesty, to enable Petty Officers, Seamen, and Marines, serving in his majesty's navy, to allot part of their wages or pay for the maintenance of their wives and families.

128. An act for making provision for such Masters in Ordinary of the High Court of Chancery as from age or infirmity shall be desirous of resigning their offices with the approbation of the said court; and for augmenting the income of the masters in ordinary of the said court.

129. An act to provide additional salaries to the present clerks in the office of the accountant general of the high court of chancery, and to provide additional clerks for the said office, with salaries; and to make other payments in respect of the said office.

130. An act for making compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments as have been purchased for better securing his majesty's Docks, Ships, and Stores at Chatham, and for the use of his majesty's ordnance at Warley Common and Woolwich, in pursuance of an act made in the 44th year of his present majesty.

131. An act for exonerating the estates of Percival Lewis, esq. and Marianne Lewis, spinster, in the parish of Putney in the county of Surrey, from the claims of his majesty against the estate of Edward Lewis, esq. deceased.

132. An act for erecting a Light House on the Bell or Cape Rock, on the eastern coast of Scotland, and for enabling the commissioners of the treasury to advance a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, towards that purpose.

July 22.

133. An act to amend an act passed in the 42nd year of his present majesty, for consolidating the several acts passed for the Redemption and Sale of the Land-tax, and to make further provision for exonerating small livings and charitable institutions from the land-tax.

134. An act to provide for the security and expedition of the conveyance of Letters by the post in Ireland.

135. An act to amend the laws relating to Bankrupts.

136. An act to alter and amend two

acts, made in the 28th and 30th years of his present majesty, for limiting the number of persons to be carried on the outside of Stage Coaches, or other Carriages, and regulating the conduct of the drivers and guards thereof.

137. An act to extend the provisions of an act made in the 43rd year of his present majesty, for permitting certain articles to be warehoused in Great Britain, to other articles not therein mentioned, and to alter the condition of the bond directed to be given by an act of the 24th year of his present majesty, by the masters and owners of vessels and boats licensed by the lords of the admiralty.

138. An act to repeal part of the excise countervailing duty on Irish Hops imported; for granting an excise countervailing duty on the importation of Irish Window Glass; c to exempt Tiles made for the purpose of draining lands from the duties of excise.

139. An act for altering and amending several laws relating to the duties of excise upon Malt, until the 25th day of March, 1807.

140. An act to amend two acts, passed in the 42nd year of his present majesty, relating to the Militia of England and Scotland respectively as to the pay of the officers and men of the said militia.

141. An act for making more effectual provision for the more speedy and regular examination and audit of the Publick Accounts of this kingdom.

142. An act for the better regulation of the office of Surveyor General of Woods and Forests.

143. An act for enquiring into the State of Windsor Forest, in the county of Berks, and for ascertaining the boundaries of the said forest, and of the lands of the crown within the same.

144. An act to repeal an act passed in the 44th year of his present majesty, intituled, An act to alter, amend, and render more effectual an act, passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, 'An act for establishing and maintaining a permanent Additional Force for the defence of the realm, and to provide for augmenting his majesty's Regular Forces, and for the gradual reduction of the Militia of England, so far as the same relates to the city of London.'

145. An act for enabling his majesty to settle Annuities on certain branches of the Royal Family.

146. An act for settling and securing a certain Annuity on the earl Nelson and the heirs male of his body, and such other persons to whom the title of earl Nelson may descend; and for granting a sum of money to purchase an estate to accompany the said title; and also, for granting a sum of money for the use of the sisters of the late vice-admiral viscount Nelson; in consideration of the eminent and signal services performed by the said late viscount Nelson to his majesty and the public.

147. An act to enable his majesty to continue a certain Annuity to George now lord Rodney, grandson of George Brydges lord Rodney, in consideration of the eminent services rendered to his majesty and the public by the said George Brydges lord Rodney.

148. Act act for granting to his majesty a sum of money to be raised by Lotteries.

149. An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain for the year 1806; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

July 23.

150. An act for the better regulation of the office of Receiver General of the Duties of Customs in Great Britain.

151. An act to enable his majesty to grant new leases on former rents for the benefit of Charitable Institutions, or augmentation of Ecclesiastical Corporations.

152. An act to stay, until 40 days after the commencement of the next session of parliament, proceedings in actions, prosecutions, or informations under an act made in the second year of king James, the First, intituled, An act concerning Tanners, Curriers, Shoemakers, and other Artificers, occupying the cutting of Leather, so far as relates to the buying of Oak Bark and rough Hides and Calves Skins in the Hair.

153. An act for the preservation of the Public Harbours of the united kingdom.

154. An act for taking down the present building in which the treasury chambers and offices of the court of exchequer in Scotland were situated, and erecting new buildings in lieu thereof.

155. An act for applying certain balances arising from the Forfeited Estates in Scotland, towards making Canals, Harbours, and other public Works there.

156. An act for appropriating certain Balances arising from the Forfeited Estates in Scotland to the use of the British Fisheries and the erecting a Lunatic Asylum at Edinburgh, and the payment of the officers of the late board of annexed estates in Scotland.

157. An act for more effectually carrying into execution the purposes of an act made in the 39th and 40th year of his present majesty, to give further time for the payment, on the conditions therein mentioned, of instalments on certain Loans advanced to the house of Alexander Houstoun and Co. to Charles Ashwell, esq. and to William Johnstone, esq. being persons connected with and trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, so far as relates to the real and personal estates of William Mac Dowall, and Robert Houstoun Rae, in the West Indies and elsewhere, except in Scotland.

158. An act for more effectually carrying into execution the purposes of an act made in the 39th and 40th year of his present majesty, to give further time for the payment, on the conditions therein mentioned, of instalments on certain Loans advanced to the house of Alexander Houstoun and Co. to Charles Ashwell, esq. and to William Johnstone, esq. being persons connected with and trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, so far as relates to the real and personal estates of William Mac Dowall, James Mac Dowall, and Robert Housuton Rae, esqrs. in Scotland.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

TO THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

VOL. VII.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

An Account of the Amount of all Exemptions granted to Foreigners, in respect of the Duty on Dividends, in the various Funds of Great Britain, and on the Dividends of the East-India and South-Sea Companies;—under the Property Tax;—in the Year 1803.

DESCRIPTION OF STOCK.	Amount of Capital Stock exempted by the Commissrs. for the City of London.	DESCRIPTION OF STOCK.	Amount of Capital Stock claimed to be exempted between 1st Feb. and 3d May 1806.
3-per Cent. Consols - - -	4,971,190 7 9	3-per Cent. Consols - - -	2,288,899 0 0
3-per Cent. Reduced - - -	839,598 2 3	3-per Cent. Reduced - - -	1,030,324 4 0
3-per Cent. 1726 - - - -	19,450 0 0	3-per Cent. 1726 - - -	32,489 10 0
3-per Cent. 1751 - - - -	96,911 17 2	3-per Cent. 1751 - - - -	21,645 0 0
3-per Cent. New So. Sea Annuities - - - - - -	195,391 0 0	3-per Cent. New So. Sea Annuities - - - - - - -	88,133 7 10
3-per Cent. Old So. Sea Annuities - - - - - - -	288,166 14 5	3 per Cent. Old So. Sea Annuities - - - - - - -	135,364 4 3
3-per Cent. Imperial - - -	38,100 11 3	4-per Cents. - - - - - - -	124,555 11 10
4-per Cents. - - - - -	607,188 19 2	5-per Cents. - - - - - - -	32,013 4 0
5-per Cent. Navy - - - -	114,549 11 9		3,753,424 1 11
5-per Cent. 1797 - - - -	93,939 3 1		
East-India Stock - - - -	612,040 14 1		
South-Sea Stock - - - -	1,029,984 10 6		
	8,906,511 11 5		
Long Annuities - - - - -	3,794 1 0	Long Annuities - - - - -	591 8 1
Short Annuities - - - - -	3,917 15 0	Short Annuities - - - - -	405 0 0
£.	7,711 16 0	£.	996 8 1

The Special Commissioners, appointed by the Act of 45 Geo. III, to check the Accounts of Dividends, having discovered many Accounts in the Bank Books undischarged, did, in the beginning of February last, by virtue of that Act, require Payment of the Duty, and in consequence have received notice of Claims of Exemptions, on Account of Foreign Stock, as in the Amounts in the second part of the Account above; which Accounts are coming in daily to a great Amount. No Exemptions have yet been granted thereon. The Authority by which they were granted in the Year 1803, determined by the Act of 45 Geo. III. and the Authority of the Special Commissioners, has no relation to the Years 1803 and 1804. The reason assigned for not having claimed the Exemptions at the time, as communicated by the Agents, is, that it was considered by them not to be necessary. Under these Circumstances, the Amount of Foreign Stock liable to Exemption cannot be ascertained beyond the Amount above stated.

Office for Taxes,
6th May 1806.

William Lowndes.
Barne Barne.
Horace Hayes.
Edward Medows.

Abstract Statement of the Public Income of Great Britain, for the Year ended 5th January, 1806.

Heads of Revenue.		Gross Receipt. £.	s.	d.	Net Produce. £.	s.	d.	Paid into Excheqr. £.	s.	d.
ORDINARY REVENUES. *Permanent and Annual Duties.*										
Customs	England	8,481,303	6	11	6,715,794	19	6¾	6,314,141	14	2¾
——	Scotland	623,495	17	2¾	477,094	16	4½	305,290	0	0
——	Great Britain	9,104,799	4	1¾	7,192,889	15	11¼	6,619,431	14	2¾
Excise	England	16,554,354	5	10	15,137,096	14	0¼	15,076,939	3	11½
——	Scotland	1,278,872	9	8½	1,215,788	16	10½	914,500	0	0
——	Great Britain	17,833,226	15	6½	16,352,885	10	10¾	15,991,439	3	11½
Stamps	England	3,931,616	8	6¾	3,854,340	17	3	3,672,793	5	2
——	Scotland	262,669	4	3½	269,186	5	11	246,170	17	2
——	Great Britain	4,194,285	12	10¼	4,123,527	3	2	3,918,964	2	4
Land and Assessed Taxes	England	5,910,290	0	9¼	6,036,273	6	8¾	5,410,425	7	9
——	Scotland	196,630	10	1	225,505	12	7½	135,462	6	5
——	Great Britain	6,106,920	10	10¼	6,261,778	19	4¼	5,545,887	14	2
Post Office	England	1,316,897	10	0	1,087,757	19	0	948,976	12	6
——	Scotland	129,175	14	6	149,247	0	10½	108,023	7	6
——	Great Britain	1,446,073	4	6	1,237,004	19	10½	1,057,000	0	0
1*s.* in the £. on Pensions and Salaries	England	47,796	5	0¾	50,018	10	4¾	46,131	0	0
	Scotland	3,979	14	9½	3,814	1	11½	3,814	0	0
——	Great Britain	51,775	15	3	53,832	12	4¼	49,945	0	0
6*d.* in the £. on Pensions and Salaries	England	55,536	4	3	55,186	5	6	55,185	14	5¼
	Scotland	3,274	14	9½	2,154	5	6¾	2,154	5	6¼
——	Great Britain	58,810	19	0	57,340	11	0¾	57,340	0	0
Hackney Coaches		28,761	13	6	26,454	14	10¼	26,062	2	0
Hawkers and Pedlars		11,120	19	11½	8,444	2	9¾	8,295	0	0
Total Permanent and Annual Duties		38,835,774	15	7	35,314,158	10	4¼	33,274,364	16	8¼
Small Branches of Hereditary Revenue.					Hanaper			2,000	0	0
Alienation Fines		7,456	13	4	10,191	10	1	3,797	6	5
Post Fines		478	17	10	4,040	12	8¼	-	-	-
Seizures		83,191	5	6¼	83,191	5	6¼	83,191	5	6¼
Compositions		2	13	4	2	13	4	2	13	4
Proffers		678	2	0	678	2	0	678	2	0
Crown Lands		30,916	7	1¾	59,269	8	3¼	966	13	4
Extraordinary Resources.										
WAR TAXES.										
Customs	England	2,460,752	13	0	2,435,944	19	10¼	2,311,616	16	6½
——	Scotland	198,477	2	9	196,202	0	0¼	153,410	0	0
——	Great Britain	2,659,229	15	9	2,632,147	19	10½	2,465,026	16	6½
*Excise	England	6,028,537	16	1¼	5,938,754	4	8	5,938,600	0	0
——	Scotland	378,333	1	6	421,475	9	1¾	351,500	0	0
——	Great Britain	6,406,870	17	7¼	6,360,229	13	9¾	6,290,100	0	0
Property Tax	England	4,345,850	1	10	4,231,253	12	9½	4,231,253	12	9½
——	Scotland	150,292	2	1	146,330	0	0	146,330	0	0
——	Great Britain	4,496,142	3	11	4,377,583	12	9½	4,377,583	12	9½
Arrears of Income Duty		49,703	2	0¾	48,392	9	6	48,392	9	6
Arrears of Taxes collected under the Aid and Contribution Act		1,038	4	10¼	1,010	17	3¾	1,010	17	3¾
Lottery, Net Profit		382,187	10	0	360,048	3	7	360,048	3	7
Monies paid on Account of the Interest of Loans raised for the Service of Ireland		1,592,570	10	5	1,592,570	10	5	1,592,570	10	5
On Account of the Commissioners, appointed by Act 35 Geo III. for Issuing Exchequer Bills for Grenada		234,000	0	0	234,000	0	0	234,000	0	0
Fees of Regulated Exchequer Offices		63,220	3	4	63,220	3	4	63,220	3	4
Produce of sundry Magazines, &c. sold on Account of Government		60,244	19	1	60,244	19	1	60,244	19	1
Monies paid on Account of the Surplus Revenue of the Isle of Man		21,303	19	5	21,303	19	5	21,303	19	5
Imprest Money Repaid by sundry Public Accountants		115,972	4	2¼	115,972	4	2¼	115,972	4	2¼
Other Monies Paid to the Public		789	0	3½	789	0	3½	789	0	3½
Total Independent of Loans		55,041,771	5	9¼	51,339,045	15	10¼	48,995,263	13	9
Loans paid into the Exchequer, including £.1,450,000 for the Service of Ireland		25,130,404	19	6½	25,130,404	19	6½	25,130,404	19	6½
Grand Total £.		80,172,176	5	3¾	76,469,450	15	4¾	74,125,668	13	3½

* The Duties on Wine, granted under the Acts of the 43d and 44th Geo. III. and made perpetual by the 45th of His Majesty, Cap. 45. are included under the Head of War Taxes. N. Vansittart.

Note.—The Appropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on 5th Jan. 1805, amounted to 10,258,353*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* and on the 5th Jan. 1806, to 10,790,442*l.* 6*s.* 1*d.* There was no unappropriated Balance in the Exchequer at either of the above-mentioned Periods. The Amount of Exchequer Bills, Navy Bills, and Transport Bills, issued for the Public Service between the 5th Jan. 1805, and the 5th Jan. 1806, and not redeemed within that Period, was, in Exchequer Bills, £.23,839,400; in Navy and Victualling Bills, 2,338,730*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*; and in Transport Bills, 307,297*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*

An Account of the Income of, and Charges upon, the Consolidated Fund, for the Year ending the 5th of April, 1806; distinguishing each Quarter.

INCOME.	In the Quarters ended												In Year ended		
	5th July, 1805.			10th Oct. 1805			5th Jan. 1806.			5th April, 1806.			5th April, 1806.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Permanent Taxes . .	7611718	19	6½	7448141	5	0	7192149	11	6	6113848	19	5¾	23365858	15	6¼
Surplus of Sugar, Malt, and Tobacco . . .	275395	0	0	399828	0	0	630011	12	1½	877760	6	8½	2182994	18	10
Land Taxes	363952	10	7½	200005	3	7½	338346	5	2¼	116557	13	1½	1018861	12	6¾
Do. on Personal Estates	54769	3	8¼	21895	15	10½	25833	12	10½	27673	16	8½	130172	9	1¾
Income Duties . . .	29663	14	6¾	5792	10	10¾	1917	1	4¼	-	-	-	37373	6	9¾
Imprest Monies . . .	76327	1	8¼	53849	16	1¼	87774	16	2	70882	11	5½	288834	5	5
Arrears of Assessed Taxes, An. 1798 .	331	7	8¾	1601	5	3¾	29	11	8	-	-	-	1962	4	8½
Brought from Money reserved for Tontine, An. 1789, on Account of Treasury Nominees	12193	10	3¼	-	-	-	12192	9	1½	-	-	-	24385	19	4¾
Money paid by Messrs. Puget and Co. for Ireland	467941	3	9	337464	6	2	485686	9	5	367649	16	10	1658741	16	2
Money paid by Abm. Newland, Esq. on Account of Commissioners of Exchequer Bills, per Act 35 Geo. III.	49000	0	0	20000	0	0	88000	0	0	38000	0	0	195000	0	0
£.	8941292	11	9¾	8488078	2	11¾	8861941	9	5	7612373	4	3¾	33903685	8	6¼

CHARGES.	In the Quarters ended												In Year ended		
	5th July, 1805.			10th Oct. 1805.			5th Jan. 1806.			5th April, 1806.			5th April, 1806.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
nterest of Public Debt created prior to the 5th January, 1803 .	6560811	0	11¼	3792343	13	8½	6594212	11	9	3782133	2	5	20729500	8	9¾
o. . . . . . 1803 .	146160	0	0	165626	11	3	146160	0	0	165626	11	3	623573	2	6
o. . . . . . 1804 .	227482	7	0	268039	14	4½	204253	16	0	262737	5	8¼	962513	3	0¾
o. . . . . . 1805 .	209832	19	0	114383	4	4½	762435	11	11½	172996	7	0½	1259648	2	4½
ommissioners for Reduct. of Public Debt	1213613	11	9	1232176	14	10	1221591	3	10¾	1234091	3	10¾	4901472	14	4½
ivil List	224500	0	0	224500	0	0	224500	0	0	224500	0	0	898000	0	0
o. per Act 44 Geo. III.	15000	0	0	15000	0	0	15000	0	0	15000	0	0	60000	0	0
ourts of Justice . .	9011	19	3	19871	0	10	11980	7	3	19074	16	6	59938	3	10
lint	3450	0	0	1742	2	0	4650	0	0	5197	11	6	15039	13	6
laries, Allowances, & Incidental Charges	5099	7	0	5825	2	6	6884	0	6	7651	9	6	25459	19	6
ensions	70966	13	4	70356	0	4½	66091	13	4	68664	1	7¾	276078	8	8¼
ounties	48456	13	8	429126	19	3	15000	0	0	40286	18	6	532870	11	5
£.	8734384	11	11¼	6338991	3	6	9272759	4	8¼	5997959	7	11¼	10344094	8	0¾

Exchequer,
May 30th, 1806.

Wm. Rose Haworth.

Account of the CONSOLIDATED FUND of Great Britain, for the Year ended 5th January, 1806.

INCOME.	£	s.	d.
Net Produce of the Custom Duties . . . . £	3,836,860	0	2¾
Excise Consolidated	13,718,927	12	3½
Stamps	3,120,572	0	0
Incidents	5,674,809	0	0
Surplus of Sugar, Malt, and Tobacco, annually granted	1,646,787	4	11¾
Land Tax on Pensions and Personal Estates, annis 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805	1,170,560	6	3¾
Arrears of Income duty, annis 1799, 1800, 1801	65,922	16	5
Arrears of Land Tax prior to 1798	27,299	2	3½
Arrears of Additional Assessed Taxes	2,040	6	5½
Annual Malt, anno 1802	1,000	0	0
Ditto 1803	2	0	0
Money reserved on Account of Nominees appointed by the Lords of the Treasury, in Tontine, anno 1789 . .	24,385	19	4¾
Monies paid into the Treasury by divers Persons, being small Balances due to the Public	441,122	1	3½
Imprest Monies	54,408	5	0¼
Money paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, for Interest, Management, and £.1 per Cent. on Loans raised in Great Britain, for the Service of Ireland, annis 1797, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802	912,960	14	1
Total Income of Consolidated Fund, applicable towards paying the Charge existing at 5th January, 1803 . . .	30,697,657	8	9¼

CHARGE.	Actual Payment out of the Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th January 1806.			Future Annual Charge upon the Consolidated Fund, as it stood on 5th January 1806.		
Charge on Account of the Public Debt . . . . £	24,844,076	9	6½	24,845,317	10	1½
CIVIL LIST.—His Majesty's Household	898,000	0	0	898,000	0	0
Do. . . . per Act 44 Geo. III. Cap.	60,000	0	0	60,000	0	0
Courts of Justice.—Judges of England and Wales, in Augmentation of their Salaries	18,047	19	8½	Uncertain.		
Aaron Graham, Esq. Inspector of the temporary Places of Confinement of Felons, &c.	350	0	0			
Wm. Baldwin, Esq. Rec. of the 7 Pub. Offices of Police	15,239	9	4½			
Patrick Colquhoun, Esq. Do. of Thames Police Office	7,479	9	4			
Keeper of the Hanaper in Chancery	3,000	0	0			
John Bedford, Esq. Chief Justice of the Adm. Court in the Island of Barbadoes . . .	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry M. Dyer, Esq. . . . . . Do. . Bahamas	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
John Sewell, Esq. . . . . Do. . Malta	2,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Alexander Croke, Esq. . . . . . Do. . America	1,000	0	0	2,000	0	0
Henry J. Hinchcliffe, Esq. . . Do. . Jamaica	1,760	12	9	2,000	0	0
William Territh, Esq. . . . . . Do. . Bermudas . . .	2,473	8	1	2,000	0	0
The Sheriffs of England and Wales	4,000	0	0	4,000	0	0
MINT.—Master of His Majesty's Mint in England . . .	10,350	0	0	13,800	0	0
Receiver of the Fees in the Office of the Mint	3,136	10	6	Uncertain.		
Master of His Majesty's Mint in Scotland	1,200	0	0	1,200	0	0
Salaries and Allowances	25,282	9	6	17,950	0	0
Parliamentary Pensions	278,281	0	4½	265,166	13	4
Bounties: For the Growth of Hemp and Flax in Scotland	2,956	13	8	2,956	13	8
For the better Improvement of the Port of London . .	60,000	0	0			
Towards completing the Wet Docks in the Harbour of Leith	25,000	0	0	Uncertain.		
By Payments to the Owners and Occupiers of the legal Quays between London Bridge and the Tower of London, for the Purchase of their Interest therein, pursuant to the verdict of Juries, by Act 43 Geo. III. Cap. 124, including £.9,836. 19*s.* for Fees thereon . .	403,126	19	3			
Wm. Stevens, Treasurer to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty	500	0	0			
Total Charge upon the Consolidated Fund created prior to 5th Jan. 1803, as it stood in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1806	26,671,261	0	1	26,119,590	17	1½

Duties pro Anno 1803.			
Surplus of Duty on Receipts, 1803, per Act 43 Geo. III. Cap. 126	53,283	13	8
Reserved out of Consol. Customs, per Act 43 Geo. III. Cap. 68, from July 1803, at £.62,500 per Qr.	250,000	0	0
Money paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, on Account of Loan of £.2,000,000, for the Service of Ireland	136,523	1	5
Total Income of Duties pro Anno 1803	439,806	15	1
Duties pro Anno 1804.			
Surplus of Consol. Stamp Duties, by Act 44 Geo. III Cap. 98; to commence from 10th October 1804	740,150	16	6
Money paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, for Interest, Management, and £.1 per Cent. on £.4,500,000 Part of £.14,500,000, raised by Act 44 Geo. III. for the Service of Ireland	331,269	14	1
Total Income of Duties pro Anno 1804	1,071,420	10	7
Duties pro Anno 1805.			
Total of Excise Duties	402,655	11	8
Duty on Goods, anno 1805	207,186	8	10
Ditto . . Legacies	4,957	12	2
Money paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, on Account of Loans for the Service of Ireland	211,817	0	10
Total Income of Duties for 1805	826,616	13	6
Do. . . . . . Do. at 5th Jan. 1803	30,697,657	8	9¼
Do. . . . . . Do. for 1803	439,806	15	1
Do. . . . . . Do. for 1804	1,071,420	10	7
Total Income of Consolidated Fund, in the Year ended 5th January 1806 . . . £	33,035,501	7	11¼

Exchequer, the 18th Day of March, 1806.

DEBT incurred in respect of £.12,000,000 raised for the Service of the Year 1803.						
Annuities on £.9,600,000, at £.3 per Cent. added to £.3 per Cent. Consolidated Annuities; with Charges of Management	292,320	0	0	292,320	0	0
Ditto on £.9,600,000, at £.3 per Cent. added to £.3 per Cent. Reduced Annuities, with Do.	292,320	0	0	292,320	0	0
Ditto for 56½ Years, at 6*s.* 5*d.* per Cent. added to Long Consolidated Bank Annuities, with Do.	38,933	2	6	38,933	2	6
Ditto £.1 per Cent. on the above Sums payable to the Commissioners for Reduction of National Debt	195,765	5	7	195,765	5	7
Total Charge for Debt incurred in the Year 1803 . . £	819,338	8	1	819,338	8	1
DEBT incurred in respect of £.14,500,000, raised for the Service of the Year 1804.						
Annuities on £.11,890,000, at £.3 per Cent. added to £.3 per Cent. Consolidated Annuities, with Charges of Management	408,507	12	0	408,507	12	0
Do on £.14,500,000, at £.3 per Cent. added to £.3 per Cent. Reduced Annuities, with Do.	507,540	0	0	507,540	0	0
Ditto on £.1 per Cent. on the above Sums, payable to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt.	263,900	0	0	263,900	0	0
Ditto on 2,716,814*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.* at £.3 per Cent. added to £.3 per Cent. Reduced, granted to the Holders £.5 per Cent. subscribed into Navy £.5 per Cents.	81,504	8	9	81,504	8	9
Ditto on £.1 per Cent. on the above Sums	27,168	2	11	27,168	2	11
Total Charge for Debt incurred in the Year 1804 . . £	1,288,620	3	8	1,288,620	3	8
DEBT incurred in respect of £.22,500,000, &c. raised for the Service of the Year 1805	1,724,089	17	2	1,724,089	17	2
Total Charge for Debt, incurred in the Year 1805 . . £	1,409,187	14	11¼	1,724,089	17	2
Do. . . created prior to 5th January . 1803	26,671,261	0	1	26,119,590	17	1½
Total Charge for Debt, incurred in the Year 1803	819,338	8	1	819,338	8	1
Do. . . . . Do. . . . . . . Do. . . . 1804	1,288,620	3	8	1,288,620	3	8
Total actual Payments out of, and future Charge upon, the Consolidated Fund, for the Year ended 5th January 1806 . . . £	30,188,407	6	9	29,951,639	6	0½

Wm. Rose Haworth.

An Account of the Net Produce of the PERMANENT TAXES and the WAR TAXES for the Year ending 5th January, 1806; distinguishing each Quarter, and distinguishing the Produce of the Permanent Taxes and the War Taxes.

			In the Quarters ended												In the Year ended		
			5th April, 1805.			5th July, 1805.			10th Oct. 1805.			5th Jan. 1806.			5th Jan. 1806.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs		Consolidated, after reserving £.62,500 per quarter, per Act 43 Geo. III. Cap 68, from July 1803 -	820,418	0	7¼	686,671	14	1	1,383,214	4	7¾	900,223	2	1	3,790,532	1	5
		Quarantine duty - - -	1,512	9	7	7,804	3	0	3,757	12	7¼	4,287	16	2	17,362	1	4¼
		4½*l.* per cent. - - - -	9,046	6	2	8,623	17	0½	620	15	6	239	10	0	18,530	8	8½
		Canal and dock duty - - -	4,715	3	8	12,742	16	0	6,335	6	2½	8,172	11	7	31,965	17	5½
Excise consolidated - - - - -			3,268,557	0	0	3,702,752	17	2½	3,823,048	6	9	3,327,255	0	0	14,121,583	3	11½
Stamps		Consolidated, after deducting the surplus of the duty on receipts, 1805, by act 43 Geo. III. -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		Reserved out of consolidated stamp duties £.769,365 19*s.* 6*d.* per qr. per act 44 Geo. III. cap. 98, from Oct. 1804 -	693,828	0	0	844,903	19	0	769,365	19	6	769,365	19	6	3,077,463	18	0
		Compositions for stamps, per Bank of England -	14,000	0	0	8,000	0	0	8,000	0	0	8,000	0	0	38,000	0	0
		Licences for selling lottery tickets - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,108	2	0	5,108	2	0
Incidents		Letter Money - - - -	257,000	0	0	254,000	0	0	314,000	0	0	248,000	0	0	1,073,000	0	0
	Arrears of duty repealed by act 43 Geo. III. cap 161. out of	Houses and windows -	79,473	16	11	49,640	8	4½	23,364	17	6	26,678	14	0¾	178,932	14	11¾
		Inhabited houses -	27,675	5	1¼	17,564	8	11	21,192	0	8½	11,048	12	9½	77,705	9	4
		Horses for riding -	16,843	5	1¾	20,693	7	2½	14,013	13	4	16,871	13	9	68,382	15	8¼
		Do. - husbandry -	13,330	16	6½	11,476	6	7	24,173	4	1	10,776	9	4	59,796	0	3½
		Male servants - -	11,355	7	10	10,302	10	8	5,522	12	11½	10,593	5	8	37,773	17	1½
		Carriages - -	17,875	18	9	16,653	0	2½	12,482	2	3	12,106	2	4	59,117	3	6½
		Dogs - -	9,375	17	10	7,849	1	4	5,579	14	9	5,370	4	0	28,174	17	11
	Arrears of	10*l.* per cent. - 1793 - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	6	-	-	-	0	0	6
		20*l.* per cent. - 1797 - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	172	3	2¾	172	3	2¾
		Clocks and watches - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	689	5	0	689	5	0
		Hawkers and pedlars - - -	640	0	0	2,680	0	0	3,715	0	0	1,110	0	0	8,145	0	0
		Hackney coaches and chairs - -	6,586	0	0	7,411	0	0	5,938	2	0	4,390	0	0	24,325	2	0
		6*d.* per lib. on pensions - - -	10,000	0	0	14,000	0	0	14,000	0	0	19,340	0	0	57,340	0	0
		1*s.* ditto on salaries - - -	8,000	0	0	13,329	6	9	11,000	0	0	18,445	0	0	50,774	6	9
		Seizures - - - -	1,154	15	2	30,346	12	8	20,400	0	0	31,289	17	8¼	83,191	5	6¼
		Proffers - - - -	0	15	1	533	0	0	130	12	6	13	14	5	678	2	0
		Compositions - - - -	1	6	8	-	-	-	1	6	8	-	-	-	2	13	4
		Rent of alum mines - - -	480	0	0	-	-	-	480	0	0	-	-	-	960	0	0
		Ditto of a light-house - - -	-	-	-	6	13	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	13	4
		Alienation duty - - -	3,977	18	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,977	18	8
		First fruits of the clergy - -	-	-	-	3,847	14	3¼	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,847	14	3¼
		Tenths of ditto - - - -	-	-	-	9,872	2	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,872	2	4½
		Fines and forfeitures - - -	1,017	8	3	110	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,127	8	3
		Waggons (arrears) - - -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Arrears of	Hair powder certificates - - - 1795 -	9,076	14	4½	9,389	11	7	1,920	10	9	2,252	19	10½	22,639	16	7
		Horse dealers' licences - - - - 1796 -	1,887	16	6½	676	0	9½	153	15	1½	911	12	10½	3,629	5	4
		Armorial Bearings - - - - - - 1798 -	4,768	18	1	4,324	1	11½	509	9	2½	1,885	16	1½	11,488	5	4½

Hair powder certificates, per act 41 Geo. III. cap. 69		1,100 0 0	13,020 0 0	6,480 0 0	13,992 13 8	34,592 13 8
Horse dealers' licences - ditto		- - -	1,140 0 0	330 0 0	1,408 19 5	2,878 19 5
Armorial bearings - - ditto		650 0 0	5,400 0 0	2,640 0 0	7,866 0 4½	16,556 0 4½
Duties granted by act 43 Geo. III. cap. 161. on	Reserved out of houses & windows by act 43 Geo. 3. cap. 161. at £.474,474 per qr.	238,762 4 6	649,350 0 0	252,251 0 0	638,440 5 4½	1,778,803 9 10½
	Inhabited houses	52,950 0 0	211,320 0 0	103,050 0 0	103,865 4 3½	471,185 4 3½
	Horses for riding	40,411 0 0	214,660 0 0	58,900 0 0	182,148 6 2	495,119 6 2
	Ditto and mules	26,443 0 0	193,860 0 0	45,400 0 0	159,986 4 10½	422,689 4 10½
	Male servants	13,900 0 0	126,720 0 0	41,550 0 0	67,650 11 0½	249,820 11 0½
	Carriages	24,600 0 0	106,930 0 0	47,250 0 3	81,308 4 7½	260,088 4 7½
	Dogs	4,700 0 0	37,830 0 0	15,350 0 0	32,165 0 11	90,045 0 11
DUTIES PRO ANNO 1803.		5,696,115 5 5¾	7,313,434 13 4½	7,046,090 7 6	6,733,434 5 2	26,789,074 9 6½
Brought from consolidated customs, £.62,500 per quarter, by act 43 Geo. III. cap. 68		62,500 0 0	62,500 0 0	62,500 0 0	62,500 0 0	250,000 0 0
Surpl. of duty on receipts, 1803, after reserving as by act 43 G. III. c. 126		7,824 0 0	20,507 0 0	12,523 0 0	12,429 13 8	53,283 13 8
Ditto on houses and windows, 1804, after do. as per act 44 G. III. c. 161		- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
DUTIES PRO ANNO 1864.		5,766,439 5 5¾	7,396,441 13 4¼	7,121,113 7 6	6,808,363 16 10	27,092,358 3 2½
Surplus of consolidated stamp duties, after reserving as per act 44 Geo. III. cap. 98, from Oct. 1804		- - -	187,184 1 0	230,860 0 6	322,106 15 0	740,150 16 6
DUTIES PRO ANNO 1805.		5,766,439 5 5¾	7,583,625 14 4¼	7,351,973 8 0½	7,130,470 11 10	27,832,508 19 8½
Goods, &c. 1805		- - -	50,436 18 10½	94,864 12 5½	61,884 17 6	207,186 8 10
Legacies		- - -	- - -	1,924 0 0	3,033 12 2	4,957 12 2
		5,766,439 5 5¾	7,634,062 13 2¾	7,448,762 0 6	7,135,389 1 6	28,044,653 0 8½
Surplus of duties annually granted, after discharging exchequer bills charged thereon	Sugar and malt	204,505 16 4	- - -	- - -	519,506 10 3½	724,012 6 7½
	Malt	45,651 0 0	250,430 0 0	381,178 0 0	79,087 0 0	756,346 0 0
	Tobacco	104,317 0 0	24,965 0 0	18,150 0 0	31,416 1 10	178,848 1 10
		6,120,913 1 9¾	7,909,457 13 2¾	7,848,090 0 6	7,825,398 13 7½	29,703,859 9 2
Duties granted to discharge £.2,000,000 exchequer bills, pro annis 1804 & 1805	Sugar and Malt	55,645 7 0	372,673 16 10¾	513,993 3 3¾	688,026 8 9½	1,630,338 16 0
	Malt	8,450 0 0	600 0 0	7,351 0 0	154,929 0 0	171,330 0 0
	Tobacco	19,174 0 0	82,742 0 0	110,995 0 0	76,670 18 2	289 581 18 2
		6,204,182 8 9½	8,365,473 10 1¼	8,480,429 3 9¾	8,745,025 0 7	31,795,110 3 4
WAR TAXES.						
British spirits, anno 1803		259,611 0 0	256,427 0 0	157,918 0 0	86,591 0 0	760,547 0 0
Foreign ditto		194,210 0 0	193,841 0 0	209,376 3 6	228,476 0 0	825,903 3 6
Wines		106,350 0 0	78,356 0 0	114,726 0 0	66,650 0 0	366,082 0 0
Malt		123,324 0 0	611,380 0 0	1,051,375 0 0	580,654 0 0	2,366,733 0 0
Goods and shipping		245,810 17 2	471,350 5 9¼	469,865 12 3¼	449,140 19 5½	1,636,167 14 8
Tea		357,536 0 0	383,935 0 0	588,922 0 0	381,475 0 0	1,711,868 0 0
Sweets		1,198 0 0	1,039 0 0	1,671 16 6	165 0 0	4,073 16 6
Property duty		421,234 3 8	208,669 13 0	205,066 2 2	92,615 18 10	928,585 17 8
Wines, anno 1804		79,920 3 0	51,895 0 0	81,143 0 0	51,745 0 0	264,743 0 0
Property duty		335,483 0 0	1,044,234 17 10	1,186,365 15 8½	712,102 14 7	3,278,186 8 1½
Goods and wares		110,281 19 11¼	231,711 0 6½	319,790 0 0¾	167,076 1 4	828,859 1 10½
Property duty, anno 1805		- - -	- - -	106,950 0 0	92,800 0 0	199,750 0 0
	£.	2,234,959 0 9½	3,532,838 17 1¾	4,494,169 10 2½	2,909,531 14 2½	13,171,499 2 4

Exchequer, the 25th Day of February, 1806.

WM. ROSE HAWORTH.

An ACCOUNT of the Value of all IMPORTS into, and all EXPORTS from Great Britain, for Eighteen Years, ending the 5th January 1806; distinguishing each Year, and distinguishing the Value of Imports from the East Indies and China, from the Value of all other Imports: And distinguishing the Value of British Produce and Manufactures Exported, from the Value of Foreign Articles Exported; together with the Difference between the Official Value, and the Declared Value of British Produce and Manufactures Exported in the Year ending 5th January 1806.

	Official Value of Imports from		Official Value of		
	East Indies and China.	All other Parts.	British Produce and Manufactures Exported.	Foreign Merchandize Exported, including Over-estimated Value on Coffee.	Foreign Merchandize Exported, after deducting Over-estimated Value on Coffee.
Year ending 5th January - - 1789	£. 3,453,897 s. 0 d. 0	£. 14,573,272 s. 0 d. 0	£. 12,724,719 s. 0 d. 0	£. 4,747,518 s. 0 d. 0	£. 4,517,766 s. 0 d. 0
Ditto — 1790	3,362,545 0 0	14,458,557 0 0	13,779,506 0 0	5,561,042 0 0	5,379,965 0 0
Ditto — 1791	3,149,870 0 0	15,981,015 0 0	14,921,084 0 0	5,199,037 0 0	4,979,797 0 0
Ditto — 1792	3,698,713 0 0	15,971,069 0 0	16,810,018 0 0	5,921,976 0 0	5,670,412 0 0
Ditto — 1793	2,701,547 0 0	16,957,810 0 0	18,336,851 0 0	6,568,348 0 0	6,129,998 0 0
Ditto — 1794	3,499,023 0 0	15,757,693 0 0	13,892,268 0 0	6,497,911 0 0	5,784,417 0 0
Ditto — 1795	4,458,475 0 0	17,830,418 0 0	16,725,402 0 0	10,022,680 0 0	8,386,043 0 0
Ditto — 1796	5,760,810 0 0	16,976,079 0 0	16,338,213 0 0	10,785,125 0 0	8,509,126 0 0
Ditto — 1797	3,372,689 0 0	19,814,630 0 0	19,102,220 0 0	11,416,693 0 0	8,923,848 0 0
Ditto — 1798	3,942,384 0 0	17,071,572 0 0	16,903,103 0 0	12,013,907 0 0	9,412,610 0 0
Ditto — 1799	7,626,930 0 0	20,230,959 0 0	19,672,503 0 0	13,919,274 0 0	10,617,526 0 0
Ditto — 1800	4,284,805 0 0	22,552,626 0 0	24,084,213 0 0	11,907,116 0 0	9,556,144 0 0
Ditto — 1801	4,942,275 0 0	25,628,329 0 0	24,304,283 0 0	18,847,735 0 0	13,815,837 0 0
Ditto — 1802	5,424,441 0 0	27,371,115 0 0	25,699,809 0 0	16,601,892 0 0	12,087,047 0 0
Ditto — 1803	5,794,906 0 0	25,647,412 0 0	26,993,129 0 0	19,127,833 0 0	14,418,837 0 0
Ditto — 1804	6,348,887 0 0	21,643,577 0 0	22,252,027 0 0	11,540,359 0 0	9,326,468 0 0
Ditto — 1805	5,214,621 0 0	23,986,869 0 0	23,935,793 0 0	13,532,306 0 0	10,515,574 0 0
Ditto — 1806	- - -	24,273,451 0 0	25,003,308 0 0	12,227,237 0 0	9,950,508 0 0

Inspector-General's Office,
Custom-House, London,
22d March, 1806.

William Irving.

Note.—The real Value of British Produce and Manufactures Exported in as far as the same can be ascertained under the Ad Valorem Duties, or computed at the Average Prices Current, amounted, in the Year ending the 5th January 1805, to £.40,349,642.

And in the Year ending the 5th January 1806, to £.41,068,942.

The Account of Imports from India and China for the last Year, cannot yet be prepared.

An ACCOUNT of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been Annually Built and Registered in the several Ports of the British Empire, between the 5th January 1804, and the 5th January 1806.

	Ships.	Tons.
In the Year 1804 { being the Account delivered last Year, and now corrected }	991	95,979
In the Year 1805 - - - -	966	89,975

Copies of the Certificates of Registry granted at many of the Ports in the Plantations, for the Year ending 5th January 1806, not being yet received, the Vessels that may have been built at such Ports are not included in this Account.

Custom-House, London,
Office of the Register-General of Shipping,
20th March 1806.

T. E. Willoughby,
Register-General of Shipping.

Account of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of Great Britain, for the Year ended 5th January 1806.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
I. Interest & Charges on the permanent Debt of Great Britain, Appx. (A.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	27,485,384	18	7
II. The Interest on Exchequer Bills, (B.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,478,316	3	3½
III. The Civil List, (C.)	-	-	-	958,000	0	0			
IV. Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, viz. Courts of Justice	-	-	-	59,350	17	3			
Mint	-	-	-	14,686	10	6			
Allow. to Roy. Fam.	-	-	-	278,281	0	4½			
Sals. & Allowances	-	-	-	25,282	9	6			
Bounties	-	-	-	491,583	12	11			
							1,827,184	10	6½
V. Civil Government of Scotland, (D.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	86,918	15	3¾
VI. Other Payments in Anticipation, (E.)									
Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.	-	-	-	313,156	19	8¼			
Pensions on the Heredit. Revenue	-	-	-	27,700	0	0			
Militia and Deserters Warrants, &c.	-	-	-	305,143	14	10¾			
							646,000	14	7
VII. Navy, (F.)—Salaries to the Offices	94,000	0	0						
For Wages, Bounty, Flag-pay, Half-pay, and Pensions	2,329,830	0	0						
For Dock Yards, Building of Ships, Stores, Pilotage, &c.	6,491,428	9	2½						
For Marine Service on Shore	403,500	0	0						
				9,318,758	9	2½			
The Victualling Department	-	-	-	3,894,773	11	3			
Sick and Wounded do.	-	-	-	263,000	0	0			
Transport do. for Transports	889,466	3	0						
For Prisoners of War in health	57,000	0	0						
Miscellaneous Services	44,000	0	0						
				990,466	3	0			
							14,466,998	3	5½
VIII. Ordnance, (G.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,732,286	1	3
IX. Army, (H.)—Ordinary Services, viz.									
For Regulars, Fenc. Milit. Invalids, and Volunteer Corps	8,978,979	13	1						
Barracks	1,083,224	17	3						
Staff Officers & Offic. of Garrisons	183,708	3	5						
Half-pay	211,560	4	9						
Widows Pensions	26,000	0	0						
Chelsea Hospital	123,145	8	1						
Exchequer Fees	88,501	5	9						
Pay of Public Offices	63,223	0	7						
				10,758,342	12	11			
Extraordinary Services (including Remittances by way of Subsidy)	-	-	-	6,261,386	16	2			
							17,019,729	9	1
X. Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries, - - Ireland, (I.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,211,062	10	0
XI. Miscellaneous Services, (K.)									
At Home	-	-	-	2,566,091	19	6			
Abroad	-	-	-	279,636	8	5½			
							2,845,728	7	11½
							75,799,609	14	0¾
Deduct Loan, &c. for Ireland	-	-	-	-			3,211,062	10	0
						£.*	70,588,547	4	0¾

* This includes the Sum of £. 444,096. 4. 4½. for Interest paid on Imperial Loans.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
24th March 1806.

N. VANSITTART.

N.B. The several Items under each head are stated in the Appendixes A, B, &c. above referred to—which follow.

APPENDIX (A. 1.)—An Account of the Monies paid out of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, in the Year ending the 5th Jan. 1806, towards satisfying the Charges of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of Great Britain and Ireland, and Imperial Loans; distinguishing the Total Amount of the Sums applied for Interest, Charges of Management, Sums applicable to the Reduction, and the usual Grants for the same Purpose.

				INTEREST.			Annuities for Lives, and for Terms of Years.			Charges of Management.		
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Permanent Funded Debt of Great Britain...				16,534,351	19	11	1,571,031	19	4½	250,755	0	3½
Loans raised for the Service of Ireland				1,015,957	19	6	38,595	16	8	15,428	10	8
Imperial Loans				208,368	3	6	230,000	0	0	5,728	0	10¼
				17,758,678	2	11	1,839,627	16	0½	271,911	11	9¾
				1,839,627	16	0½						
				271,911	11	9¾						
£.				19,870,217	10	9¼						
Towards the Reduction of the Public Debt; viz.	£.	s.	d.									
Annual Issue by 26 G. III.	1,000,000	0	0									
Ditto......... 42 do....	200,000	0	0									
Annuities for Terms of Years expired, prior to 5th July, 1802	79,880	14	6									
Annuities for Lives on which the Nominees are certified to have died prior to 5th July 1802, or that have been unclaimed for 3 Years	49,742	10	7									
Interest on Debt of Gr-Brit. redeemed -	2,794,133	17	8									
Ditto ....Ireland - do	70,460	10	6									
Ditto.........Imperial - do	16,710	16	6									
Annuity at £. 1 per cent. on Part of Capitals created since 5th Jan. 1793	3,404,238	18	0¾									
				7,615,167	7	9¾						
£.				27,485,384	18	7						

Exchequer, 6th March 1806.

W. ROSE HAWORTH.

APPENDIX (A. 2.)—An Account of the Total Amount of the Sums actually received by the COMMISSIONERS for the Reduction of the NATIONAL DEBT, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1806.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
On Account of GREAT BRITAIN.						
By Annual Issue, 26 Geo. III.	1,000,000	0	0			
Ditto............42 ——	200,000	0	0			
Exchequer Anns. 99 & 96 years, which terms have expired.....	54,880	14	6			
Unclaimed and Expired Anns. on Lives	49,742	10	7			
Short Anns. 1777, expired....................................	25,000	0	0			
£.1 per cent. per ann. on Capitals created by Loans raised from 1793 (that of 1802 excepted) to 1805, both inclusive..........	3,004,321	3	9¾			
Interest on £.3 per cent. Annuities	2,682,337	17	8			
——— on £.4 per cents.	104,696	0	0			
——— on £.5 per cents..	7,100	0	0			
				7,128,078	6	6¾
On Account of IRELAND.						
£. 1 per cent. per ann. on Capitals created by Loans raised from 1797 to 1805, both inclusive..................................	363,224	14	3			
Interest on £.3 per cent. Anns.	70,460	10	6			
				433,685	4	9
On Account of IMPERIAL.						
£. 1 per cent. per ann. on the Capital created by Loan 1797.....	36,693	0	0			
Interest on 3 per cent. Imperial Anns..........................	16,710	16	6			
				53,403	16	6
			£.	7,615,167	7	9¾

Office Reduction National Debt, Feb. 27, 1806.

G. T. GOODENOUGH, Sec.

APPENDIX (B.) will be found in page xxiii.

APPENDIX (C)—An Account of the Charges upon the CONSOLIDATED FUND, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1806; exclusive of the Interest of the Public Debt, and of the payments upon Exchequer Bills, distinguishing the same under the several Heads of Civil List, Courts of Justice, &c. Mint, other Salaries and Allowances, and Bounties.

	£.	s.	d.
CIVIL LIST.			
For the Support of his Majesty's Household	898,000	0	0
Ditto, by Act 44 Geo. III. cap. 80. 60,000l. per ann	60,000	0	0
COURTS OF JUSTICE.			
The Judges of England and Wales, in augmentation of their Salaries	18,047	19	8½
A. Graham, Esq. Inspector of the temporary places of confinement of Felons, previous to transportation	350	0	0
P. Colquhoun, Esq. Receiver of the Thames Police Office	7,479	9	4
W. Baldwin, Esq. Receiver of the seven Public Offices of Police	15,239	7	4½
H. M. Dyer, Esq. Chief Justice of the Admiralty Court in the Island of Bahama, per Act 43 Geo. III.	2,000	0	0
J. Bedford, Esq. do. Barbadoes	2,000	0	0
J. Sewell, Esq. do. at Malta	2,000	0	0
W. Territt, Esq. do. at Bermudas	2,473	8	1
Alex. Croke, Esq. do. Nova Scotia	1,000	0	0
H. I. Hinchliffe, Esq. do Jamaica	1,760	12	9
Sheriffs of England and Wales	4,000	0	0
Keeper of the Hanaper in Chancery	3,000	0	0
MINT.			
Master of his Majesty's Mint in England	10,350	0	0
T. Morrison, esq. Receiver of the Fees and Emoluments in the Office of the Mint	3,136	10	6
Master of his Majesty's Mint in Scotland	1,200	0	0
SALARIES & ALLOWANCES.			
The Rt. Hon. C. Abbot, Speaker of the House of Commons, to complete his Allowance of 6,000l. per ann.	2,102	15	6
The Marquis of Bute, late one of the Auditors of the Imprest	7,000	0	0
P. Deare, Esq. late Deputy do.	300	0	0
E. Roberts, Esq. on the yearly Sum of 650l. formerly paid to the Auditor of the Exchequer	650	0	0
J. T. Batt. Esq. Commissioner for auditing the Public Accounts	1,000	0	0
John Martin Leake, Esq. do	500	0	0
John Erskine, Esq. do	500	0	0
Hon. B. Bouverie do	1,000	0	0
Sir C. W. R. Boughton, Bart. do	1,000	0	0
Salaries in the Office of Clerks of Public Accounts	6,000	0	0
G. Atwood, Esq. late Inspec. of Certif. in Tontine, Anno 1789	400	0	0
George Pepler, Inspector of do.	300	0	0
Chief Cashier of the Bank of England, for Fees paid at sundry Public Offices	837	12	6
Do. .... of South Sea Co. for do	292	1	6
T. Marsham, Esq. Sec. to Commissioners for issuing Exchequer Bills, by Act 35 Geo. III.	1,000	0	0
John Close, Esq. Contingent Expences attending the execution of an Act appointing Commissioners to inquire and examine into the Public Expenditure, and the Conduct of Public Business in the Military Department	1,200	0	0
John Williams, Esq. Secretary to the Commissioners for inquiring into Abuses in the Naval Department	1,000	0	0
PENSIONS.			
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales	65,000	0	0
Ditto ditto	60,000	0	0
Ditto .... Duke of York	14,000	0	0
Ditto .... Clarence	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Kent	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Cumberland	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Sussex	12,000	0	0
Ditto .... Cambridge	12,000	0	0
Ditto late Duke of Gloucester	8,500	0	0
His Highness the Duke of do.	948	9	6¾
Her Highness Princess Sophia Mary of Ditto	474	4	6¼
Her R. Highs. the Duchess of York	4,000	0	0
John Duke of Athol	2,216	13	5½
Earl of Chatham	4,000	0	0
Lord Rodney	2,000	0	0
—— Heathfield	1,500	0	0
Lady Dorchester	1,000	0	0
John Penn, Esq.	3,000	0	0
Richard Penn, Esq.	1,000	0	0
Lord St. Vincent	2,000	0	0
—— Duncan	2,000	0	0
—— Nelson	1,500	0	0
—— Hutchinson	2,000	0	0
Lady Abercrombie	2,000	0	0
Sir William Henry Ashurst	2,000	0	0
Sir Sidney Smith	1,000	0	0
Duke of Richmond	12,666	13	4
Sir John Skinner	375	0	0
Representatives of Arthur Onslow	3,000	0	0
Sir James Saumarez	1,200	0	0
Duke of Portland, for the Prince of Orange	16,000	0	0
Lord Borringdon and others, in Trust for Lord Amherst	3,000	0	0
Sir Beaumont Hotham Knight	1,900	0	0
BOUNTIES.			
For the Encouragement of the Growth of Hemp and Flax in Scotland	2,956	13	8
Richard Clarke, Esq. Chamberlain of the City of London, for the better Improvement of the Port of London	60,000	0	0
William Stevens, Esq. Treasurer of the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne, for the Relief of such Curates as may be deprived of their Cures in consequence of an Act 43 Geo. III.	500	0	0
Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh, towards the Completion of the Wet Docks and other Works in the Harbour of Leith	25,000	0	0
Payments made to the Owners and Occupiers of the Legal Quays between London Bridge and the Tower of London, for the purchase of their Interest therein	403,126	19	3
Exchequer, 5th March 1806.	£.1,827,184	10	6½

W. ROSE HAWORTH.

APPENDIX (B.)—An Account of Interest paid on EXCHEQUER BILLS, from the 5th day of January 1805 to the 5th day of Jauuary 1806.

Under what Acts issued.		On what Funds charged.	£.	s.	d.
43 Geo. III.	cap. 36.	Supply........Anno 1803	501	9	4
....	93.	Ditto .... Ditto	198,372	4	5
....	146.	Vote of Credit Anno 1803	107,117	13	8½
44	cap. 15.	Aids................1804	327,740	9	9
....	31.	Further Sum 1804	129,908	8	11½
....	45.	Supply 1804	362,752	0	5
....	46.	Do. to the Bank of England	75,000	0	0
....	73.	Additional Sum 1804	42,518	13	5
....	81.	Vote of Credit 1804	116,929	4	7
45	7.	Loan 1805	3,108	1	5½
....	28.	Aids 1805	5,777	5	7
Paid to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, on Personal Estates and Malt Tax			108,610	11	8
			£. 1,478,316	3	3½

Exchequer Bill Office, 31 *Jan.* 1806.

J. PLANTA.—JOHN PETER.

APPENDIX (D.)—A List of all such Sum and Sums of Money as have been incurred, and become due, upon his Majesty's Establishment for CIVIL AFFAIRS within SCOTLAND, bearing Date the 19th Day of June 1761, for One Year: from 5th January 1805 inclusive to 5th January 1806 exclusive, made up by the Barons of Exchequer at Edinburgh £. 86,918 15 3

APPENDIX (E. 1.)— An Account of the Amount of BOUNTIES paid in England and Scotland, out of the Revenues of Customs and Excise, between the 5th of Jan. 1805 and the 5th of Jan. 1806; being Payments in the Nature of Anticipations of Exchequer Issues.

	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.			GREAT BRITAIN.		
CUSTOMS.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bounties on Corn, Cotton, and Linen Manufactures, British and Southern Whale Fishery, Newfoundland and White Herring Fishery	217,298	3	7¼	52,617	1	5¾	269,915	5	1
EXCISE.									
Bounties on Beer exported .... British Spirits .... Fish .... Buss and Barrel Bounties, certified on the Excise, for Deficiency of Money in the hands of the Receiver Gen. of the Customs	30,321	11	5	12,920	3	2¼	43,241	14	7¼
£.	247,619	15	0¼	65,537	4	8	313,156	19	8¼

APPENDIX (E. 2.)—GENERAL POST OFFICE.—An Account of Pensions and Parliamentary GRANTS for the Year ended 5th January 1806.

His Grace the Duke of Marlborough	£. 5,000
His Grace the Duke of Grafton	4,700
The heirs of the late Duke of Schomburg	4,000
	£. 13,700

March 18*th* 1806.

APPENDIX (E. 3.) EXCISE.—An Account, shewing how the PUBLIC MONIES remaining in the Receipt of the Exchequer on 5th Jan. 1805, together with the Monies paid into the same during the Year ending 5th Jan.1806, and the Monies paid out of the Net Produce of the Revenues of the said Year, in Anticipation of the Exchequer Receipt, have been actually applied, so far as regards the Receipt of the Excise in England, and can be ascertained at the Excise Office.

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
PENSIONS, viz.							
6th Head	Duke of Grafton	9,000	0	0			
	Earl Cowper	2,000	0	0			
	Charles Boon, Esq. Moiety of the Earl of Bath's -	1,500	0	0			
	Lord Melbourne's .... ditto....................	1,500	0	0			
					14,000	0	0
BOUNTIES, viz.							
	Beer exported	33	6	0			
	British Spirits	49	12	10			
	Salted Provisions	30,238	12	7			
					30,321	11	5
	£.				44,321	11	5.

Excise Office, London, 4th March, 1806.

J. KEMP, Accompt. General.

APPENDIX (E. 4.)—An Account of Sums advanced by Receivers General of Land and Assessed Taxes, on Account of MILITIA, Deserters Warrants, and other Disbursements, under various Acts of Parliament; between 5th Jan. 1805 and the 5th of Jan 1806.

	ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Militia and Deserters Warrants	17,587	14	11¾	6,849	18	3
Defence Acts	12,781	11	6½	1,039	18	1½
Yeomanry Cavalry	2,658	12	6	545	6	0
Volunteers	166,493	0	1½	29,244	4	7
Levy en Masse	1,215	18	10	155	11	6
Army of Reserve	53,271	7	10	2,457	19	1
Population Act	395	12	8	39	18	0
Expences under the Land Tax Redemption Acts	10,407	0	10½	-	-	-
Office for Taxes, 20th March, 1806. £.	264,810	19	4¼	40,332	15	6½

APPENDIX (F.)—Navy Office, 4th Feb. 1806. An Account, shewing the Amount of Monies received from his Majesty's Exchequer, for NAVAL SERVICES, between the 5th Jan. 1805, and 5th Jan. 1806; distinguishing the Services to which the same has been applied.

HEADS OF SERVICE.	SUM.			TOTAL		
NAVY:	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Salaries to the Admiralty, Navy, and Navy Pay Offices	94,000	0	0			
Wages to Officers and Seamen	1,660,000	0	0			
Bounty to Volunteers, Flag Pay, &c.	385,000	0	0			
Half Pay to Sea Officers, and Bounty to Chaplains	191,830	0	0			
Pensions to Sea Officers, their Widows, &c. and to superannuated Artificers	93,000	0	0			
Wages to His Majesty's Dock and Rope Yards	923,152	0	0			
Building of Ships, purchase of Stores of every Description, repairing of Ships, purchase of Ships taken from the Enemy, Head Money, &c. paid in Bills at Ninety Days Date	4,582,276	9	2½			
Pilotage	35,000	0	0			
Bills of Exchange, Imprests, and Contingencies	942,000	0	0			
Exchequer Fees	9,000	0	0			
Marine Service on Shore, and Half Pay to Marine Officers	403,500	0	0			
				9,318,758	9	2½
VICTUALLING.						
Provisions and all sorts of Victualling Stores, paid for in Bills at Ninety Days Date	3,026,824	7	3			
Bills of Exchange and Imprest	605,000	0	0			
Necessary and Extra Necessary Money, and Contingencies	109 000	0	0			
Widows Pensions	16,934	3	10			
Supplies to the poor Inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland	11,715	0	2			
Yards	125.300	0	0			
				3,894,773	11	3
SICK AND WOUNDED.						
Subsistence, Medicine, Bedding, &c. for Sick Seamen	226,000	0	0			
Do for Prisoners of War	37,000	0	0			
				263,000	0	0
TRANSPORTS.						
Freight of Transports, and for Stores, Subsistence, &c. for Prisoners of War in Health, paid for in Bills of Ninety Days date	889,466	3	0			
Bills of Exchange, &c.	44,000	0	0			
Subsistence and Clothing, &c. of Prisoners of War in Health, paid for in Ready Money	57,000	0	0			
				990,466	3	0
(Signed) S. Gambier, ... F. J. Hartwell. .... E. Bouverie.			£.	14,466,998	3	5½

APPENDIX (G.)—An Account of Monies paid by the Office of Ordnance, in the Year 1805, for Services at Home and Abroad respectively.

	£.	s.	d.
Services at Home	4,425,072	14	1
Services Abroad	307,213	7	2
	£. 4,732,286	1	3

Office of Ordnance,
22th March, 1806. } *(Signed)*

Tho. Trigge, ... J. Hadden, ... J. Calcraft.

APPENDIX (H.)—An Account of Monies paid by the Right Hon. the Paymaster Gen. of his Majesty's Forces, from 25th Dec. 1804, to the 24th Dec. 1805.

	£.	s.	d.
Pay and Allowances of the Forces, &c. Captains Allowances, Off-reckonings, Recruiting Contingencies, Bills, and Clothing	8,978,979	13	1
Exchequer Fees	88,501	5	9
Garrisons	22,384	0	8
Pay of Officers	63,223	0	7
Staff	161,324	2	9
Barracks	1,083,224	17	3
Half Pay	211,560	4	9
Widows Pensions	26,000	0	0
Chelsea Hospital	123,145	8	1
Extraordinaries	6,261,386	16	2
	£. 17,019,729	9	1

Pay Office, Horse Guards,
15th March 1806. } *(Errors excepted.)*

(Signed) Dd. Thomas, Accountant.

APPENDIX (I.)—An Account of Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1806; specifying the Total Amount paid to them respectively.

There was remitted out of Supplies 1800—5, to that Part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, viz.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Out of Loan 1804, per Act 44 Geo. III. Cap. 47.				806,500	0	0
Out of Lotteries 1804, per .... Ditto .... Cap. 93.				105,083	6	8
				911,583	6	8
Out of Loan 1805, per Act 45 Geo. III. Cap. 12.	2,240,000	0	0			
Out of Lotteries 1805, per .... Do. ....Cap. 74.	59,479	3	4			
				2,299,479	3	4
				£. 3,211,062	10	0

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
24th March 1806. } *(Signed)* N. VANSITTART.

Mem.

The Amount of Remittances and other Payments by way of Subsidy to Foreign Powers is included in the Sum of £. 6,261,386. 16*s*. 2*d*. for Army Extraordinaries; but a particular Account of those Payments cannot yet be made up.

APPENDIX (K.)—An Account, shewing how the Monies remaining in the Receipt of the EXCHEQUER on the 5th Day of Jan. 1805, together with the Monies paid into the same during the Year ending the 5th of Jan. 1806, have been actually applied; so far as relates to MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES; specifying the Amount of Monies paid for Services at Home and Abroad respectively.

SERVICES AT HOME.	£.	s.	d.
For Bounties on taking and bringing Fish to the Cities of London and Westminster, and other Places in the United Kingdom	3,000	0	0
For the Relief of certain St. Domingo Sufferers	10,000	0	0
For defraying the Charge of Works, and Repairs of the Roads and Bridges, in the Highlands of Scotland, for 1803/4	20,000	0	0
To make good Deficiency of Grants for the Service of the Year 1802	4,697	8	0
Towards the Support of an Institution called the Veterinary College, for 1804	1,500	0	0
For the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, for 1804/5	22,600	0	0
For printing the 57th Volume of Journals House of Commons	2,500	0	0
To Sheriffs, for Conviction of Felons and Overpayments	4,194	9	8¼
Expences, in 1803, under the Commission for publishing the Records of the Kingdom	1,767	15	10
For defraying the Charge of the Superintendence of Aliens	4,589	5	0
Extraor. Expences of Prosecutions relating to the Coin of this Kingdom, in 1804/5	2,100	0	0
Towards making an Inland Navigation from the Eastern to the Western Sea, 1804/5	50,000	0	0
For Works done at the two Houses of Parliament and at the House of the Speaker, between the 31st May 1803 and 24th April 1804	12,345	0	0
For confining, maintaining, and employing Convicts at Home, 1804/5	49,660	19	8½
To be distributed to the Officers, Seamen, and Marines, on board the Fleet under the Command of Samuel Lord Viscount Hood, in part of £.265,336. 14. 10½, being the estimated Value of the Ships and Vessels taken possession of and armed for His Majesty's Service at Toulon, with their Ordnance and Ordnance Stores	240,000	0	0
For completing the Works carrying on at Chetney Hill, in the County of Kent	20,000	0	0
For the Relief of the distressed Inhabitants of the Island of Shetland	6,919	2	4
Do .... Do .... Do .... Orkney	4,795	17	10
For the Works and Repairs of the Military Roads in North Britain	5,000	0	0
To defray Bills of the Usher of the Court of Exchequer for Stationary, &c. for 1804/5	1,875	1	7
For Printing and Stationary of the Two Houses of Parliament, for 1804/5	17,589	18	11
Towards defraying the Expence of the Public Office, Bow Street, 1804/5	12,115	5	3
Protestant Dissenting Ministers in England and Ireland, and for the Relief of the poor French Protestant Clergy and Laity, for 1804/5	10,476	1	0
For the extra Charge of Messengers of the Three Secretaries of State, 1804/5	6,631	2	11¼
For Do. .... of Contingencies......... Do.	5,490	0	0
For the Ministers of the Vaudois Churches, for 1804/5	1,828	2	8
For discharging Arrears and Debts due and owing upon the Civil List, 5th July 1804	10,458	1	6¾
For the Purchase of Ground and Buildings for erecting a Court House for Westminster	3,391	4	0
Do. .... Do. .... Do.	4.417	12	10
For Deficiency of Grant 1804 for the Officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons	305	0	0
For Sums awarded to be paid under the 7th Article of the Treaty with America	414,000	0	0
For an Advance to the Proprietors of the Crinan Canal	25,000	0	0
For defraying Law Charges	20,000	0	0
To the Trustees of the British Museum	3,000	0	0
Ditto .... further Grant	8,000	0	0
For the Collection of Sculptured Marbles, &c. of the late C. Townley, Esq.	20,000	0	0
For the Moiety of the Expence of building a Bridge over the River Spey at Fochabers in North Britain	6,000	0	0
For the Purchase of a House for the official Use of the Judge Advocate General	9,685	17	0
To the E. I. Company, for Expences incurred by them in the Service of the Public	1,000,000	0	0
Towards rebuilding the Pier at the Harbour of Methil, in Fifeshire	2,000	0	0
For cleansing the Harbour of Catwater and Sutton Pool	4,000	0	0
For the Board of Agriculture	3,000	0	0
For purchacing Ground and erecting Buildings for a Naval Asylum, and for the Maintenance thereof	20,000	0	0
For the French Clergy and Laity; Toulonese, Corsican, and Dutch Emigrants; and American Loyalists	133,521	12	0
Printing Journals, and printing and delivering Votes, &c. of the House of Commons	17,581	9	0
For reprinting Journals, Indexes, and Reports of Do	9,055	9	3
To be paid to the Officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons	4,765	3	9½
To the Bank of England, for Discount on Prompt Payments on Loan £. 14,500,000	222,851	12	6
To .... Do .... for receiving the above Loan	11,683	19	7
To .... Do .... for receiving Contributions to Lotteries 1804/5	4,000	0	0
To .... Do .... for Discount on Prompt Payments thereon in 1804/5	4,589	11	2
To .... Do .... for receiving Loan of £.1,005,290 0 2 for paying off Loyalty £.5 per Cents. 1797 at 5th April 1805	810	1	1
For Salaries to the Officers, and Incidental Expences of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt	2,019	8	9

To the Officers of the Exchequer, for extra Trouble in making out Excheq. Bills in 1805	£. 500	0	0
Do .... Do .... paying off Do in 1804	347	10	0
To William Young, Esq; for Expences attending the execution of an Act for the Redemption of the Land Tax	1,741	6	8
For Salaries and Expences of American Commissioners	1,300	0	0
For a Clerk employed on Business relative to American Claims	174	14	0
To the Commissioners for preparing and drawing Lotteries 1803/4/5	15,300	0	0
To David Skene, Esq. for Incidental Expences of the Act for distributing Monies stipulated to be paid by the United States of America	990	0	0
To replace to His Majesty's Civil List Revenues the Sums issued thereout, pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons; viz.			
To H. Alexander, Esq; as Chairman of the Committee of Ways & Means, Sess. 1803/4	1,300	1	6
To George Whittam, Esq; for making an Index to the Votes in Session 1803/4	310	0	0
To the Second Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, in Session, 1803/4	1,084	19	6
To the Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons, in Do	1,187	12	10
To the Deputy Serjeant at Arms of Do, to make up his Allowance equal to £. 500, for the Session 1803/4	332	0	0
For the Institution for preventing the spreading of Contagious Maligant Fevers in the Metropolis	3,000	0	0
For Compensations to Officers of the House of Commons for their Attendance on Public Committees in Session 1803/4	280	8	0
For the last Instalment for erecting a Monument to the Memory of Captain Montague	1,297	2	6
For Rewards to Persons employed under the Commissioners for carrying into execution the Measures recommended by the Ho. of Com. respecting the Public Records	3,394	17	10
For the Second Instalment for erecting a Monument to the memory of the Rt. hon. Sir Ralph Abercromby	2,216	19	0
To make good to His Majesty's Civil List Revenues Monies issued thereout, for Public Services; viz.			
For additional Allowance to Clerks in the Office for auditing the Public Accounts	10,892	6	1
For Expences attending the Malt and Barley Committees of the House of Lords	260	0	0
For Contingent Expences in the execution of an Act for inquiring into Naval Abuses	2,331	12	0
For Expences attending the digesting and abstracting Poor Returns	810	7	0½
To the Chairman of the Committee of the house of Peers, for his Attendance in Session 1803/4	2,698	6	6
To John Clementson, for One Year's Rent of a House in lieu of Apartments he resigned at the House of Commons	219	6	0
Expences of a Plan for the more perfect Security of Shipping in the Port of London	974	4	0
Towards Expences of an Index to One Volume of Journals of the House of Lords	559	19	6
Ditto the Index to Journals of the House of Lords, for Seven Years, to 1st July 1801	1,428	3	0
For Stationary provided for New South Wales	72	16	6½
For Mathematical Instruments for Do	233	12	0
To pay Bills drawn from ...... Do	2,693	15	0
For a framed Room for .... Do	172	13	0
For Expences at the Parliament Office, in Session 1803/4	416	2	4
Arrears of Salary to Persons on the Civil Establishment of New Brunswick	4,905	4	2¾
For making a further Provision for the Presbyterian Ministers of Ulster and Munster	8,731	18	6
To Dr. Clarke, for his Trouble and Attendance relative to an Act for enforcing the Residence of the Clergy	547	7	6
To Dr. Layard, for his Services relative to a Distemper among the Horned Cattle	116	19	0
For Deficiency of Grant for Expences of Public Office Bow Street, 1804	305	17	4
For Expences of a Plan for the Establishment of a Horse Patrol for the Public Roads leading to the Metropolis	1,595	19	6
For the Relief of British Subjects detained in France	1,509	2	0
For making and publishing Weekly Returns of the Average Price of Sugar	435	0	0
For Deficiency of Grant to the Deputy Serjeant at Arms of the House of Commons, for Disbursements in Session 1803/4	213	8	7
To pay Fees on passing Public Accounts	3,000	0	0
For Models of Arches of Bridges, for the Use of a Committee of the Ho. of Commons	135	6	0
For Fees on Tallies levied on several Aids granted by Parliament	1,113	9	6
SERVICES ABROAD.			
For His Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services, 1804/5	172,830	4	6
For repairing and maintaining British Forts and Settlements on the Coast of Africa	18,000	0	0
For Expences of Mission for making Discoveries in Africa	2,053	19	9
To pay Bills drawn from New South Wales	18,147	0	0

For the Civil Establishment of

Bermuda 1804/5	870	0	0	Bahama Islands	4,438	12	7	St. John's....	3,100	0	0
Dominica	600	0	0	New S. Wales	7,225	12	6	Newfoundland	2,136	12	10
Upper Canada	8,379	6	3½	Nova Scotia	7,165	0	0	Sierra Leone	28,000	0	0
Cape Breton	2,040	0	0	NewBrunswick	4,650	0	0				

68,605 4 2½

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
24th March 1806.

(*Signed*) *N. VANSITTART.*

£. 2,845,728 7 11½

An Account of the UNFUNDED DEBT and Demands outstanding on 5th January 1806; under the Heads of Exchequer, Treasury, Army, Barracks, Ordnance, Navy, Civil List Advances, and any other Head of Public Service; specifying the same: Distinguishing, under each Head respectively, the Particulars of which such Debt or Demands consisted; and also what Part of the said Debt or Demands was then provided for, and in what Manner; and what Part thereof was unprovided for.

Under what Acts issued.	On what Funds charged.	£.	s.	d.	Amount outstanding.		
EXCHEQUER BILLS:							
39th Geo. III. Cap. 28.	Aids, Anno 1806, Extension of Bank Charter	3,000,000	0	0			
44 Cap. 16.	Malt Tax 1804	341,000	0	0			
44 Cap. 45.	Aids 1805	997,700	0	0			
45 Cap. 1.	Malt Tax 1805	750,000	0	0			
45 Cap. 7.	Loan 1805	352,000	0	0			
45 Cap. 27.	Aids 1805	9,739,700	0	0			
45 Cap. 118.	Supply 1805	8,000,000	0	0			
45 Cap. 119.	Vote of Credit . . . 1805	2,500,000	0	0			
45 Cap. 120.	Supply 1805	1,500,000	0	0			
					27,180,400	0	0
TREASURY:							
Miscellaneous Services		275,510	19	4			
Warrants for Army Services		327,781	11	7¾			
Treasury Bills accepted previous to and on 5th January 1806, due subsequent to that Day		530,783	8	7¼			
					1,134,075	19	7
ARMY:							
Ordinary Services		926,179	1	3			
Extraordinaries		Nil.					
					926,179	1	3
Barracks					624,240	7	3
Ordnance					1,104,512	6	3
Navy					5,911,588	7	7¾
Civil List Advances					43,696	16	2
					£.36,924,692	18	1¾

Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers,
25th March 1806.

N. VANSITTART.

An Account of NOTES of the BANK of ENGLAND in Circulation (including Bank Post Bills) from the 1st February 1805, to the 1st February 1806;—distinguishing the Amount in Circulation in each Quarter, and the Amount of those under the Value of £.5.

Amount of Bank of England Notes of £.5 each, and upwards, including Bank Post Bills, payable Seven Days after Sight.

		£.
1805.	February 1	13,671,400
	May 1	12,786,770
	August 1	12,035,240
	November 1	12,296,000
1806.	February 1	12,856,720

Amount of Bank of England Notes of £.1 and £.2 each.

1805.	February 1	£.4,726,480
	May 1	4,580,970
	August 1	4,413,780
	November 1	4,457,490
1806.	February 1	4,436,850

Bank of England,
19th May 1806.

W HUTCHISON,
Deputy-Acct.

An Account of NOTES of the BANK of IRELAND in Circulation (including Bank Post Bills payable Seven Days after Sight) from the 1st February 1805, to the 1st February 1806;—distinguishing the Amount in Circulation in each Quarter, and the Amount of those under the Value of £.5.

		£.	s.	d.
1805.	Value of £.5 and upwards	1,602,382	15	2
	Ditto below £.5	1,288,325	10	3
	1st May	2,890,708	5	5
	Value of £.5 and upwards	1,465,822	12	9½
	Ditto below £.5	1,054,859	7	7½
	1st August	2,520,682	0	5
	Value of £.5 and upwards	1,558,444	16	5
	Ditto below £.5	903,453	2	10½
	1st November	2,461,897	19	3½
	Value of £.5 and upwards	1,676,118	11	2½
	Ditto below £.5	811,454	10	9
1806.	1st February	2,487,573	1	11½

For the Gov. and Co. of the Bank of Ireland,

Dublin,
20th May 1806.

WILLIAM DONLEVY,
Acct.-Gen.

An Account of the Progress made in the REDEMPTION of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT Funds, and specifying how much of each has been redeemed by the Commissioners Stocks; and the Sums annually applicable to the Reduction thereof: likewise, the Account of Land-Tax redeemed.

Funds.	Capitals.			Redeemed by Commissrs. from 1st Aug. 1786 to 1st Feb. 1806.	Total Sums paid.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	£.	s.	d.
Consolidated 3 per Cent. Annuities - - -	366,196,558	4	5¼	39,922,421	24,361,824	16	8
Reduced Ditto - - - - - -	138,264,044	7	10	51,493,981	31,050,806	19	5
Old South-Sea Annuities - - - - -	24,065,084	13	11½	3,492,000	2,492,458	18	9
New - Ditto - Ditto - - - - - -				2,783,000	1,990,823	4	3
3 per Cent. - Ditto - Anno 1751 - -	1,919,600	0	0	695,000	511,468	0	0
	530,445,287	6	2¾	98,386,402	60,437,381	19	1
Consolidated 4 per Cent. Annuities - - - -	49,425,084	17	2	2,617,400	2,278,402	1	3
Ditto - 5 per Cent. Ditto - - - -	44,809,542	1	8	142,000	126,998	7	6
5 per Cent. Annuities, 1797 and 1802 - - - -	3,385,389	7	0				
3 per Cent. Ditto 1726 - - - - -	1,000,000	0	0				
Ditto - Bank Annuities - - - -	11,686,800	0	0				
	640,752,103	12	0¾	101,145,802	62,842,732	7	10
Transferred to the Commissrs. by reason of Land Tax redeemed, at 1st Feb. 1806 - - -	22,325,740	5	9				
Debt existing 1st Feb. 1806 - - - -	618,426,363	6	3¾				
Redeemed by the Commissioners . - - -	101,145,802	0	0				
Debt unredeemed, at 1st Feb. 1806 - £.	517,280,561	6	3¾				

An Account of the Progress made in the REDEMPTION of the PUBLIC DEBT of IRELAND, Funded in Great-Britain, at 1st February 1806.

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by the Commissrs. to 1st Feb. 1806.	Total Sums Paid.			Average Price of Stocks.	Sums Annually applicable to Reduction of Debt.			
	£.	£.	£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.
3 per Ct. Consol. Ann.	24,429,250	1,370,579	831,381	12	8	60⅝	1 per Cent. on Capital created	392,118	19	3
Reduced ditto - - -	13,153,750	1,543,369	915,742	2	3	59½				
	37,738,000	2,913,948	1,747,123	14	11	60	Dividend on £.2,913,948, at 3 per Cent Ann.	87,418	8	9
4 per Ct. Consol. ditto	300,000									
5 ditto ditto ditto	360,000									
	38,398,000									
Redeemd. by Commissrs.	2,913,948									
Unredeemd. Feb. 1, 1806	35,484,052						£.	479,537	8	0

Exchequer,
the 18th *Day* of March 1806.

WM. ROSE HAWORTH.

of GREAT BRITAIN, at 1st February 1806; distinguishing the Capitals of the several for the Reduction of the National Debt since 1st August 1786; the Average Price of Annuities to fall in: also, the Capital of Debt transferred to the said Commissioners on

Average Price of Stocks.	Sums Annually applicable to the Reduction of the National Debt.	£.	s.	d.	Annuities Fallen in since 22d June 1802, or that will fall in hereafter.	£.	s.	d.
61	Annual Charge, by Act 26 Geo. III - -	1,000,000	0	0	Exch. Ann. 2 et 3 Annæ, viz. Expired at 5th Apr. 1803	23,369	13	4
60⅜	Ditto, 42 ditto - - - -	200,000	0	0	Ditto - - - Jan. 1805	7,030	6	8
71⅜	Annuities for 99 and 96 Years, expired 1792	54,880	14	6	Ditto 4 Annæ, exp. Ap. 5, 1805	23,254	11	6
					Ditto 5 ditto - ditto 1806	7,776	10	0
71½	Annuities for 10 Years, expired 1787 - -	25,000	0	0	Ditto 6 ditto - ditto 1807	4,710	10	0
					Ditto ditto - July 5, 1807	10,181	0	0
73½	Life Annuities unclaimed for 3 Years, or of which the Nominees died prior to 5th July, 1802 - - - - -	50,308	5	7	Bank Long Ann. expired 1860	1,047,494	5	4½
					Ditto Short ditto - 1808	418,333	0	11
87	Dividend on £.98,386,402, at 3 per Cent. - -	2,951,592	1	2	N. B. By an Act 42 Geo. III. Cap. 71, such Annuities as fall in after passing that Act, are not to be placed to the Account of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; but are no longer to be continued in the Annual Charge thereof.			
89⅜	Ditto on £.2,617,400, at 4 per Cent. - - -	104,696	0	0				
	Ditto on £.142,000 Navy, at 5 per Cent. - -	7,100	0	0				
62⅛	Annuity at 1 per Cent. on Part of Capitals created since 1st Feb. 1793 - - - -	3,202,672	1	10				
		7,596,249	3	1				

An Account of the Progress made in the REDEMPTION of the IMPERIAL DEBT, at 1st February 1806.

Funds.	Capitals.	Redeemed by the Commissrs. at 1st Feb. 1806.	Total Sums Paid. £.	s.	d.	Average Price of Stocks.	Sums Annually applicable to the Reduction of Debt.	£.	s.	d.
	£.	£.								
Imperial 3 per Cent. Annuities - -	3,669,300	- - -	- - -			- -	1 per Cent. on Capital created	36,693	0	0
		642,249	369,998	17	5	57⅝				
Redeemed by the Commissioners	642,249	- - -	- - -			- -	Dividend on £.642,249, at 3 per Ct. Annuities	19,267	9	4
Unredeemed at 1st Feb. 1806 - -	3,027,051									
								55,960	9	4

Office for Reduction of National Debt, the 18th Day of March 1806.

G. T. GOODENOUGH,
Secretary.

Abstract Statement of the Public Income of Ireland,

Ordinary Revenues.	Gross Receipt within the Year.			Total Receipt to be accounted for.			Re-Payments, Drawbacks, Discounts, &c.			Charges of Management.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs	1989684	17	9¼	4506077	18	4¼	239707	7	11	350476	13	8
Excise	1514211	16	3⅛									
Stamps	501943	9	10¼	615591	1	7¾	9582	10	11	25119	11	6½
Post-Office	146682	13	6½	166807	15	0	17779	18	0	75872	11	3½
Poundage Fees	27280	10	4½	27280	10	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pells Fees	5456	1	6¼	5456	1	6¼	-	-	-	-	-	-
Duty on Wrought Plate	5096	11	10	5096	11	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Casualties	3559	15	10	3559	15	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Ordinary Revenues	4193915	16	11⅞	5329869	14	7¼	267069	16	10	451468	16	6
Extraordinary Resources.												
Public Coal Yards	250	0	0	250	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gain by Exchange on Sums received by Great Britain	51390	12	1½	51390	12	1½	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commissioners of the Navy, on Account of Advances by Collectors in Ireland, for Seamen's Wages, &c.	43114	19	9	43114	19	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
From Great Britain, on Account of the Profit of the Lotteries for 1804 and 1805	179133	13	7	179133	13	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Monies paid to the Public	19473	16	0	19473	16	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
From several County Treasurers, paid to several Revenue Collectors, on Account of Advances made by the Treasury for enrolling the Militia	21096	4	4½	21096	4	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-
From several County Treasurers, paid to several Revenue Collectors, on Account of Deficiencies in the Army of Reserve	4636	17	2	4636	17	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Appropriated Duties for Local Objects.												
Linen Manufacture	2354	17	2	3439	13	9½	874	2	5	-	-	-
Improvement of Dublin	9355	19	2	11549	5	0	6	5	0	-	-	-
Repairs of the Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1468	7	6	1727	12	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lagan Navigation	2439	13	11½	2787	13	8½	896	10	8	77	3	
Total, independent of the Loans	4528630	17	9⅜	5668470	2	3¼	268846	14	11	451545	19	
Loans paid into the Exchequer in the Year ended the 5th of January 1806	4941284	0	2½	4941284	0	2½	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grand Total	9469914	13	11⅞	10609754	2	5¾	268846	14	11	451545	19	

NOTES.

	Rates of Collecting, per Cent.					
	Gross Rev.			Net Rev.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Customs and Excise	10	0	0½	12	0	6¾
Stamps	5	0	1	5	7	6¼
Post Office	51	14	5⅞	143	1	4¾

The Appropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1805, amounted to	£13621 15 11	278241 0 1¼	(S
The Unappropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1805, amounted to	264619 4 2½		
The Appropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1806, amounted to	7469 14 9	278184 18 7¼	
The Unappropriated Balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th of January 1806, amounted to	270715 3 10¼		

for the Year ended the 5th of January 1806.

Total Payments out of the Gross Revenue.			Net Produce, applicable to National Objects and to Payments into the Exchequer.			Payments on Account of Militia, Deserters, Straggling Seamen, Army of Reserve, &c.			Bounties for promoting Linen Manufacture, Fisheries, &c.			Total Payments out of the Net Produce.			Payments into the Exchequer.		
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
590184	1	7	3915893	16	9¼	65792	8	10	28022	1	9½	93814	10	7½	2807219	3	3
34702	2	5½	580888	19	2¼	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	456535	11	4¼
93652	9	3½	73155	5	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58988	17	3
-	-	-	27280	10	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27280	10	4½
-	-	-	5456	1	6¼	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5456	1	6¼
-	-	-	5096	11	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5096	11	10
-	-	-	3559	15	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3559	15	10
718538	13	4	4611331	1	3¼	65792	8	10	28022	1	9½	93814	10	7½	3364136	11	5
-	-	-	250	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	250	0	0
-	-	-	51390	12	1½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	51390	12	1½
-	-	-	43114	19	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43114	19	9
-	-	-	179133	13	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	179133	13	7
-	-	-	19473	16	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19473	16	0
-	-	-	21096	4	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8639	13	3½
-	-	-	4636	17	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
874	2	5	2565	11	4½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	291	19	8
6	5	0	11543	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10911	11	2
-	-	-	1727	12	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1427	8	0
973	13	8½	1814	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
720392	14	5½	4948077	7	9¾	65792	8	10	28022	1	9½	93814	10	7½	3678770	5	0
-	-	-	4941284	0	2½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4941284	0	2½
720392	14	5½	9889361	8	0¼	65792	8	10	28022	1	9½	93814	10	7½	8620054	5	2½

NOTES.

	BALANCES.								
	Balances in the Hands of the different Collectors.			Balance in the Hands of the Receiver-General.			Bills in the Hands of the Receiver-General.		
	£.	s.	d.				£.	s.	d.
5th Jan. 1805 .	430677	6	2⅝	-	-	-	138196	12	3¾
5th Jan. 1806 .	331529	8	10⅝	-	-	-	222886	0	0

Accountant-General's Office, }
28th February 1806. }

STEPHEN MOORE,
Acct.-Gen.

n Account of the CONSOLIDATED FUND of IRELAND, for the Year ended the 5th of January, 1806; and also the actual Payments thereout, within the said Year, and the total Charge thereon, in respect to the said Year; specifying the said Surplus of the said Consolidated Fund.

	INCOME.					
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
alance on the Consolidated Fund remaining in the Exchequer on 5th January 1805	264,619	4	2¼			
ustom and Excise Duties, including Quit-Rents and Payments by dismissed Collectors	2,807 074	3	3			
tamp Duties	456,535	11	4¼			
ost-Office Revenue	58,988	17	3			
Duty on Wrought Plate	5,096	11	10			
oundage Fee	27,280	10	4½			
ells Fee	5,456	1	6¼	3,625,050	19	9¼
epayment from Great-Britain for Seamens' Wages advanced by Collectors in Ireland	-	-	-	43,114	19	9
ain by Exchange on Sums received from Great Britain	-	-	-	51,390	12	1½
Other Monies paid to the Public	-	-	-	32,068	5	1½
				3,751,624	16	9¼
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES.						
On Account of Loans	-	-	-	4,941,284	0	2½
rom Great Britain, to complete ⅓ of the Profit on the Lotteries 1804	-	-	-	114,697	18	4
ore on Account of ⅓ of the Profit on the Lotteries for 1805	-	-	-	64,435	15	3
				8,872,042	10	6¾

	ACTUAL PAYMENTS.			CHARGE.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Interest on Funded Debt, including Annuities and Management	2,254,499	10	0½	2,288,595	14	11½
Interest on Unfunded Debt	30,876	13	5½	31,922	1	9¾
Sinking Fund and Management	586,631	4	9	586,631	4	9
Principal of Debentures	50	0	0	2,275	0	0
Principal of Exchequer Bills	812,700	0	0	813,808	6	8
Lottery Prizes	604	0	0	27,784	0	0
Discount on prompt Payment of Loan Deposites, &c.	28,893	15	4¾	28,893	15	4¾
Relief of Loyalists	524	15	3¾	524	15	3¾
Compensation for Losses by the Union	5,002	13	1¼	5,002	13	1¼
Inland Navigations	43,418	13	10½	43,418	13	10½
Light-House at Clue Bay	670	2	0¾	670	2	0¾
	3,763,371	8	0	3,829,526	7	11¼
Civil List	157,115	7	0½	Unascertained.		
Pensions	96,914	12	5			
Permanent Parliament Payments	196,062	9	1½			
Military Purposes	3,908,261	5	6¼			
Vote of Credit	212,482	3	11¼			
Annual Grants	266,620	0	8½			
	8,601,327	6	8½	Unascertained.		
Surplus of the Consolidated Fund on the 5th of January 1806	270,715	3	10¼			
	8,872,042	10	6¼			

Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle,
18th March 1806.

G. CAVENDISH.

Account of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURE of IRELAND, for the Year ending on the 5th of January 1806.

(N. B. For the Particulars under each Head, see the several Accounts referred to by Letters A, B, &c.)

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
I. For Interest on the Funded Debt of Ireland, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years; also £. per Cent. for the Reduction of the Capital created by Loans since 1797 (A 1. and 2.)	2748856	2	8						
For Charge of Management thereon	-	-	-	24639	3	9½			
There was also applied, towards the Reduction of the National Debt, the Annual Issue of	67635	8	4						
	2816491	11	0						
Whereof was applied, towards the Reduction of the National Debt	756857	6	11¾						
Total on Account of Interest	2059634	4	0¼						
Ditto, for Charge of Management	24639	3	9½						
Ditto, on Account of the Reduction of the National Debt	756857	6	11¾						
				-	-	-	2841130	14	9½
II. The Interest on Exchequer Bills (B.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	30876	13	5½
III. Issues for Purposes appointed by the Parliament of Ireland prior to the Union, &c. (C.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	891863	19	9
IV. Issues from Appropriated Funds for Local Purposes (D.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	18783	0	0
							3782654	8	0
V. Civil List	-	-	-	157115	7	0½			
Pensions	-	-	-	96914	12	5			
Other Permanent Charges (E.)	-	-	-	196062	9	1¼			
VI. Payments in Anticipation of Exchequer Receipts, viz.							450092	8	6¾
Bounties	-	-	-	28022	1	9½			
Militia, Army of Reserve, Deserters, Warrants, &c. (F. 1. and 2.)	-	-	-	65792	8	10			
							93814	10	7½
VII. Ordnance (G.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	650000	0	0
VIII. Army.—Ordinary Service, viz.									
Regulars, Militia, and Volunteer Corps	-	-	-	2391197	15	0¾			
Barracks	-	-	-	360824	14	8¼			
Staff Officers and Officers of Garrisons	-	-	-	82076	17	4			
Half-Pay and Supernumerary Officers, Reduced Chaplains, &c.	-	-	-	31102	11	10¾			
Officers' Widows	-	-	-	5003	14	0½			
Royal Hospital	-	-	-	46977	16	8			
Muster-Master-General and other Public Officers, their Deputies, Clerks, and contingent Expences (H.)	-	-	-	9678	12	5¼			
				2926862	2	1½			
Extraordinary Service	-	-	-	331399	3	4¾			
							3258261	5	6¼
X. Miscellaneous Services (I.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	266620	0	8¼
Lastly. Vote of Credit (K.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	212482	3	11¼
							4931270	9	4
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	8713924	17	4

Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle,
1st March 1806.

G. CAVENDISH.

(A. 1.) An Account of the Monies paid out of the Receipt of the Exchequer, in the Year ending the 5th of January 1806, towards satisfying the Charge of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of Ireland; distinguishing the Total Amount of the Sums applied for Interest, Charge of Management, and the Annual Issue for its Reduction.

	Interest & Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years, &c.			Charge of Management.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Interest, &c. on the Funded Debt of Ireland	2,748,856	2	8	24,639	3	9½
	24,639	3	9½			
	2,773,495	6	5½			
Annual Issue for the Reduction of the National Debt	67,635	8	4			
£.	2,841,130	14	9½			

(A 2.) An Account of the Total Amount of the Sums actually received by the Commissioners for REDUCTION of the NATIONAL DEBT, in the Year ending 5th Jan. 1806.

	In Great Britain.			In Ireland.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Annual Issue	-	-	-	67,635	8	4
Expired Annuities	-	-	-	2,250	0	0
Appropriation of £.1 per Cent. per Annum on Loans since 1797	407,809	8	2	108,537	2	9
	407,809	8	2	178,422	11	1
Interest on Debt of Ireland redeemed	94,703	6	2¾	75,922	1	6
	502,512	14	4¾	254,344	12	7
	254,344	12	7			
£.	756,857	6	11¾			

(B.) An Account of the INTEREST on EXCHEQUER BILLS, with the Payments made in the Year from the 5th January 1805, to the 5th January 1806.

		£.	s.	d.
	There remained unclaimed on the 5th January 1805, Interest on Exchequer Bills to the 25th of December 1804	1,368	13	4¼
Charge for Interest.	On £.300,000—at £.5 per Ct. 211 Days from 25 Dec. 1804 to 24 July 1805	8,671	4	7½
	300,000—at ditto . . 278 Days from ditto . . . to 29 Sept.	11,424	13	1½
	100,000—at ditto . . 302 Days from ditto . . . to 23 Oct.	4,136	19	8½
	100,000—at ditto . . 330 Days from ditto . . . to 20 Nov.	4,520	11	0
	30,000—at £.6 per Ct. One Year from ditto . . . to 25 Dec.	1,800	0	0
		31,922	1	9¾
	Deduct Interest payable 25th Dec. 1805, which remained unclaimed on the 5th January 1806	1,045	8	4¼
	Total Payments for Interest on Exchequer Bills, in the Year to 5th January 1806	£.30,876	13	5½

(C.) An Account of PAYMENTS made for Purposes appointed by the PARLIAMENT of IRELAND prior to the Union, for Principal of Exchequer Bills, and for Discount on Prompt Payment of Loan Deposites, &c. in One Year ending 5th January 1806.

	£.	s.	d.
For Relief of Suffering Loyalists	524	15	3¾
Compensation for Losses by the Union	5,002	13	1¼
Inland Navigations	43,418	13	10½
Light-House in Clue Bay	670	2	0¼
Lottery Prizes	604	0	0
Principal of Loan Debentures	50	0	0
Principal of Exchequer Bills	812,700	0	0
Discount on Prompt Payment of Loan Deposites, &c.	28,893	15	4¾
	£.891,863	19	9

(D). An Account of PAYMENTS made from the FUNDS appropriated for local Purposes in IRELAND, from the 5th January 1805, to the 5th January 1806.

	£.	s.	d.
For improving Dublin	13,289	7	11
The Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings	1,296	7	1½
Presbyterian Ministers	349	19	11½
Fish Bounty	3,847	5	0
	18,783	0	0

(E.) An Account of PAYMENTS in the Year ending the 5th of January 1806, under the several Heads of—Civil List, Pensions, and other Permanent Charges.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Arrear on the Civil List on 5th January 1805	37,256	17	3			
Charge for ditto, for One Year to 25th December 1805	145,000	0	0			
	182,256	17	3			
Deduct Arrear on the 5th January 1806	25,141	10	2½			
Issues to the Civil List in One Year to the 5th January 1806	—	—	—	157,115	6	0½
Pensions	—	—	—	96,914	12	5
Other Permanent Charges, viz.						
Public Infirmaries	3,300	0	0			
Public Coal Yards	1,762	1	2			
Army Baggage	30,262	12	4½			
Lottery Expences	459	18	1¼			
Police Establishment	15,286	18	2			
Inspector-General of Prisons	162	1	4½			
Transportation of Felons	8,721	12	11¼			
Fees on Auditing Treasury Accounts	1,854	12	9½			
Impress Office	2,737	17	6¼			
Secret Service in detecting Treasonable Conspiracies	5,670	2	0¼			
Annuities and Compensation Allowances	97,998	7	10½			
Judges' Additional Salaries, &c.	26,646	4	9¼			
Commission of Enquiry	1,200	0	0			
				196,062	9	1¼
				450,092	8	6¾

(F. 1.) An Account of the Amount of BOUNTIES paid out of the Public Revenue, in the Year ending the 5th of January 1806, being Payments in the Nature of Anticipation of Exchequer Receipt.

	£.	s.	d.
On Linen Exported	13,243	14	3½
Fishing Vessels	5,381	8	8
Bark Imported	8,708	12	9
Irish Coals brought Coastways to Dublin	63	3	0
Irish Cured Fish Exported	298	15	2
Irish Fish Oil Exported	61	16	0
Corn Exported	264	11	11
	28,022	1	9½

(F. 2.) An Account of the Amount of PAYMENTS to the MILITIA, ARMY of RESERVE, DESERTERS' WARRANTS, &c. &c. in the Year ending the 5th of January 1806.

	£.	s	d.
Militia	40,218	11	1½
Army of Reserve	14,773	13	6
Deserters' Warrants	1,000	0	0
Straggling Seamen's ditto	25	3	0
Fortification Compensation	17	1	3
Compensation to Revenue Collectors in lieu of Fees on Licences	9,757	19	11½
	65,792	8	10

(G.) An Account of MONIES paid to the Office of ORDNANCE, in the Year to the 5th of January 1806.

Payments to the Ordnance for Grants of 1805 - - -	£.650,000

(H.) An Account of Monies paid on Account of His Majesty's Forces in Ireland, in the Year ending the 5th of January 1806.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Regiments of the Line	1,356,291	18	7¾			
Militia	706,236	16	8			
Volunteer Corps	312,462	1	3½			
Contingencies, &c. for Land Forces	1,095	16	3¼			
Military Hospitals and Medicaments	10,878	6	1½			
Royal Military Infirmary	4,232	16	0¾			
	2,391,197	15	0¾			
Barracks	360,824	17	8¼			
Staff Officers and Officers of Garrisons	82,076	17	4			
Half-Pay and Supernumerary Officers, Reduced Chaplains, &c.	31,102	11	10¾			
Officers' Widows	5,003	14	0½			
Royal Hospital	46,977	16	8			
Muster-Master-General and other Public Officers, their Deputies, Clerks, and Incidental Expences	9,678	12	5¼			
				2,926,862	2	1½
Extraordinaries				331,399	3	4¾
				£.3,258,261	5	6¼

(I.) An Account shewing the Payments in the Year ending the 5th January 1806, for Miscellaneous Services.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To Stephen Moore, Esq. Accountant-General, for his Expense and Trouble in preparing the Public Accounts laid before Parliament, Session 1805	340	0	0			
John Smart, Esq. Deputy-Accountant-General, for the like	240	0	0			
Paul le Bas, Esq. Examinator of Corn Bounties, for keeping the Accounts of said Office	200	0	0			
Robert Marshall, Esq. Inspector-General of Imports and Exports, for his Expense and Trouble in preparing Accounts of Imports and Exports for Parliament	250	0	0			
Roger Wetherall, First Clerk in the Inspector-General of Imports and Exports Office, for extra Trouble in preparing Accounts for Parliament	200	0	0			
George Hatton, Examinator of Excise, for extra Trouble and Expense in preparing Accounts for Parliament	200	0	0			
Samuel Hood, Assistant-Examinator of Excise for the like	150	0	0			
Thomas Haffield, Clerk in the Office of the Auditor of the Exchequer, for extra Trouble in preparing Accounts for Parliament	200	0	0			
				1,780	0	0
The Expense of Civil Buildings for One Year to the 5th of January 1806	25,000	0	0			
Expense of Printing and Binding 250 Copies of the Public Acts of 45th Geo. III.	900	0	0			
Printing Proclamations and Advertisements in the Dublin Gazette and other Newspapers	7,026	9	10½			
Treasury Incidents	2,000	0	0			
Working his Majesty's Gold Mine in the County of Wicklow	103	1	10¼			
Printing, Stationery, and other Disbursements for several Public Offices in Dublin Castle	20,410	0	0			
Apprehending Public Offenders	409	2	11½			
Criminal Prosecutions and other Law Expences of Government	25,000	0	0			
Expense of Pratique in the Port of Dublin	1,047	10	2			
Non conforming Ministers of Ireland, to complete the Sum necessary for their Support to 5th January 1806	9,176	3	3			
				91,072	8	1¼
The Corporation for Paving, Cleansing, &c. the Streets of Dublin	10,000	0	0			
Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufacture	21,600	0	0			
Expense of Building the intended Hall for the Royal College of Surgeons	6,000	0	0			
Dublin Society for promoting Husbandry and other useful Arts, &c.	10,000	0	0			
Farming Society	2,000	0	0			
Commissioners for making wide and convenient Streets in Dublin	10,884	14	8			
Rebuilding the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Dublin, &c.	6,000	0	0			
Board of First Fruits, for Building New, and repairing Old Churches	5,000	0	0			
				71,484	14	8
Carried forward				164,337	2	9¼

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward				164,337	2	9¼
For defraying the Expenses of the Foundling Hospital, Dublin, One Year to 5th January 1806	22,500	0	0			
The Hibernian Marine Society	1,691	19	4			
The Hibernian School for Soldiers' Children	6,132	19	8			
The Female Orphan House near Dublin	958	13	9			
The Association for discountenancing Vice, and promoting the Christian Religion	1,230	0	0			
The Westmorland Lock Hospital	6,897	0	0			
The House of Industry, Dublin	21,433	18	7			
The House of Recovery, and Fever Hospital, Dublin	1,030	18	6			
The Lying-in Hospital, Dublin	2,599	8	0			
The Penitentiary in Dublin, for young Criminals, &c.	1,795	0	0			
The Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests	400	0	0			
The Roman Catholic Seminary	8,000	0	0			
Madam Stevens's Hospital	4,942	0	0			
The Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland	22,681	6	1			
				102,282	17	11
				266,620	0	8¼

(K) An Account of the Amount of Payments from the Vote of Credit in the Year ending the 5th of January 1806.

Amount of Payments from the Vote of Credit	£.212,482	3	11¼

(1) An Account of the Value of all Imports into and all Exports from Ireland, for the Year ending 5th January 1806; distinguishing the Value of Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported from the Value of Foreign Articles Exported; together with the Difference between the Official Value and the Real Value of Irish Produce and Manufacture Exported in the Year ending 5th January 1806.

					£.	s.	d.
Official Value of Imports					5,982,194	19	9
Official Value of Exports	Irish Produce, &c.	£.5,059,967	13	10			
	Foreign Articles	142,418	4	6			
					5,202,385	18	4
Real Value of Exports of Irish Produce and Manufactures					8,436,933	16	3

(2) An Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, which have been Built and Registered in the several Ports of Ireland, between the 5th of January 1805, and the 5th of January 1806.

Vessels.	Amount of Tonnage.
28	1,212

(3) An Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, and Number of Men and Boys usually employed in Navigating the same, which belonged to the several Ports of Ireland, on the 30th of September 1805.

Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
1,067	56,755	5,062

An Account of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of Ireland, as the same stood on the 5th of January the different Funds in which it is invested—the Amount of the Capital Stock of each Fund— Dublin respectively—the Charge of Management—and the Annual Charge for the

By what Acts created.	Sums raised.	Payable in DUBLIN:			Payable in			
		3*l.* 10*s.* per Cent. per Ann.	4*l.* per Cent. per Ann.	5*l.* per Cent. per Ann.	5*l.* per Cent. per Ann. (British Currency.)	3*l.* per Cent. Consol. An. (British Currency.)	3*l.* per Cent. Red. Ann. (British Currency.)	3*l.* per Cent. Consol. Ann. to commence from 5 Jan. 1808. (British Cur.)
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
13 Geo. III. -	265000	—	—	—	—	—	—	— —
15 Geo. III. -	175000	—	—	—	—	—	—	— —
17 Geo. III. -	300000	—	—	—	—	—	—	— —
25 Geo. III. -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— —
27 Geo. III. -	200000	200000	—	—	—	—	—	— —
28 Geo. III. -	918240	918240	—	—	—	—	—	— —
27, 29, and 31 Geo. III.	174600	—	174600	—	—	—	—	— —
33 Geo. III. -	200000	—	—	200000	—	—	—	— —
Vote of credit 11June,1793	150000	—	—	150000	—	—	—	— —
34 Geo. III. -	1029650	—	—	487983	500000	—	—	— —
35 Geo. III. -	1591666	—	—	400000	1100000	—	—	— —
36 Geo. III. -	640000	—	—	640000	—	—	—	— —
Vote of credit 18Oct.1796	325000	—	—	—	300000	—	—	— —
37 Geo. III. -	2018700	—	—	635000	—	1875000	750000	— —
38 Geo. III. -	3424476	—	—	2054950	—	3000000	1000000	— —
39 Geo. III. -	5261000	—	—	2011000	—	3750000	1500000	— —
40 Geo. III. -	4666666	—	—	2500000	—	2200000	940000	— —
41 Geo. III. -	2750319	—	—	41985	—	3125000	1268750	— —
42 Geo. III. -	3791666	1770232	—	—	—	1300000	1200000	139250
43 Geo. III. -	2166666	—	—	—	—	1600000	1600000	— —
44 Geo. III. -	6125000	—	—	1404531	—	3690000	4500000	— —
45 Geo. III. -	4333333	—	—	—	—	3750000	550000	— —
BANK OF IRELAND.								
22 and 37 Geo. III.	600000	—	—	600000	—	—	—	— —
37 Geo. III. -	500000	—	—	500000	—	—	—	— —
£.	41606985	2888472	174600	11625450	1900000 Irish Currency: 2058333	24290000 Irish Currency: 26314166	13308750 Irish Currency: 14417812	139250 Irish Currency: 150854

N. B. *For want of room, the shillings, pence, and farthings, are left out all through this account.*

Total principal Debt on 5th

1806; distinguishing the Years in which each Part thereof was created; distinguishing also the Annual Interest and Annuities, and the several Portions thereof payable in London and Reduction of the said Debt.

LONDON:					Annual Charge for Redemption of National Debt.		
4*l.* per Cent. Consol. Ann. (British Cur.)	5*l.* per Cent Consol. Navy Ann. (British Cur.)	Annual Interest.	Annuities on Lives or Terms of Years.	Charge of Management.	Pursuant to Act 37 Geo. III. for Redemption of Debt then existing.	By Acts providing 1*l.* per Cent. for Redemption of Debts created since 1797.	Total of Annual Expenses.
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
— —	— —	—	15900	1052	— —	— —	† 49952
— —	— —	—	10500				
— —	— —	—	22500				
— —	— —	—	—	—	2250	— —	‡ 2250
— —	— —	39138	—	—	— —	— —	39138
— —	— —						
— —	— —	6984	—	—	— —	— —	6984
— —	— —	17500	—	—	— —	— —	17500
— —	— —						
— —	— —	51482	10296	346	— —	— —	62125
— —	— —	79583	18058	655	— —	— —	98297
— —	— —	48250	23437	319	— —	— —	72007
— —	— —						
300000	— —	130062	5281	1271	67635	38714	242965
— —	— —	232747	5326	1774	— —	64466	304314
— —	— —	271175	—	2313	— —	76875	350363
— —	— —	227050	—	1406	— —	59016	287473
— —	— —	144896	—	2010	— —	47598	194505
— —	— —	143208	—	1161	— —	46294	190663
— —	— —	104000	6951	1602	— —	35346	147899
— —	— —	336401	—	3975	— —	102770	443147
— —	360000	159250	81250	2728	— —	57263	300492
— —	— —	30000	—	—	— —	— —	30000
— —	— —	25000	18125	—	— —	5000	48125
				*3621	— —	— —	3621
300000 Irish Currency: 325000	360000 Irish Currency: 390000 325000 150854 14417812 26314166 2058333 11625450 174600 2888472	2046729	217626	24239	69885	533346	2891827
January 1806 —	—58344690						

* Management on so much of the debt payable in Dublin as has been converted into stock, transferable at the Bank of Ireland. The remainder is not chargeable with management.

† Life Annuities.

‡ Expired Annuities.

Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle,
February the 28th, 1806.

G. Cavendish.

An Account of the Unfunded Debt of Ireland, and Demands outstanding on the 5th January 1806; under the Heads of Loan Debentures, Exchequer Bills, Lottery Prizes, and Loan from Great Britain for paying the Prizes of the Irish Lotteries of 1801; distinguishing under each Head respectively the Particulars of which such Debt or Demand consisted, and also what Part of the said Debt and Demand was then provided for, and in what Manner; and what Part thereof was unprovided for.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Loan Debentures:									
Residue of Debentures bearing 4*l.* per Cent. Interest to the Year 1788, provided for by 27 and 28 Geo. III. but not claimed by the Proprietors, viz.									
Old Loan	-	-	-	275	0	0			
Loan by Lottery 1780	-	-	-	1220	0	0			
Loan by Lottery 1781	-	-	-	730	0	0	(a) 2225	0	0
Exchequer Bills:									
Outstanding Exchequer Bills, provided for by several Acts of Parliament, but not claimed by the Proprietors:									
Payable 24 June - 1783	8	6	8						
24 June - 1790	50	0	0						
24 June - 1791	100	0	0						
24 June - 1795	300	0	0						
24 June - 1801	100	0	0						
24 June - 1802	100	0	0						
25 March 1803	450	0	0	(a)1108	6	8			
Exchequer Bills, not in Course of Payment till after the 5th January 1806:									
38 Geo. III. payable 25 March 1806	-	-	-	(b)30000	0	0	31108	6	8
Lottery Prizes:									
Outstanding Lottery Prizes of the several Lotteries from 1782 to 1801							(a)27180	0	0
Loan from Great Britain for paying the Prizes of the Irish Lotteries of 1801							299000	0	0
Total							359513	6	8

(a) Provision has been made for these Sums by several Acts of Parliament.
(b) To be provided for by the Grand Canal Company, to whom they were issued.
The remaining Sums to be provided for.

Treasury Chambers, Dublin Castle,
28th February 1806.

G. Cavendish.

An Account, shewing how the MONIES granted for the Service of the Year 1805, have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads, so far as relates to IRELAND; stated in Irish Currency.

SERVICES.				Sums granted.			Sums paid.			Remains.		
Forces:	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Army with garrisons and their incidents (1070503*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* British, part of 4635188*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* British)	1159712	4	7									
Foreign corps, the Queen's German regiment (24257*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.* British, part of 851350*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* British)	26278	17	3									
Allowance to non-commissioned officers and private men of the regulars, for small beer, and while on a march, (78511*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* British, part of 476699*l.* 5*s.* British)	85054	5	5									
Recruiting and contingencies (125866*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* British, part of 175866*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* British)	136355	4	10½									
				1407400	12	1½	1364534	4	9½	42866	7	4
Militia, (614039*l.* 18*s.* 0¾*d.* British, part of 2176326*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* British)	665209	17	10¾									
Allowance to non-commissioned officers and private men, for small beer, and while on a march, (41187*l.* 12*s.* 3½*d.* British, a further part of 476699*l.* 5*s.* British)	44619	18	4									
Contingencies for embodied militia (15692*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* British, part of 65692*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* British)	17000	0	0									
				726829	16	2¾	706236	16	8	20592	19	6¾
Volunteer corps (500000*l.* British, part of 1600000*l.* British)				541666	13	4	312462	1	3½	229204	12	0½
General and staff officers, and officers of hospitals, serving with the forces (76691*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.* British, part of 288858*l.* 3*s.* 2*d.* British)				83082	3	4	74930	7	5½	8151	15	10½
Full pay to supernumerary officers of his majesty's land forces, (1135*l.* 1*s.* 8¼*d.* British, part of 34469*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* British)				1229	13	6½	1122	17	0¼	106	16	6¼
Muster-master-general, and other principal officers of several public departments, their deputies, clerks, and contingent expences, (8971*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* British, part of 191838*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* British)				9718	12	11¼	9678	12	5¼	40	0	6
Half-pay to reduced officers of his majesty's land forces, and reduced chaplains (30,623*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* British, part of 175623*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* British)	33175	6	10									
Military allowance to reduced officers of land forces, (665*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* British, part of 5665*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* British)	720	17	6									
				33896	4	4	29076	1	6¼	4820	2	9¾
In and out pensioners of the royal hospital near Kilmainham, and expenses of said hospital, (50932*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* British, part of 249397*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* British)				55176	8	3½	46977	16	8	8198	11	7½
Pensions to widows and officers of the land forces, and expenses attending the same (6000*l.* British, part of 29237*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* British)				6500	0	0	5003	14	0	1496	5	11½
General hospital expenses of his majesty's forces in Ireland, including medicaments, for general and regimental hospitals, and the charge of the royal military infirmary in Dublin for sick and wounded soldiers (20522*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.* British)				22232	16	1	15111	2	2¼	7121	13	10¾
Carried forward												

An Account, shewing how the Monies granted for the Service of the Year 1805, have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads, so far as relates to Ireland; stated in Irish Currency.—*(Continued.)*

SERVICES—*Continued.*	Sums granted.			Sums paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward — —									
Barrack department in Ireland (483698*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* British, part of 1642460*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* British) —	524006	15	11	360824	14	8¼	163182	1	2¾
Military allowances in Ireland, formerly paid out of the fund for military contingencies, and for making good the arrear of such allowances to 25th December 1805 (1002*l.* 1*s.* 6¼*d.* British) —	1085	11	7¾	903	13	4	181	18	3½
Extraordinary expenses of the army in Ireland (600000*l.* British) — — —	650000	0	0	331399	3	4	318600	16	7¼
Ordnance:									
Office of ordnance in Ireland, for the year 1805, (470769*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* British) — —	510000	0	0	510000	0	0			
More: to replace a like sum advanced by the exchequer in Ireland, for ordnance service in 1804, beyond the grant of parliament for said service in said year (129230*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* British) —	140000	0	0	140000	0	0			
To discharge treasury bills, due in Ireland, in 1805	800000	0	0	800000	0	0			
Public Officers for several Services:									
Stephen Moore, esq. accountant-general, for his extraordinary trouble and expense in preparing and stating the public accounts of Ireland, for parliament, session 1805 — —	340	0	0	340	0	0			
John Smart, esq. deputy-accountant-general, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing the public accounts of Ireland, for parliament, for one year ending 5th January 1805 — —	240	0	0	240	0	0			
Paul Le Bas, esq. examinator of corn bounties, for his trouble in keeping the accounts of said office	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Robert Marshall, esq. inspector-general of imports and exports, for his expense and trouble in preparing accounts of the imports and exports of Ireland, for parliament, for one year ending the 5th of January 1805 — —	250	0	0	250	0	0			
Roger Wetherall, esq. first clerk in the office of the inspector-general of imports and exports, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing accounts for parliament — — —	200	0	0	200	0	0			
George Hatton, esq. examinator of excise, for his extraordinary trouble and expense in preparing accounts for parliament — —	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Samuel Hood, esq. assistant-examinator of excise, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing accounts for parliament — —	150	0	0	150	0	0			
Thomas Haffield, esq. clerk in the office of the auditor of the exchequer, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing accounts for parliament —	200	0	0	200	0	0			
Miscellaneous Services:									
For defraying the expense of civil buildings, from 5th January 1805 to 5th January 1806 —	25000	0	0	25000	0	0			
For defraying the expense of printing and binding 250 copies of the acts of the 45th year of his present majesty — — —	900	0	0	900	0	0			
For defraying the expense of publishing proclamations and advertisements in the Dublin gazette, and other newspapers, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — —	7026	9	10½	7026	9	10½			
For defraying the probable charge for treasury incidents, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — — —	2000	0	0	2000	0	0			
Carried forward —									

An Account, shewing how the MONIES granted for the Service of the Year 1805, have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads, so far as relates to IRELAND; stated in Irish Currency.—*(Continued.)*

SERVICES—*Continued.*	Sums granted.			Sums paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward — —									
For defraying the expenditure at his majesty's gold mine at Croaghan, in the county of Wicklow, from the 5th of January 1805, to the 5th of January 1806 — —	760	3	2½	103	1	10¼	657	1	4¼
For defraying the charge of printing, stationery, and other disbursements for the chief and under secretaries' offices and apartments, and other public offices, in Dublin castle, &c. and for the riding charges and other expenses of the deputy pursuivants and extra messengers attending said offices, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — — —	20410	0	0	20410	0	0			
For defraying the expense of apprehending public offenders in Ireland, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — —	2500	0	0	409	2	11½	2090	17	0½
For defraying the expense of criminal prosecutions, and other law expenses of government, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January, 1806 —	25000	0	0	25000	0	0			
For defraying the expense of pratique, in the port of Dublin, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — — —	1047	10	2	1047	10	2			
For completing the sum necessary for the support of the non-conforming ministers of Ireland, for one year, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — — —	9176	3	3	9176	3	3			
Public Boards:									
To be paid to the corporation for paving, cleansing, and lighting the streets of Dublin, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806, 6000*l.* to be applied by the said corporation towards discharging debts for works done, and the remainder to the purposes which the said corporation was instituted for (9230*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.* British) —	10000	0	0	10000	0	0			
The trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures, to promote and encourage said manufactures for one year ending 5th January 1805 —	21600	0	0	21600	0	0			
Towards defraying the expense of building the intended hall for the royal college of surgeons, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806	6000	0	0	6000	0	0			
To be paid the Dublin society, for promoting husbandry and other useful arts, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806, for completing their additional buildings, supporting the botanic garden, and the other objects of the said society —	10000	0	0	10000	0	0			
For defraying the expences of the farming society, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 —	2000	0	0	2000	0	0			
To be paid to the commissioners for making wide and convenient streets in the city of Dublin, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806, for paying the debts due by them on treasury bills, and for the purposes of their institution -	10884	14	8	10884	14	8			
Towards completing the re-building of the parish church of Saint Andrew, Dublin, and building a steeple and spire thereto — —	6000	0	0	6000	0	0			
The board of first fruits, for building new churches, and rebuilding old churches, in such parishes as no public service has been performed in for 20 years, and for the encouragement of building glebe houses, &c. for one year, to 5th January 1806 — — —	5000	0	0	5000	0	0			
Carried forward - —									

An Account shewing how the MONIES granted for the Service of the Year 1805, have been disposed of; distinguished under the several Heads, so far as relates to IRELAND; stated in Irish Currency.—*(Continued.)*

SERVICES—*Continued.*	Sums granted.			Sums paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward — —									
Public Hospitals and Schools.									
For defraying the expense of the foundling hospital, Dublin, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — — —	22500	0	0	22500	0	0			
For defraying the charge of the Hibernian marine society in Dublin; from the 5th of January 1805, to the 5th of January 1806 — —	1691	13	4	1691	13	4			
For defraying the expense of the Hibernian school for soldiers' children, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — —	6132	19	8	6132	19	8			
For defraying the charge of the female orphan house near Dublin, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806, for the support of 140 children — — —	958	13	9	958	13	9			
For defraying the expenses which shall be incurred by the association for discountenancing vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — — —	1280	0	0	1280	0	0			
For supporting the Westmorland lock hospital in Dublin, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — — —	6897	0	0	6897	0	0			
For defraying the expense of supporting the house of industry in Dublin, from the 5th of January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — —	21433	18	7	21433	18	7			
For defraying the expense of maintaining eighty patients in the house of recovery and fever hospital in Cork street, Dublin, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — —	1030	18	6	1030	18	6			
For defraying the expense of the lying-in hospital in Dublin, from the 5th of January 1805, to the 5th of January 1806 — —	2599	8	0	2599	8	0			
For defraying the charge of fitting up and supporting a penitentiary in Dublin, for employment of persons sentenced to transportation, and young criminals, &c. from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — —	1795	0	0	1795	0	0			
For defraying the charge of the office of the commissioners of charitable donations and bequests; from the 5th of January 1805, to the 5th of January 1806 — — —	400	0	0	400	0	0			
For defraying the charge of the Roman Catholic seminary, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806 — — —	8000	0	0	8000	0	0			
For defraying the expenses of Madam Stevens's hospital, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806, in repairs of the buildings, in furniture, and enlarging and maintaining the accommodation for patients — —	4942	0	0	4942	0	0			
For defraying the charge of the incorporated society in Dublin, for promoting English protestant schools in Ireland, from 5th January 1805, to 5th January 1806, for the support and maintenance of the charity — —	22621	6	1	22621	6	1			
£.	5782193	6	10¼	4974881	6	2½	807312	0	7¾

Treasury Chambers,
Dublin Castle, 1st March, 1806.

G. CAVENDISH.

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Brettell, Printer, Marshall-Street,
Golden-Square.